This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

EVALUATION OF EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES OF SELECTED HAITAN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

presented by

Wesley K. Stafford

has been accepted towards fulfillment of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Department of Teacher Education

Major professor

Date Feb. 28, 1986

EVALUATION OF EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES OF SELECTED HAITIAN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

By

Wesley K. Stafford

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Teacher Education

1986

ABSTRACT

EVALUATION OF EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES
OF SELECTED HAITIAN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

By

Wesley K. Stafford

This research evaluated the educational outcomes of Haitian primary schools from the perspective of peasant parents, upon whom the Haitian education system is financially dependent. Enrollment of a single child absorbs nearly 30 percent of a typical family's annual income and constitutes a carefully calculated risk to familial survival. Three value criteria, which articulate parental expectations of schooling, served as the basis for the comparative/evaluative research: 1) educational survivorship--the extent to which students progress in a timely manner from one grade to another, culminating in graduation, 2) family education contribution--the extent to which students serve as family education resources by passing on what they learn in school to unschooled members of their families, and 3) life-skills competencies--the extent to which students are able to use their schooling functionally in life.

The data originated from three research instruments--a student interview (N=55), a teacher questionnaire (N=70), and a school facilities survey (N=7), which were administered to a stratified sample of seven case-study primary schools dispersed throughout the five geopolitical districts of Haiti.

Data relating to each of the three value criteria were analyzed to classify the level of performance of each school. Analysis of school, teacher, home, and student variables followed to identify school characteristics associated with performance in each criterion.

Findings indicated that 1) student socio-economic status (SES) in Haiti is not an accurate predictor of educational survivorship; 2) variances in quality of school facilities have only minimal effect on a school's performance on all three criteria; 3) the impact of teachers is powerful in Haiti, and investment in their training, equipping, and job satisfaction is a viable strategy for the enhancement of education; 4) parents, regardless of their education, vocation, or SES, have a strong influence on student academic achievement; 5) the extent to which a student reads or has access to reading materials is an accurate predictor of his educational survivorship; 6) the phenomenon of youth serving in familial educative roles is widespread in Haiti, especially among rural families of lower SES and education levels; 7) the criteria which determine a child's progression to higher education are more a function of environment, parental priorities, and SES than of actual school quality.

Findings served as a basis for suggesting guidelines for the enhancement of school performance in keeping with those educational outcomes valued by a school's community.

I dedicate this dissertation
with profound love, admiration and respect
to the children of Haiti,
and to their courageous parents.

"Pitit sé byin pov maléré."
("Children are a poor man's riches.")
--Haitian Proverb

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

No one can conduct research of this kind without the assistance and support of many others. A gracious and loving God blessed me throughout this process by surrounding me with numerous friends who offered special assistance and moral support. I cannot, with words, adequately thank all those involved; but I trust that this research will result in some benefit to the children of Haiti and their courageous parents and will, in part, so reward others for their kindnesses to me.

I wish to gratefully acknowledge the love and support of my parents, Kenneth and Marjorie Stafford. From my earliest memory they have given themselves selflessly to others, quietly and humbly as true servants of God. Their compassionate respect for the dignity of the poor shaped the life values of a young boy who today prays that he might be a worthy bâton vieillesse.

My admiration and appreciation also go to my wife, Donna Stafford. She was not only patient and supportive throughout this research process, but made major contributions to it from its formation in Michigan, throughout long, hot months of data collection in Haiti, to typing and editorial assistance in Colorado. Her love and faith in me have been a valuable source of strength. Also thanks to my little Jenny, who did without Daddy long enough.

In Haiti, the assistance of the Ministry of Education and the support of both Compassion International and the Armée du Salut were crucial to the research. Their commitment to providing quality education to Haiti's children served as a mandate for utility to accompany theoretical demands for wider scholarship. Specifically, I owe a debt of gratitude to Country Director Dan Cook of Compassion, and Education Officer Captain Jonas Georges of the Haitian Armée du Salut. My loyal and talented research assistants, Jean-Claude Cerin, Ruth Mathieu and Doucet Desronvil, were a constant source of useful cultural information, humor, and spiritual support. They became not only colleagues but dear friends in the course of sharing many campfires, crossing swollen rivers, and enduring hot days in the saddle. I would also like to express my gratitude to and respect for the school Armée du Salut directors, teachers, and students who so graciously opened not only their schools, but their minds and hearts, entrusting me with their frustrations, joys and aspirations.

This research would not have been possible without the support of Compassion International. Its commitment to quality child development in some of the most oppressed areas of the world served as the heart of and mandate for each inquiry. My special thanks to its president, Wallace H. Erickson, the Board of Directors, and my fellow colleagues who supported me through it all with prayer, friendship, and valuable perspectives from their rich cross-cultural backgrounds.

The interest, guidance and encouragement of my doctoral committee--Frank Fear, Joseph Levine, Charles Blackman, and committee chair, Ted Ward--provided throughout the entire course of my Michigan

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter One

THE PROBLEM

The greatest investment of the Haitian peasant family is the bâton vieillesse--the "crutch for old age." This is not a wooden stick to assist the elderly in walking, but refers to the child selected by the family to be set aside for schooling. On these small shoulders is placed the responsibility of getting an education which will lead to a good job, which will allow him to care for his aging parents and extended family in years to come. The Haitian peasant, a master at calculating risk factors, will make enormous financial and personal sacrifices to invest in education as an escape route from poverty. Rarely does more than one child per family attend school because the cost consumes 25 to 30 percent of a family's annual income per child.

Because education historically has had a very strong economic and social value in Haiti and is associated with status, mobility, influence and social respect, the investment is calculated and justified by parents' own formation of pragmatic expectations of the outcomes of schooling. Parents have three major expectations with regard to their children's primary schooling: 1) educational survivorship--that the child will progress in a timely manner from one grade to another culminating in graduation with a primary school certificate (Certificat d'Etudes Primaires--CEP); 2) family education contribution--that the child will serve as a family education resource by passing on what he learns in school to the unschooled members of his family; and 3) life-skills

competencies--that the child will be able to use his primary schooling functionally in life, to progress to higher education and ultimately to secure work that will ensure adequate financial support for his family.

The enormous task confronting the bâton vieillesse is to survive the Haitian educational system, which has historically produced more dropouts ("wastage") than graduates ("product"). Evidence compiled during the last decade by Wiesler and published in a 1978 report, "La Scolarisation en Haïti," sponsored by the Haitian Department of Finance and Economic Affairs, describes the odds of success. In rural Haiti, where 80 percent of the population lives, only 14 percent of the community youth has ever enrolled in school. Of this enrolled minority, 97 percent failed or dropped out within the first seven years of primary schooling--50 percent of them in the first year. Of the 3 percent remnant which eventually graduated from primary school, only two-thirds were assessed by government exams to be functionally adequate in literacy and numeracy for further formal schooling or entrance into vocational training programs. The successful graduate was thus 1.9 percent of his schoolmates, and only one of two such children out of 1,000 of his rural community peers (Wiesler, 1978, p. 49).

Given Haiti's severely limited natural resources and its reluctance historically to commit a substantial portion of its gross domestic budget to education, the present school system is vulnerable because of its financial dependence on the educational investment whims of a largely unschooled, poverty-stricken adult population. The survival of thousands of primary schools across Haiti and the development of Haiti's greatest resource, its people, are threatened unless educators and policymakers include in their strategies an evaluation of the educational outcomes

of primary schools from the perspective of its key investors--peasant parents.

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

In the developing world, education is perceived as foundational to national development. Its mandate is multi-faceted--economic, social and political--with diverse emphases assigned to these facets in different nations. In almost all such nations, education claims a large portion of resources. The extent of this portion reflects the priority given by a nation to the development of its people's capacity to work and advance toward a more elevated social and economic status. Poor in natural resources, but abounding in human resources, developing nations typically look to education as an investment in human capital. Education is undertaken to develop human resources resulting in increased economic productivity and enlarged national product.

Ministries of Education experience constant frustration due to the severity of fiscal and other economic constraints faced by their developing nations. Resources for education come at sizable opportunity costs in terms of optional resource use. Nonetheless, investment in education consumes a substantial part of most national budgets and has shown dramatic increase in the last two decades. For example, between 1960 and 1968, public expenditures for education doubled in Africa and Latin America, and almost tripled in Asia (Simmons, 1980). These figures do not reflect the private cost of education, consisting of direct costs to parents as well as income forgone by pupils.

Despite strategic national development objectives and this magnitude of public and private outlay, formal education has often proven to be a waste of limited resources for the vast majority of the children

and parents in developing nations. All societal rewards, in terms of jobs and incomes, seem to coincide with the type and level of schooling obtained; yet for substantial numbers of children, schooling either remains closed or proves to be an endless treadmill once they are in the system. Education's promise of upward mobility seems to end only in failure and disappointment for the lowest classes.

Haiti, the focus of this research, confronts the whole spectrum of educational struggles which typically afflict developing nations. Although the 1964 Haitian constitution declared that education is to be mandatory and free, less than 43 percent of the primary school population is currently enrolled in school, and nowhere in Haiti is schooling free. In fact, the cost of primary schooling is beyond the means of most Haitian peasants. Yet, the demand for education is very high, and parents accept substantial financial and personal burdens to enroll at least one of their children in school. Access to education is thus highly stratified because of costs. The 43 percent primary school students are the children of less than 30 percent of Haitian households (Millot and Easton, 1985, p. 2-138).

The traditional school system in Haiti is based, in curriculum and form, on the French colonial school system which is still prevalent worldwide throughout the former colonies of France. It consists of one cycle that is six years in length: Cours Préparatoire I and II, Cours Elémentaire I and II, and Cours Moyen I and II. The cycle is preceded by a preparatory class, Enfantine, which although planned to last one year, often consists of two classes that may be repeated several times until the youngster is deemed ready to enter primary school.

There is no automatic progression from grade to grade and numerous

repetitions are common. The official language of classroom instruction is French, but many teachers, weak in French, teach in Creole. At the conclusion of the sixth year, Moyen II, all students take a state-administered and graded examination to qualify for graduation. This examination, which is written in French, is administered simultaneously across Haiti and fosters a great deal of student and parent anxiety. The year after this study's data was collected, the Certificat d'Etudes Primaires (CEP) examination was nationally replaced by a similar test, but it is now organized, administered and graded on a district, rather than national, level.

As the 1978 Wiesler research on "wastage" within the Haitian school system depicted, becoming enrolled is but the first step. The odds against a student successfully completing even primary education are extremely high. It is a gamble, with a very likely lack of profit in the unlikely hope of receiving very large returns. The chance of "winning" may be slim, but if you don't "play," you have no chance at all. The popular Creole name for primary schools, écoles borlette, likens them to a lottery and conveys this meaning precisely.

Although the Haitian peasant has for centuries invested heavily in education as an escape route from poverty, the level of government financing in education represents a mere 1 to 1.5 percent of the gross domestic product (UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1983). This figure is considerably below the average educational commitment in the rest of the developing world. The bulk of schooling costs is laid squarely on the shoulders of the students and parents.

An extensive education and human resources assessment conducted in 1985 by Florida State University on a grant from USAID analyzed

Haiti's overall education expenditures, both public and private, and concluded, "The will and ability of families to pay for schooling seems to be the mainspring for the future expansion of education" (Millot and Easton, 1985, p. 2-55). If education is to make a positive impact on Haitian society in this or the following generation, it can do so only to the extent that the Haitian people involve themselves, at their own expense, in education.

The traditional measurements of inputs to education, such indices as the portion of persons in each age group enrolled in school, classroom size, expenditure per pupil, and teacher training as operative criteria for evaluating the educational systems are valid from the perspective of the government administrators, but virtually meaningless to peasant investors. The Haitian peasant, who must choose whether to invest his scant financial resources in schooling for one or more of his children, is hardly aware of, much less takes into consideration, the educational philosophy of the Ministry of Education. He asks uncomplicated, pragmatic questions with the outcomes expected to be tangible, profitable returns on his investment. Consequently, the basis for judging the effectiveness of Haiti's educational system need not be uniquely on input or process variables, but needs to focus on output indices that yield a more direct assessment of deficiencies, gaps and additional requirements. While policymakers tend to be preoccupied with national statistics and trends, peasant parents are merely concerned about the real outcomes of education in the lives of their own children.

A great many strategies might be implemented to improve the quality of the local community school or to reform the entire Haitian primary

education system, but if the "improvements" do not enhance the performance in accordance with the criteria laid down by those who risk the most by investing in it--peasant families--those families will cease to risk their limited resources on schooling. The system at the local, mission or national level, regardless of its attempts at reform, will face financial constraints potentially leading to collapse.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This comparative/evaluative research was structured and conducted to evaluate the educational outcomes of Haitian primary schools as measured against the three criteria which comprise the peasant's mandate to the bâton vieillesse: 1) educational survivorship, 2) family education contribution, and 3) life-skills competencies. Comparative analysis of case study data from Haitian primary schools indicates relationships between school, family and student survivor characteristics, and the performance or non-performance of these evaluative criteria.

NEED FOR THE RESEARCH

"On the whole, there is a paucity of factual, empirical and relevant studies of grass roots educational problems of youth in less developed countries" (Gill, 1977, p. 96). The intent of this study is to address just such serious pragmatic, as well as theoretical, needs in the Haitian education system. The enormity of the educational task in Haiti, as in most developing countries, has allowed neither time nor resources for conducting research on the causes of student failure and ultimate dropout. Though these dropouts constitute the vast majority of youth, they are termed school "wastage" (Coombs, 1973), and are silently dropped from the Ministry of Education's statistics, becoming nobody's primary concern, yet everybody's embarrassment. With such

educational outcomes, schools cease to function as "learning systems" and become simply "rejection systems."

The thrust of this evaluative research is to address such qualitative voids--not necessarily on a national general level, but at the grass roots specific level--drawing on students themselves as primary data sources in the context of their own homes, schools and communities. A foundational concept is the conviction that any Haitian educational reform cannot overlook the perspectives of the peasant family unless Haiti is prepared to underwrite the enormous education budget necessary to provide education--in fact, mandatory and free education as provided for in the constitution of 1964. Until such a time, peasants will continue to invest in education only to the extent that it meets their pragmatic expectations for the provision of a better quality of life.

The purpose of the research is not primarily to pass judgment on the formal school system, but to analyze its effects on Haitian youth, and to provide guidelines for the enhancement of schooling experiences and the encouragement of the dissemination of the benefits of schooling to the entire family and local community.

Beneficiaries of such a study follow: a) the school child whose failure in school is a personal tragedy of disappointment and emotional scars at having failed his family in so great a responsibility; b) the peasant family, which risks much-needed resources on education, recognizing it to be the only escape route from generation to generation of poverty; c) school teachers and directors, who commit themselves to a nearly impossible task under adverse conditions for wages barely above subsistence level; d) missions and development agencies (who provide the private sector of schooling, which serves 59 percent of Haiti's primary school attenders), because they recognize the validity of basic

education as an essential element in community and national development; and e) the Haitian government, which has recently shown a serious commitment to educational reform aimed at improving the quality of its primary education system.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS: EVALUATIVE CRITERIA

Empirical research into the Haitian school system at a national level has consisted primarily of quantitative measures. Studies such as Wiesler's "La Scolarisation en Haïti" (1978) and Petit-Frère's "L'Education Haïtienne en Question" (1980) are excellent exposés of the quantitative limitations, and descriptively portray an inadequate system on the verge of collapse. The overall status has been clearly depicted. What little measurement has been placed against value criteria has often been based on conjecture, and reflects the urban and Western orientation of most educational programs. The quantitative nature of the measurements has restricted the criteria primarily to statements of varying degrees of "good and bad"--where "big and many" is good, while "few and small" is bad.

While the available range of relevant value criteria is thus largely unresearched, it was the intent of this study to delimit the criteria to three value criteria placed on Haitian primary education by those who risk the most by investing in it--peasant families. The three value criteria on which this comparative/evaluative research is based are the following: 1) educational survivorship, 2) family education contribution, and 3) life-skills competencies.*

*These expected outcomes of schooling are partially derived from the researcher's four years of residence in Haiti, relating at the grass roots level to children and their families in 250 primary schools as Associate Director of Education for Compassion International.

Their expressions of hope and frustration remained alive and increasingly relevant, however, throughout the analysis of literature and precedent research. From "The Equality of Educational Opportunity" study (Coleman, et al., 1966), which launched the United States into a decade of analysis of influences on academic achievement (specifically, socio-economic status of students) to the massive "International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement" study (the first attempt to predict the effect of schooling and student background cross-culturally in 22 countries), the academicians, in different terminology, were asking the same questions. Specifically, value criterion number one, educational survivorship, and number three, life-skills competencies, have their roots in the "internal efficiency" and "academic achievement" literature cited in the first half of Chapter Two.

The second value criterion, family education contribution, is rooted in the sociologists' camp. For example, Mead's Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap, which set a precedent for describing youth serving as learning resources in the context of traditional society, categorized societies as prefigurative (experiencing very slow change), cofigurative (experiencing fairly rapid change) or postfigurative (experiencing very rapid change). Haitian society is undergoing sufficiently rapid change that the experiences of the children, (e.g., schooling), differ markedly from those of their parents so that elders often must learn from the experiences and abilities of their children (Mead, 1970). The extent to which students serve as such learning linkages to peers, siblings and parents encompasses this second of three value criteria imposed on the school by familial expectations in Haiti.

Further foundations for the family education contribution criterion are based in the studies of learning institutions in traditional societies, such as Families and Communities as Educators (Leichter, 1979), and the literature on nonformal education, such as New Paths to Learning: For Rural Children and Youth (Coombs, et al., 1973). These and the literature on peer and sibling dynamics are further discussed in the second half of Chapter Two.

Educational Survivorship

The first of the value criteria to be considered is primary school survivorship. In many societies, survival to the completion of sixth grade without repetition of grades or withdrawal from school would be considered the norm, rather than a quality-based value criteria. In Haiti, the youth who completes primary school at all is one of a select minority.

Figure 1.1 depicts a somewhat more optimistic perspective (1985) of the "wastage" phenomenon described earlier by Wiesler. It shows the general flow by following a cohort grouping of 1,000 same-age children. It indicates that of 1,000 school-age community children, typically 400 will never receive any schooling at all; 268 will survive only the first grade before dropping out; and 144 will complete only between two and five grades. Only 52 out of the 1,000 community children will survive to become primary school graduates--achieving the mandate of the bâton vieillesse.

Table 1.1

Structure of the Haitian Labor Force
by Level of Instruction and Branch of Activity
1982

Sector	No Instruction	Primary	Secondary	Teacher Training	Higher Education	Vocational & Technical	Total
Agriculture	1,029,699	172,408	14,777	1,268	2,505	2,804	1,222,861
	(84.2)	(14.1)	(1.2)	(0.1)	(0.2)	(0.2)	(100.0)
Mining	11,494	3,585	2,945	236	420	529	19,209
	(59.7)	(18.6)	(15.3)	(1.5)	(2.2)	(2.7)	(100.0)
Manufactures	45,390	52,242	22,420	738	1,190	1,286	123,266
	(36.8)	(42.4)	(18.2)	(.6)	(1.0)	(1.0)	(100.0)
Construction	10,199	8,830	2,615	34	243	271	22,192
	(46.0)	(39.8)	(11.8)	(0.1)	(1.1)	(1.2)	(100.0)
Commerce and Restaurants	203,628	64,007	15,669	553	1,105	766	285,728
	(71.3)	(22.4)	(5.4)	(0.2)	(0.4)	(0.3)	(100.0)
Transportations and Communications	6,529	5,375	4,168	24	159	130	16,385
	(39.8)	(32.8)	(25.4)	(0.1)	(1.0)	(0.8)	(100.0)
Financial Services	392	973	2,105	55	280	225	4,030
	(9.7)	(24.1)	(52.2)	(1.4)	(6.9)	(5.6)	(100.0)
Other Services	35,374	31,594	43,531	3,476	7,012	3,489	124,476
	(28.4)	(25.4)	(35.0)	(2.8)	(5.6)	(2.8)	(100.0)
Non-Defined Services	20,014	13,977	13,908	464	1,275	1,624	51,262
	(39.0)	(27.3)	(27.1)	(0.9)	(2.5)	(3.2)	(100.0)
All Activities	1,362,719	352,991	121,538	6,848	14,189	11,124	1,869,409
	(72.9)	(18.9)	(6.5)	(0.4)	(0.7)	(0.6)	(100.0)

Source: Haitian Institute of Statistics, Résultats Anticipes du Recencement Général, 1984 in Haiti: Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment, 1985

Schooling does not necessarily equate to education from the peasant perspective. To complete anything less than all six years of primary school and secure the coveted Certificat d'Etudes Primaires (CEP) is to ultimately fail. Social status, career opportunities and promise of upward mobility afforded the CEP holder are what the familial education investment seeks to obtain. From an objective point of view, one hesitates to regard one who has had one year of schooling and another who has had five as dropouts; nevertheless, from the perspective of most Haitian parents, both are "failures." Similarly, numerous grade repetitions spell disaster for the family which must sacrifice 25 to 30 percent of its annual income for each child in each academic year so wasted.

Government policymakers can concur with this evaluative criterion, which they would label "internal efficiency" of the school system. They would agree that lowering the rate of repetition and dropout is foundational to any other educative quality reforms. Although educators may view mere survival as a hollow guarantee that adequate learning has occurred, from the perspective of the Haitian peasant, it is a bare essential if any other benefits are to be derived from the education investment. As such, its rate of performance was analyzed along with community, school, family and student characteristics data.

Family Education Contribution

From a Western sociological perspective, one tends to segregate the roles and functions of two key community educational institutions--the school, which presumably educates, but does not socialize; and the

home or family, which presumably socializes, but does not educate (Getzels, 1978). Existing on the brink of survival does not allow the Haitian peasant the luxury of such a dichotomy. His is a concept of "limited resources."

Limited resources implies that the gathering of resources, financial or informational, for personal gain over one's family members or neighbors is unacceptable social behavior. This value is foundational, making the act of sharing one of a child's earliest socialization lessons. The bâton vieillesse is the only element of society ensconced in both educational institutions, and as such bears the responsibility to share what he learns in school with those of his family who are unschooled. It is perceived as no different than the expectation that any child with two mangoes would naturally give one to his brother. The economic strategy of investing educationally in only one or two children in the family is thus a sound, culturally-derived decision.

The sharing of school-derived resources not only provides a uniquely long-term financial contribution to elderly parents, but likewise produces an immediate return on the investment. The youth in school is expected to serve as the family reader, writer, accountant and basic teacher to the unschooled siblings, and often, adults.

With the advent of widespread schooling this generation, Haitian society would be characterized by anthropologist Mead in Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap (1970), as "cofigurative" bordering on "postfigurative." In such societies, the rapid rate of development and social change causes the experiences of children (e.g., schooling) to differ so markedly from that of the adults that the normal downward flow of learning, from adult to child, is in some

areas reversed, so that the adults often learn from the experiences of their children. The experiences of a schooled child also differ so radically from those of the unschooled child that the stage is set for effective peer instruction. Under such conditions, the schooled child feels an obligation to serve not only as family scribe, but to teach basic literacy and numeracy skills to parents and siblings, both older and younger.

In the current Haitian context, where 57 percent of all school-age children do not attend school; where 93 percent of the national labor force does not have as much as a primary school education, 73 percent of whom have no schooling at all (see Table 1.1), an educational outcome of a primary school may well be expected to be a response to this peasant evaluative criterion, by encouraging and even facilitating the use of its youth as family educational resources.

The extent to which the youth of each primary school share what they learn in that school with their parents is thus the second value criterion that was analyzed along with other community, school, family and student characteristics data.

Life-Skills Competencies

The third value criterion measures the extent to which a student is able to utilize his schooling functionally in life. The pragmatic conclusion to the educational investment of the peasant family is that the youth be equipped through schooling to have the knowledge, competencies and ultimately the credentials essential for acquiring an acceptable vocation which will adequately support his parents and others dependent on him. Beyond his school survival and immediate benefits to family educational needs, the <u>bâton vieillesse</u> has not

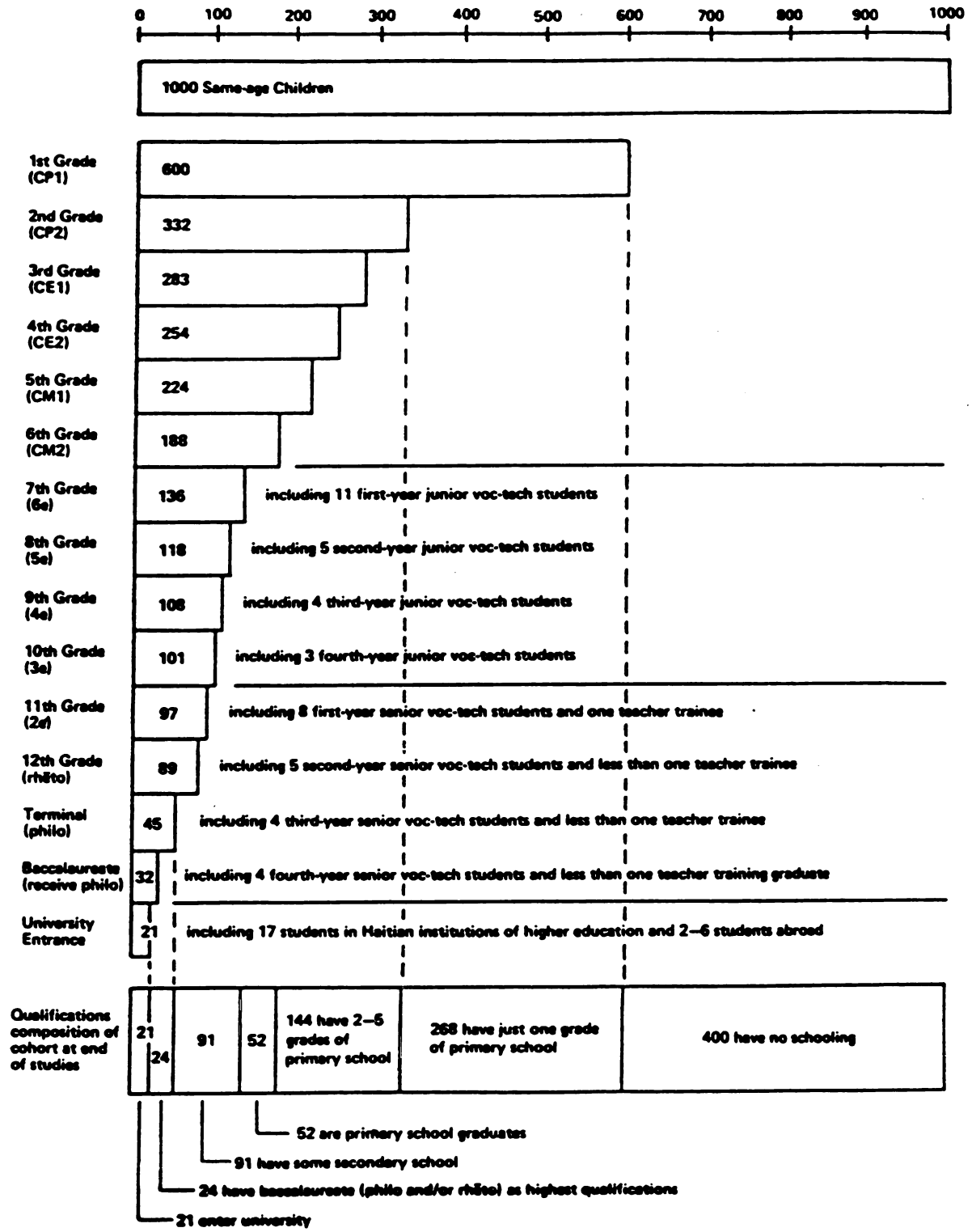

Figure 1.1

General Flow Model of the
Haitian School System
Cohort of 1,000 Same-age Children

Source: Haiti: Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment, 1985

achieved the educational intents until he is employed and actively supporting his family, both immediate and extended.

Table 1.2 describes the occupational status a Haitian youth can expect to achieve with various corresponding levels of education. Only rarely does a peasant family dare to dream, much less plan, beyond the next immediate goal. Only 67 percent of the primary school graduates ever enter secondary school, which will in turn produce six rejects for every graduate (Millot and Easton, 1985, p. 2-86). Any vocational attainment below low-skilled labor (i.e., primary school graduation) is a double tragedy for the young student. He is not only deemed a failure in school, but is often no longer interested in tilling the land, tending animals or most other village activities.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Foundational to this research is the recognition of the importance of basic education to the national development of Haiti in general, and to the enhancement of life quality to the peasant family specifically. In Haiti the vast majority of the financial burden for education is not borne by the government, but by the people, 80 percent of whom are barely able to support themselves as subsistence farmers. Peasant investment is the financial backbone of the education system, and withdrawal of peasant participation could spell economic disaster not only for the Ministry of Education, but for the national progress itself. Masters of risk, peasants will only continue to invest in something if it produces the return they expect. The research seeks to evaluate the actual educational outcomes of Haitian primary schools as measured against peasant expectations.

At tremendous personal sacrifice, the typical peasant family

Table 1.2

Haitian Occupational Status With Corresponding Educational Requirements

Occupational Status	Educational Requirements
Senior Management ("VIP")	(University and 'Grandes Ecoles'). University --four years or more of post-secondary education outside of the university, with diploma or equivalent.
Middle Management/ Technical ("Professional")	(Post-secondary vocational education). Any training received after obtaining the secondary school diploma or equivalent and prior to the fourth year of post-secondary education.
Administrative ("Semi-Professional")	(Post-secondary general education). General secondary or teacher training diploma--or equivalent--plus about three years of post-secondary education.
Skilled Labor	(Secondary education). Any training received after completion of primary school and until or prior to completion of secondary school, with technical or administrative qualifications.
Low-Skilled Labor	(Complete primary education). Any training received within five or six years of primary schooling with on-the-job training or apprenticeship; or certificate of completion of primary school.
Unskilled Labor	Incomplete primary school education or mere literacy.

Source: Ministry of Planning, Directoire de la Programmation Economique et Sociale - Main d'Oeuvre Emploi et Ressources Humaines, 1982

selects one child, its bâton vieillesse, as an investment in education. On this youth's shoulders are placed specific expectations: 1) his survival to primary school completion, 2) his ability to serve as a family resource by passing on his school-acquired skills to his unschooled family members, and 3) his ability to use his schooling to advance to higher education or to obtain a vocation which will ultimately fulfill his responsibilities by allowing him to ensure adequate familial support in years to come.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The study was conducted as a comparative/evaluative research on a series of seven Haitian primary school case studies, and sought to accomplish two data collection tasks. The first data collection task was to obtain measurements of performance or non-performance from each of the case studies on each of the three value criteria mentioned above: 1) educational survivorship, 2) family education contribution, and 3) life-skills competencies. The second data collection task was to obtain quantifiable data on a spectrum of variables which characterize each of the case-study primary schools. Such environmental variables included school facilities, teacher characteristics, traits of the school's chief product (graduating students), and the home/family environments of these "surviving" Haitian youths.

Data relating to each of the three value criteria were analyzed to classify each of the case-study primary schools in a range from "high," to "medium," to "low" for each value criterion. Analysis of school, teacher, home and student (Moyen II) variables followed to identify variables that were positively associated with the performance on each of the three value criteria.

A stratified sample of seven primary schools, each with complete primary school programs (all six primary grades, from Enfantine to Moyen II), were randomly drawn from the total population of 30 Salvation Army primary schools dispersed throughout the five geo-political districts of Haiti.

The data originated from three research instruments--the student interview (see Appendix A), the teacher questionnaire (see Appendix B), and a school facilities survey (see Appendix C). Each was administered to each sample school during the course of a single school day to ensure minimal interpersonal contact between research participants.

This study thus looks at the relations between the three value criteria and four sets of data: 1) school characteristics, 2) teacher characteristics, 3) home/family environment, and 4) student (Moyen II) traits. Examination of both positive and negative associations between performance on each criterion and the four separate sets of data enabled a combined analysis to be effected. Findings served as a basis for suggesting guidelines for the enhancement of school performance in keeping with those educational outcomes valued by the school's community.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Terms are used in the research report with the following stipulated meanings.

Youth Efforts to delineate youth as a category distinct from child and adult populations indicate that no single definition is universally acceptable. Criteria utilized include physiological, psychological, medical, social, legal, economic and anthropological descriptions. This research focused exclusively on "age," defining youth in the Haitian culture as those young people ages 14 through 20 who have

actively assumed roles in the work force, but are as yet economically and socially dependent on adults, and are generally excluded from the major decision-making process (Herskovits, 1971). The youth in the research sample were exclusively Moyen II students who ranged in age from 14 to 19 years.

Rural/Semi-rural/Urban While the term rural is comprehensive and non-specific, differing from country to country, here it refers to life on the subsistence farm in the country, more than 10 kilometers from a community of 10,000 people or less. Semi-rural refers to life situated within a 10-kilometer radius of a town of 10,000 or more (a bicycle-commuting distance). Urban refers to life located within a town of 10,000 people or more.

Siblings Webster's Third New International Dictionary (unabridged), 1961, refers to the old English meaning of "sib" as "one who is kindred or related by blood." This definition best incorporates the meaning of sibling in Haitian society where the extended family is very much a social entity. Pre-testing showed that to confine a Haitian youth to a "brother-or-sister-who-has-both-the-same-parents-as-yourself" definition of sibling was akin to introducing a totally new social concept. This research, therefore, refers to "related children living in one's home" as the concept for sibling.

Role Role is "a socially recognized pattern of behavior within accepted boundaries in determined situations" (O'Gorman, 1976, p. 1).

Curriculum Curriculum is "the concern for decisions about what should be taught, why, to whom, and under what conditions" (Ward, N.D.).

Education From the perspective of the Haitian peasant, education and schooling are virtually synonymous, although in the community,

schooling does not have a monopoly on learning. Education is the life-long process of developing knowledge, skills and attitudes regardless of where, when and how. Learning requires a variety of community agencies in addition to the school, including the family, peers and church.

SCOPE AND DELIMITATIONS

The approach of the research was to analyze seven case-study schools to provide reliable guidelines for decisions about school improvements and the design of nonformal/informal education programs for unschooled Haitian youths. The primary thrust of the research was one of heuristic concern, not generalizability. Therefore, it has limited potential for generalization beyond application in certain Haitian contexts.

The most limited scope of functional generalization is the population of 30 Armée du Salut primary schools geographically dispersed in urban, semi-rural and rural areas in all five major districts of Haiti.

However, these schools, supported not by the government but by a religious organization, are typical of the active and growing private sector in Haitian education. In 1982-83, 59 percent of Haiti's primary school students were enrolled in private schools, the enrollment by geographic departments ranging from 47.0 to 68.8 percent (see Table 1.3). Much of what the data revealed is considered applicable on a nationwide basis, since these schools face similar financial and logistical constraints. But for all practical purposes, the scope must be delimited to this private sector.

Table 1.3

Percent Enrollment in Haiti's Private Schools by Department, 1982-83

Department	Private	Percent of Total	Total
Ouest	154,459	68.8%	224,622
Nord	45,121	52.9	85,353
Nord-Est	13,303	47.0	28,326
Nord-Ouest	25,870	54.2	47,741
Artibonite	69,823	62.0	112,600
Centre	24,806	61.4	40,383
Sud	38,283	54.2	70,614
Sud-Est	19,929	47.0	42,410
Grand-Anse	38,114	53.7	70,992
Haiti	429,713	59.4%	723,041

Source: DEN, Annuaire Statistique, 1982-83 (unpublished)

A second delimitation was due to the nature of the research population and sample. Subjectively, the primary schools of the Salvation Army are fairly representative of the whole spectrum of primary schools across Haiti. However, the necessity to objectively rate them as "high," "medium," or "low" on the basis of the three value criteria was recognized to have been a comparative/evaluative analysis within a selected subset of Haitian schools. The ranking of the population on the overall continuum of Haitian primary schools was beyond the intended scope of the research.

Finally, due to the heuristic nature of the data collection and the limited precedent Haitian research, the data are, at best, less than technically elegant. The dynamics of social interaction with Haitian youth and school teachers of limited formal education made it

necessary to use some open-ended questions and impossible to limit the processes to strictly quantifiable data. Therefore, the sophistication level of analysis techniques is relatively insignificant, reporting means and percentages instead of correlation coefficients or employing regression analysis.

OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS

Chapter One presents the problem with which the research is concerned: the evaluation of educational outcomes of Haitian primary schools from the perspective of their chief supporters--peasant parents. The specific value criteria and historical background are provided.

In Chapter Two, precedent literature and research are presented in two major sections: 1) factors affecting academic performance in primary schools of traditional societies, and 2) youth roles as education resources.

In Chapter Three, the research methodology that was employed in the study is identified, the value criteria and research design are outlined, and data sources and procedures are described.

In Chapter Four, data from the main sources are analyzed. The case-study schools are evaluated on their level of performance on each of the value criteria, and the findings and analyses are summarized.

In Chapter Five, conclusions are drawn and recommendations are made, based on the findings of the research as analyzed in Chapter Four.

Chapter Two

PRECEDENT LITERATURE

The nature of the research questions of this comparative evaluative study necessitated a blending of two areas of inquiry: 1) factors affecting academic performance in primary schools of traditional societies, and 2) youth roles as learning resources.

FACTORS AFFECTING ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Much of the literature generated on the education of young people in developing countries is repetitive, jargonistic, and not founded on factual, empirical research (Gill, 1977). This review of pertinent literature attempts, however, to identify primarily that literature which is derived from actual research discipline and that which has contributed to the research design.

Historic Perspective on the Issue

Prior to the 1960s, Americans had for generations believed that education was good, and therefore, that more education must be better. Such was the commitment to education that the education of the general public was measured by the average number of years of schooling completed by the adult population. Education was assumed to take place almost exclusively in the classroom.

The 1960s brought tumultuous years for formal education as research began to give evidence that children learn in many ways and in many places--from each other, from their families, and from the society

around them. Educators became painfully conscious of the shortcomings of schools and the limitations they contained as they sought to provide education equally to all of America's children. The evidence even led some to seriously question the value of schooling itself.

Research of the era supplied negative evidence to support the attack on schooling. "A number of research studies found relatively little relationship between academic achievement and the amount of time children spent in school--either the number of hours per day or the number of days per year" (Cass, 1974, p. 59).

Determinants of School Achievement in Developed Countries

A massive federal study was launched in 1966 in response to the criticism of schooling. It was "The Equality of Educational Opportunity" study, popularly known as the "Coleman Report," and its findings quickly put schools and educators on the defensive. Evidence indicated that the schools and their resources appeared to have little influence on academic achievement, but that a child's social-class background was very closely related to his performance in the classroom (Coleman, et al., 1966).

Meanwhile, in Great Britain, a similar research commissioned by the Central Advisory Council for England, "Children and Their Primary Schools," commonly known as the "Plowden Report," reached the same conclusions.

While the apparent impotence of school in the Western world was upsetting, the implications for the Third World were disastrous. Struggling to develop and raise the socio-economic status of their unschooled and poverty-stricken masses, developing nations had just begun to invest heavily in school education as a viable route to national

development. Between 1960 and 1968, for example, public expenditures on education doubled in Africa and Latin America, and nearly tripled in Asia (Simmons, 1980).

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) was organized in 1958, and located within the UNESCO Institute of Education. The IEA had a two-fold mandate. The first part was to develop internationally valid evaluation instruments. Critics claimed that the IEA "conceived of the world as one big educational laboratory where a great variety of practices in terms of school structure and curricula were tried out" (Comber and Keeves, 1973, p. 10). The second part of the mandate was to design a survey of existing educational facilities and practices, but to go beyond the purely descriptive aspects to identify those particular characteristics in curriculum, pedagogy, and school physical facilities which might explain why some students perform better than others (Husen, 1979).

About the time of the release of the Coleman and Plowden reports, the IEA began a massive international study to identify those factors that determined student success in the schools of 22 countries, including the United States. Six subject areas (science, reading comprehension, literature, English, French and civic education) were surveyed at three age levels (10, 14 and 18) over a period of nine years.

At the time, there were very few precedent studies from which to draw. "The IEA was the first attempt to predict the effects of schooling and student backgrounds across countries" (Heyneman and Loxley, 1982, p. 14).

The data collection task was ambitious. The amount of data from which the IEA could draw conclusions was as large as had ever been

acquired in the social sciences. Participating in the design, validation and administration of the instruments were 300 experts representing 20 countries and 14 languages. By 1973 the IEA had gathered data on a sample of 10,000 schools, 50,000 teachers, and had test scores in its six subjects on approximately 260,000 students.

The process of data reduction and analysis of the nearly 500 independent variables was widely criticized in a decade of debate and subsequent studies, but the conclusions based on the international sample roughly paralleled those of the previous single nation studies (Coleman and Plowden), which had touched off the concern and intensive debate. The primary conclusion of all three studies was, higher academic performance is commonly found among children from privileged economic backgrounds (Thorndike, 1975).

The IEA study's strong support of the conclusions of the Coleman and Plowden reports concerning the powerful influence of home background on success in the classroom was found to be particularly important at the earlier age levels (10 and 14 years), and in the areas of reading comprehension, literature and civic education. Public factors that were most closely related to student achievement included: 1) the father's occupation (economic and social class), 2) the father's and mother's levels of education, and 3) the number of books in the home. These are all clearly "home-oriented" and reflect attitudes and values of the home environment.

The IEA data added one important element to educators' awareness of the problem. It was "documentation for the fact that throughout the world, in many different cultures, children develop the basis for future verbal capacity for academic success in contemporary schools, before they ever enter school" (Cass, 1974, p. 59).

Three lone factors were found that strongly related schooling to academic achievement across national systems of education: 1) opportunity to learn--the degree of student exposure to a given area of study, 2) teacher competence, both in subject matter and teaching techniques, and 3) amount of time a student devoted to a subject.

Out of the controversy came the general conclusion that the greatest value of the Coleman, Plowden and IEA studies was not the few questions they answered, but the new ones they raised and the fervor of debate and research they fostered focusing on the differences between developed and developing nations in terms of true determinants of school achievement.

Determinants of School Achievement in Developing Countries

The next five years in the research revealed radical divisions between educators who supported the IEA findings and those who argued from the perspective of specific developing countries that the IEA findings were not universally valid.

Supporters of the IEA, like Simmons of the World Bank and Alexander of the International Monetary Fund, lent quick evidence of support in 1975. "The Determinants of School Achievement in Developing Countries: A Review of the Research" sought to lend historic creedence to the IEA stand that "the determinants of student achievement appear to be basically the same in both developing and developed countries" (Simmons and Alexander, 1978 p. 341). They further affirmed that "increasing the quality or quantity of most of the traditional inputs, such as teacher training or expenditures per student, is not likely to improve student achievement."

As evidence, Simmons and Alexander cited 19 statistically valid

education production function studies conducted in 11 developing countries analyzing the effect on student achievement of various educational inputs. The variables included all 500 from the IEA study alone. After analysis of all the studies, there were but four policy variables which were found to be significant across most countries in which they were tested:

1. Gross expenditure variables, such as cost of school facilities per student or average teacher salary, are not important predictors of student performance. Thus, unit costs, particularly at the secondary and higher levels, could be significantly lowered without affecting performance.

2. Teacher motivation, as indicated by the actions of teachers--for example, the time spent in lesson preparation--is positively related to performance. Policy research should, therefore, be directed toward identifying highly motivated teachers.

3. Textbook availability at the primary level may be an important predictor on performance in developing countries. An associated variable is the availability and use of a library at primary and early secondary grades.

4. The amount of homework performed by students, the physical conditions of home study, and the amount of reading performed at home are important predictors of student school achievement. (Simmons and Alexander, 1978, p. 354).

Thus, the only variables that Simmons' and Alexander's extensive research review can recommend to possibly improve the internal efficiency of the educational system in developing countries are the reduction of unit costs, high teacher motivation, availability of textbooks and other reading materials, and quality homework experience.

Instead, their review of the research shows that the greatest gains occur simply because the student is removed from his home environment into a school environment. Although their data do not include the effects of nonformal education, from the perspective of formal

education they conclude, "Therefore, policies that give a student a longer exposure to learning at school will, on the average, have a significant impact on his cognitive achievement" (Simmons and Alexander, 1978, p. 355).

With a preponderance of such research, during the 1970s many teachers and school administrators became aware that school failure was primarily a problem that affected the children of the poor. A general concern arose that they could do little to help the underprivileged child to learn. It also followed logically that poor children who were undernourished and often lacked adequate learning stimulation at home could not hope to survive, much less compete academically.

Then from the developing nations came a new series of research studies that shed new light and hope by re-analyzing the IEA data, not from the broad spectrum of 22 developed and developing nations, but from the context of their own nations.

In 1976 Heyneman published a study entitled, "Influences on Academic Achievement: A Comparison of Results from Uganda and More Industrialized Societies." In his re-analysis of IEA data, the generalizability of Simmons' and Alexander's findings were questioned. "It was shown that the association between 'pre-school influences' and academic achievement diminished in linear fashion with the national per capita income of the countries in the IEA sample--the poorer the country, the weaker the association" (Heyneman and Loxley, 1982, p. 15). In 1982 Heyneman published an article in Sociology of Education entitled, "Influences on Academic Achievement Across High and Low Income Countries:

A Re-analysis of IEA Data," in which he concluded:

> The fact is that when data on school and teacher characteristics are allowed to express the full measure of impact in their country of origin, these characteristics in low income countries can explain between two and three times the amount of achievement variable that they can in high income countries; and the poorer the country in economic terms, the more impact on achievement school quality and teachers seem to have (Heyneman, 1982, p. 19).

A host of studies followed to explain why determinants of school achievement in developing countries differed from those in developed countries.

In India, Shuluka studied "The Achievements of Indian Children in Mother Tongue (Hindi) and Science." His data on science and reading comprehension among 10-year-olds showed that the proportion of achievement variance explained by pre-school influences (socio-economic status, sex and age) was 90 percent less than the median for other IEA countries, and that the contribution of the Indian school was from three to four times more. "As predictors, socio-economic status and other pre-school influences at age 10 were seven times more powerful in the United States than they were in India" (Shuluka, 1974, p. 246).

In Papua, New Guinea, Pope and Jones found in their research, "Home Background as a Determinant of Success in a Papua, New Guinea High School" that pre-school influences were consistently found to have less impact in non-industrialized society (Pope and Jones, 1974).

Likewise in Ghana, Peil's "Secondary Education in Ghana: Private Enterprise and Social Selection," confirmed that the school achievement in poor countries is less influenced by pre-school influences and more influenced by characteristics internal to the school (Peil, 1974).

Similar studies emerged in Uganda, such as Currie's "Stratification in Uganda: Schooling and Elite Recruitment" in 1974, and Silvey's "Long-Range Prediction of Educability and its Determinants in East Africa" in 1972. Other research was in Kenya: Olson's 1975 "Social Background and its Influence on African Secondary School Performance," and a 1973 Ph.D. dissertation from Stanford University, Mwaniki's "Education and Socioeconomic Development in Kenya: A Study of the Distribution of Resources in Kenya."

From this international spectrum of studies conducted in developing countries with conclusions quite contradictory to the Coleman, Plowden and IEA studies, three basic theories began to emerge concerning why determinants of school achievement in developing countries differ from those in developed countries. These basic theories guided the research on into the mid-1980s (Heyneman, 1980).

1. Language, not economic material resources, is the reason why "home background" predicts school achievement in industrialized societies. In less industrialized societies, because the richness of language may not differ as markedly between a wealthy and a less wealthy child, the average difference in school achievement may be less. This theory was researched by Bulcock, Clifton and Beebe on the basis of data collected in India and England--"A Language Resource Model of Science Achievement: Comparisons Between 14-year-olds in England and India" (Bulcock, Clifton and Beebe, 1977).

2. Process variables, which are consistent between the expectations from the school and the expectations from the home, are more reliable predictors of academic achievement than home circumstances, regardless of the parental socio-economic status. An example of such

a process variable would be parental demands that students "study hard." This theory was derived from Kifer's study of dynamics in 18 countries, "A Cross-Cultural Study of the Impact of Home Environment Variables on Academic Achievement and Effective Traits" (Kifer, 1977).

3. There is a time factor that explains why language, schooling value and self-confidence are smaller between poor and privileged children in some developing nations. It is the span of time it takes for an economically privileged group within a developing country to evolve into a distinct social class (Heyneman, 1979).

YOUTH ROLES AS LEARNING RESOURCES

The second area of inquiry, necessitated by the dual nature of the value criteria upon which this research is based, is the educative role of youth in society. The second value criterion expressed the Haitian parental expectation that an outcome of schooling should be the student's ability to serve as a family resource--not only as scribe, but also to teach his school-derived skills to his unschooled family members.

The following sections review the precedent literature and research to establish a philosophical basis for the concept of youth serving in such educative roles, and to document the actual historical utilization of youth in the familial context (siblings and parents), and in the school context (peer instruction, tutorial functions).

Historic Perspective: Perceptions of Youth

The majority of empirical research on the concept of youth or adolescence comes from the perspective of Western scholars. In such

societies, this stage of life has been analyzed, codified and institutionalized to the point that few people now question the established characteristics. The perspective on youths in this phase of life is that they are victims of mental and emotional stress. In Adolescent Alienation, Schiamberg summarized the general perception. As youths reach most of their adult physical and mental growth, they experience the dichotomy of wanting independence and being treated as adults, but clinging to the freedom from responsibility they enjoyed as children (Schiamberg, 1973). The anxiety level of Western parents who have children in this stage runs extremely high, with the adolescent viewed as a limited family resource at best. The term "generation gap" depicts the family dynamic.

There is evidence in the literature that this perception of youth has not always been held historically in the West, and is not currently held in much of the world community.

In the West, this negative concept of youth, indeed even the term "adolescent," may be a recent phenomenon the origins of which may be traced to as recently as 1904 as the West began to experience the social ramifications of the booming industrial age (Schiamberg, 1973). Formerly, in the society of the agrarian family, the transition from childhood to adulthood was a steady, consistent, uninterrupted line, with each member of the family contributing fully to the overall family productive task to the extent he was physically and mentally capable. Youth were perceived as a family resource.

Kanter, in Work and Family in the United States: A Critical Review and Agenda for Research and Policy (1977), traced the historic causal chain leading to the transition. The central phenomenon was the role

of the family in the transition of our society from a rural agrarian economy to an industrialized economy. In the century prior to World War I, the family and the factory served each other. The family was the major recruiter of workers in many industries, channeling especially children into particular factories, and providing a source of discipline and of loyalty. With the rise of scientific management and the coming of child labor laws, the usefulness of the family in support of industry diminished. This culturally traumatic transition from agrarian to industrial lifestyle created the conditions that segregated youth as a segment of the population, who though physically able, were no longer legally permitted to engage in the family task. A period of limbo filled with uncertainty, uselessness, self-doubt and boredom was artificially created as Western youth were ushered into a sort of time lag between childhood and adulthood status (Hareven, 1975).

This continuity of flow from childhood to adulthood which precluded a negative concept of youth was a dynamic alive even in the pre-industrial global society. Aries, in Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life (1962), drawing not only on traditional literary material, but also on paintings, prints, frescoes and accounts of popular folklore, argued that even the idea of a distinct childhood is a modern one, a creation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He contends that no such stage of life can be discerned in medieval art, where, for example, youngsters from the age of two or three are portrayed as miniature adults. The emergence of childhood, like adolescence, came later, when during the late Renaissance, society experienced a growing demarcation of the household from the larger community.

The social dynamics of medieval Europe and pre-industrial United

States remain relevant in many of the traditional societies of the world today. Middleton, in From Child to Adult: Studies in the Anthropology of Education, describes the current social sphere of adult and child in a typical traditional society, the Tallensi of West Africa. In brief, it is unitary and undivided.

> The child is from the beginning oriented towards the same reality as its parents and has the same physical social material upon which to direct its cognitive and instinctual endowment. The interests, motives and purposes of children are identical with those of adults, but at a simpler level of organization. The so-called negative phase or adolescent instability which has been alleged to be universal is unknown in Tali society. The social sphere between adults and children is differentiated only in terms of relative capability. All participate in the same culture, the same round of life, but in varying degrees, corresponding to the stage of physical or mental development (Middleton, 1970, pp. 18-19).

In other traditional societies, there is no trauma for gradual independence and self-identity because the passage from child to adult is culturally ascribed by the passage of initiation rites. The expectations and responsibilties of each life segment are clearly defined and mutually exclusive.

This dynamic of just such a continuous and orderly social sphere from child to adult in traditional society is, in part, foundational to the concept of youth making contributions as resources to the learning tasks of the family in Haiti.

Youth Perceptions in Transition: Societal Shifts

Throughout history, youth have been instructed in the knowledge, skills and values held by their respective societies and deemed essential for active and productive roles as contributing adult members. The youth learned what the adults knew, and the knowledge flow was

unquestionably established one way--from adult to child. In such an educative model in traditional societies, a child can virtually see his own future as he observes his grandparents.

Mead, in Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap (1970), presented evidence that such a traditional model is becoming increasingly rare as the instability and change in the broader social structure of the world community is influencing the way in which one generation relates to another educationally. The above-mentioned traditional educative model Mead terms, "prefigurative."

Societies undergoing fairly rapid change tend to shift the learning flow to a two-way exchange, with a large proportion of children learning from their peers, who are at the same stage of learning as themselves. Mead calls these "cofigurative" societies.

Societies like the United States after World War II and many "rapidly developing" nations are termed "postfigurative." In these, the experiences of children (e.g., schooling) differ so dramatically from those of their elders, parents and grandparents, that the elders become immigrants in a sense to a new world, which has changed drastically since they themselves grew up, and they must learn from their children about how to live in that world (Mead, 1970).

Mead's point about temporal migration is supported by McLuhan, who described children of the so-called television generation, who have tastes and styles of thought that they present vividly to their parents (McLuhan, 1964). This is also consistent with historical research on geographic migration. Hanlin (1973) described the special roles of youth as linguistic interpreters and more general interpreters of the new culture to their parents, illustrating the role of youth as educator.

The movement of society from prefigurative to postfigurative need not be a national shift, but can occur in isolated and even temporary instances. It tends to occur during times of rapid technological advancement in which educators do not have direct access to the adult or decision-making segments of society, and "learning gaps" occur where practice lags behind available knowledge.

The youth as an educator phenomenon occurred in the early 1900s in the United States. Scientific research in agriculture made significant advancement in farming techniques essential for increased production of the largely agrarian U.S. society. With limited access to adult farmers, but with ready access to youth through formal education, youth clubs such as the 4-H Club involved young people in nonformal instruction, exposing them to the new techniques in the form of individualized agricultural projects. Adults observed the projects and learned from their children informally.

A similar learning gap occurred in Cuba in 1961 with functional literacy. In response to government appeal, 100,000 Cuban children, 40 percent of them younger than 15, joined in a massive battle against adult illiteracy among the rural poor. After 10 days of instruction, they ventured into the least accessible, poverty-stricken regions of the island in order to live and work in the homes of the campesinos. In less than one year, adult illiteracy was reduced from 20 percent to less than 5 percent--several hundred thousand adults were newly literate (Kozol, 1980).

Such gaps in technology and knowledge are now more the rule than the exception in the social context of many developing nations, such as in Haiti, where education systems are virtually unavailable to

rural adults and serve but a small percentage of the nation's youth.

Rapid social change is not, however, a requisite for youth roles as familial educators. Even in "prefigurative" societies, where the "child-teaching-a-parent" dynamic is not prevalent, youth often serve as an educational resource in the other direction, as caretakers of younger children (Leichter, 1974). In 1978, an international program called "Child-to-Child" was launched in England to utilize this phenomenon of "child as change agent" (Aarons and Hawes, 1979), by teaching and encouraging older children and especially school children to concern themselves with the health and general development of younger brothers and sisters. This was achieved by teaching simple preventive and curative activities and games to children in school so that they could pass the ideas on to their own families and community. The concept is based on a reality common throughout large areas of the world, where it is often not a parent who looks after the young child, but an older sibling usually does.

In 1930, Mead reported such a youth resource role in Growing Up In New Guinea, noting that girls and boys alike do a superior job of childcare to even parents. She observed that where parents were the principal caretakers, the child was likely to receive less exclusive attention and to be hurried toward self-reliance and efficacy.

Youth as Educator: Familial Context

In traditional societies, prior to the advent of formal schooling, education was viewed as the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes, and as a continuum on which the learning of children was inseparably linked to the experience of adults. Learning was primarily the function of the home, along with a variety of social agencies such as

the church, peer groups, the market-place and village water source (UNESCO, 1977). While new information could enter the society in the context of any single learning institution, it was rarely acted upon until it had circulated and gained acceptance in each related institution (Hobbs, 1978).

The advent of schooling altered both the process and the content of familial education. The school quickly became the single greatest source of new ideas, yet often operated as a monopoly on learning, the only institution with the power to accept or reject those who had access to it. In 1899, Dewey described the ensuing chasm between family and school in The School and Society. He argued that because of the move away from the agrarian household, where much of the adult world stood directly revealed before the eyes of the child, the school needed to recreate versions of the adult world to teach what the child had formerly learned in the household (Dewey, 1899).

The two clusters of learning activity, the family and the school, had almost no overlap and few or no connecting lines--except the youth. They alone tended to provide the linkage since they constituted the only segment of society to have active involvement in both learning institutions.

The literature on the family is as rich and diverse as the experiences within it. Like any educational institution, the family originates some educative efforts, mediates others, and actually insulates its members from still others.

> Educative efforts within the family involve not only parents teaching children, but children teaching parents, parents teaching one another and children teaching one another. And as with all educational institutions, these efforts within the family are fraught with the uncertainties, contradictions and ironies that inevitably mark any effort to teach anyone anything (Cremin, 1974, p. 85).

The research ranges from anthropologists' examinations of minute details of particular facets of the family in specific settings to sociologists' broader research of connections between family structures and societal structures. The definitions of the family vary widely as it is studied in different settings, from clear-cut nuclear family units to broadly defined extended family kinship groupings. Interaction between specific dyads within the family unit, such as siblings and child-parent, are of particular relevance to this research.

The educative dynamics of such dyads in the family unit are described by Leichter in The Family as Educator:

> The family is an arena in which virtually the entire range of human experience can take place. Warfare, violence, love, tenderness, honesty, deceit, private property, communal sharing, power manipulation, informed consent, formal status hierarchies, egalitarian decision-making--all can be found within the setting of the family. And so, also, can a variety of educational encounters, ranging from conscious, systematic instruction to repetitive, moment-to-moment influences at the margins of awareness (Leichter, 1974, p. 1).

THE EDUCATION OF SIBLINGS BY SIBLINGS

There are indications in the literature that siblings may have direct educational influence on one another. Siblings spend many hours together and share a wide range of activities. Since contacts within the nuclear family tend to be intimate and inclusive, sibling interaction has been shown to be marked by frankness, informality, cohesiveness, intensity and extensity (Irish, 1970). The way in which the education proceeds is so much a part of the fabric of daily existence that parents are sometimes not able to discern it at all.

Sutton-Smith and Rosenburg, in The Sibling, documented evidence that while first-borns tend to model their actions after parents,

later-borns model extensively after their elder siblings. Little data was available about the process by which their behavior may have been actually conditioned by the elder siblings. This dynamic parallels, however, the observations of extensive childcare roles of older siblings in traditional societies such as Haiti.

In "Sibling Interaction: A Neglected Aspect in Family Life Research" (1970), Irish suggests that siblings may educate one another in ways quite different from parents. "Sometimes siblings are more effective teachers than adults, particularly if youthful skills are involved. Siblings may often understand childhood problems and new situations better, in some ways, than do the parents" (Irish, 1970, p. 557). By implication, this suggests that siblings may also engage in educational functions like the school, in setting examples for one another with academic work as well as with the many interpersonal problems of the school community.

The major portion of child-rearing and sibling studies, however, is characterized primarily by a good deal of emphasis on outcomes, much of that dealing with negative aspects, such as the power tactics siblings use with one another. The preoccupation with sibling rivalry can be traced to the influence of Levy's classic research, Studies in Sibling Rivalry (1937). Sibling studies to date have shown little explicit concern for education or the process by which siblings influence each other. Leichert's research review concludes the literature to be "sparse, generally noncumulative, and narrowly selective in focus" (Leichert, 1974, p. 18). Irish calls it "the most neglected aspect of family life research" (Irish, 1970).

THE EDUCATION OF PARENTS BY YOUTH

The literature on the education of parents by youth, aside from the cross-cultural research cited earlier, has tended to assume a one-way influence from child to parent, rather than a two-way interaction. The focus has not been primarily one of active educative process, but rather viewing the youth as a passive influence on parents. Such topics as childrens' positive or negative effects on marital satisfaction (Udry, 1966), or parental self-evaluation (Bortner, Bohn and Hultsch, 1974) have been explored. A notable exception is Brim's and Wheeler's Socialization After Childhood: Two Essays, which suggested that education is a lifelong process and that parents, although older and more experienced than their children, continue to learn from their children as they enter new phases of socialization (Brim and Wheeler, 1966).

Mere contact with the life of a child has been analyzed and shown to open up new world vistas as the full range of the child's activities becomes a potential source of education for the parent. The child does not actively teach, but the adult learns "about" child development, "about" teaching and learning, and "about" schooling from the child's activities and associations.

The research on immigration suggests that there is much yet to be discovered about the conditions under which the parent may be defined as a learner without losing status or dignity, and about the value of face-saving procedures for averting potential embarrassment (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1971).

In summary, the research on parental education by youths is historically uni-directional, assuming general passivity on the part of

the child, except in cross-cultural studies of youth roles in societies that are in social transition. Though "sparse, it can best be described in terms of the dimensions it suggests for further study" (Leichert, 1974, p. 15).

Youth as Educator: School Context

A final educative role of youth is in the school setting as peer teacher. This refers to the concept of students teaching other students in formal, nonformal or informal learning situations which are delegated, planned and directed by a teacher. Related terms include "mutual instruction," meaning simply students teaching students, and "cross-age teaching/tutoring," an older student teaching a younger student.

The concept is referred to as early as in ancient Greece when Aristotle used student assistants (Wise, 1964). It has been traced from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance to the Reformation, through England, France and ultimately to the United States and developing nations (Wagner, 1980).

The issue is relevant in the context of countries like Haiti because its roots were primarily educative efforts to provide the benefits of schooling to the poor. In nineteenth century England, John Lancaster established the monitorial school system of "students teaching students" because the British government did not provide any funds for education, a large number of children needed schooling, and there was a scarcity of teachers. The social and economic influences of the era brought about the widespread support of this ingenious and economical system of educating the vast numbers of poor children (Gosden, 1969).

From the latter part of the nineteenth century until the 1960s, there was scant mention of peer teaching in educational literature. The only use of peer teaching mentioned during this time was a modification of the monitor system utilizing students less exclusively, but in cooperation with the classroom teacher--the one-room schools of rural America.

> Teachers in one-room rural schools often called upon their older students to help teach the younger ones. They did so in the hope that the younger children would benefit from the extra attention and help they got from their tutors and that the older ones, proud to be cast as assistant teachers, would be motivated to improve their own work (Lippitt and Lippitt, 1968, p. 24).

Much like the condition of rural Haitian schools today, the one-room school of early America faced the dilemma of a single teacher trying to manage alone the educational experiences of too many students and too many subjects on too many grade levels.

In 1917, Woofter published a handbook, Teaching in Rural Schools, in which he advocated using older pupils as teachers' assistants. He wrote:

> Nearly always there will be some older pupils who can be quickly shown how to assist with the younger ones. These older pupils should be appointed for this work. It will be very helpful for them, and will permit the teacher to give more time to other things. . . . This will make the older ones more thorough, and it will help to organize the school into a wholesome working community (Woofter, 1917, p. 52).

There was a lull of several decades when peer teaching seemed to fall from the educational indices. Then in 1956, Wayne, in writing about a tutorial program conducted at Fresno State College stated, "It is said that the best way to learn something is to teach it, and that may well be one of the major benefits to the tutoring students" (Wayne, 1956, p. 330). He listed four groups who benefitted from tutoring:

those doing the tutoring, those receiving it, the school, and the institution which eventually would hire the student tutors as teachers.

In the last decade, renewed interest in peer teaching has led to wide-spread research. In "A Historical Base and Rationale for Peer Teaching," Wagner summarizes the research findings:

> Some of the theories and rationale which underlie the idea of peer teaching are that the student learns by teaching, the student learns effectively by contact with his peers, peers can provide a source of information perhaps more valuable than the teacher himself because of better empathy and communication with each other, and cooperation is a better means of learning than competition. Peer teaching allows for better individualized instruction than may be possible in a classroom setting; peer teaching can also build self-esteem and self-confidence and allow for socialization and development of social skills (Wagner, 1980, p. 277).

Such utilization of youth as an educative resource in the classroom is consistent with the familial education contributions of Haitian youth in the context of their homes. It has been reviewed as a theoretical foundation for value criterion number two of this study, and for its potential application to meeting some of the learning needs within the Haitian school.

Chapter Three

DESCRIPTION OF METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the research is to analyze the actual educational outcomes of a spectrum of selected Haitian primary schools as measured against three evaluative criteria placed on schools by the parents of Haitian students. The research recognizes the importance of basic education to national development in Haiti; however, the evaluative criteria around which the research focuses are from the perspective of the peasant parent--whose investment in schooling stems less from a concern for national development than from a pragmatic quest to enhance his quality of life.

The bâton vieillesse, or child selected as the familial investment in education, carries essentially these three criteria as his mandate: 1) educational survivorship--his survival to primary school completion; 2) family education resource--his ability to serve as a family resource using his school-acquired skills and passing them on to his unschooled family members; and 3) life-skills competencies--his ability to use his schooling as a stepping stone to further education, ultimately to succeed in a career which will lead to the fulfillment of his responsibilities as bâton vieillesse by allowing him to ensure adequate familial support in years to come.

The study was conducted as a comparative/evaluative research on a selection of seven Haitian primary school case studies, and sought to accomplish essentially two data collection tasks. The first data

collection task was to obtain measurements of performance or non-performance from each of the case studies on each of the three value criteria mentioned above: 1) educational survivorship, 2) family education contribution, and 3) life-skills competencies. The second data collection task was to obtain quantifiable data on a spectrum of variables which characterize each of the case-study primary schools. Such characteristic variables included school facilities, teacher characteristics, traits of the school's chief product (Moyen II graduates), and the home/family environments of these "surviving" Haitian students. The unit of analysis is thus the primary school as depicted by its environmental characteristics.

Data relating to each of the three value criteria were analyzed to classify each of the case-study primary schools in a range from "high," to "medium," to "low" for each value criterion. Analysis of school, teacher and student (Moyen II) variables followed to identify relationships of variables that are positively or negatively associated with the performance on each of the three value criteria.

A stratified sample of seven Haitian primary schools, each with complete primary school programs (all six primary grades, from Enfantine to Moyen II), were randomly drawn from the total population of 30 such Armée du Salut-administered primary schools dispersed throughout the five geo-political districts of Haiti. The stratification of the sample encompassed two concerns: 1) the geographic dispersement of the case studies into all regions of Haiti, and 2) a representation of locale to include urban, semi-rural and rural settings.

The data originated from three research instruments: the student interview (see Appendix A); the teacher questionnaire (see Appendix B);

and a school facilities survey (see Appendix C). Each instrument was administered to each sample school during the course of a single school day to ensure minimal interpersonal contact among participants.

The research looks at the relationships between the three value criteria and four sets of data: 1) school characteristics, 2) teacher characteristics, 3) home/family environment, and 4) student (Moyen II) traits. Examination of these sets of data as descriptors of the primary schools that were categorized "high," "medium," or "low" by performance on the three value criteria, allowed comparative analysis to determine essentially how schools that performed well on each criterion differed from those that performed poorly. Findings served as a basis for the suggestion of guidelines for the enhancement of school performance in keeping with those educational outcomes valued by the school's community.

INSTRUMENTATION

A student-structured interview (see Appendix A), a teacher questionnaire (see Appendix B), and a school facilities survey (see Appendix C) were developed and pre-tested in Haiti in the spring of 1982--one year prior to the actual data collection. The entire process of pre-testing was conducted at Ecole Armée du Salut--Saintard in the spring of 1982. The Saintard primary school was ommitted from the school lists when the final random selection was made. The revised instruments were then fine-tuned in Port-au-Prince, utilizing students and teachers from missions other than the Armée du Salut, one month prior to the actual sample selection and data collection.

The school directors of the sample case studies were notified of the intended research visit by letter (see Appendix D), and were

informed of the collaboration of Compassion International and the Armée du Salut in the effort. They were further assured of confidentiality in the process.

Student Interview

A questionnaire was administered orally in each school with a random sample of eight Moyen II students, those in the last year of primary school, who were scheduled to take the Certificat d'Etudes Primaires (CEP) government examination that year. Each student selected was removed from the school and taken to a quiet setting, usually under a tree, for the hour-long interview. The language utilized was the students' mother tongue, Haitian Creole, and the interviewer was one of three Haitian research assistants who had been trained in interview techniques for two months in Port-au-Prince just prior to the school visits.

Each interview was recorded on audio cassette for further analysis and possible longitudinal follow-up research, as well as to free up the interviewer from excessive note-taking. Pre-testing the instrument had shown Moyen II-level students to be very credible and knowledgeable participants who were not distracted by the presence of a tape recorder. At the conclusion of each interview, a photograph was taken of the student for follow-up, and a Polaroid print given to him as a token of appreciation. Often the students expressed disappointment when the interview concluded, so positive was the experience of expressing themselves about multiple facets of their lives.

The instrument's content included two basic categories: information about the youth's relationship and experience to each of the three

value criteria under evaluation; and then data concerning parental education and occupation, self-reported state of health, home environment and daily responsibilities, and school experience, as well as attitudinal data concerning sense of self-concept, school/teacher perspectives, and future aspirations/expectations. Much of the format consisted of open-ended questions to allow for maximum descriptive data collection. Open-ended responses were later codified into categories of response for analysis and comparative purposes. Where possible, content was structured to allow for cross-cultural analysis based on precedent research in other settings.

Teacher Questionnaire

At the end of the school day, all the teachers and directors who were present on the date of the visit were assembled in a classroom and administered a teacher's questionnaire. The 67-question instrument was written in French, Haiti's official language and the language of classroom instruction in Haiti. Even so, pre-testing had indicated a general lack of French ability among primary school teachers, so the instrument was facilitated by a Haitian research assistant who translated each question into Creole for each group. Only the final six questions, which were designed to test French language ability (see Appendix E), were left untranslated into Creole. The process allowed for data collection without the risk of insulting the teachers' dignity. Anonymity was once again assured; only the identification of the school itself was noted for later comparison.

The questionnaire gathered data on the parental education and occupational backgrounds of the teachers, their personal schooling, professional training, teaching experience and French language ability.

Further attitudinal data were collected on self-concept and modernity, and perspectives on Haiti, schooling, and student performance.

At the conclusion of the hour-and-one-half long questionnaire session, the teachers inevitably stayed additional hours to further express their views and concerns. The research team was often warmly thanked for their concern and willingness to listen.

School Facilities Survey

A survey with each school's director was conducted privately by the researcher, the only expatriate at each case-study locale. The survey elicited information on the school's history, enrollment, tuition levels, teacher salaries, parental involvement, programs and facilities. The survey continued without the director throughout the remainder of the school day, with an unobtrusive classroom-by-classroom visit by the researcher. Observational data were collected concerning attendance, classroom layout and conditions, supplies, indicators of density, desk space, student-to-teacher ratios, textbook availability, instruction techniques and student dynamics.

An additional measurement incorporated into the school facilities survey was a vocational history review. This involved a 45-minute session with the entire Moyen II class and its teacher. Each graduating class of the school was reviewed, student-by-student, from 1978 to 1982. Information was elicited to determine whether each graduate had continued in formal schooling into high school, entered a vocational training institution, or quit school to join the work force at various levels of vocation. These data were utilized to assess each school's performance on value criterion number three, life-skills competencies.

Certificat d'Etudes Primaires (CEP) Scores

Finally the scores were obtained for each Moyen II student in the case study schools (interviewed or not) who took the June 1982 Certificat d'Etudes Primaires examination three months after the school visit.

SPECIAL INQUIRY

Incorporated into both the student interview and the teachers' questionnaire are three areas of special inquiry designed to examine issues that were found in precedent academic achievement research to be relevant to varying degrees in both "developed" and "developing" nations. These issues are the following: 1) socio-economic status (SES), 2) self-concept, and 3) modernity. Discussion and methodology of measurement for each follows.

Socio-Economic Status (SES)

There is ample evidence from studies focusing on industrialized societies to lead one to expect that SES has a direct effect on academic performance. Children of lower socio-economic backgrounds can be expected to perform less well academically. Jencks' study in America concluded that a family's economic status correlated .35 with children's scores on academic tests (Jencks, 1972). And Rossi's summary of related literature entitled, "Social Factors in Academic Achievement," ranks SES as second in importance only to intelligence. Coleman suggested, likewise, that SES, separate from race, is more influential than per-pupil expenditure or even teacher or school characteristics in predicting academic achievement (Coleman, et al., 1966).

Among less-industrialized societies, the evidence is less unified. In Jamaica, Manley found that although children of lower SES performed

worse on I.Q. tests and tests of verbal ability, they did not do uniformly poorly on the Common Entrance Examination Sections (Manley, 1963). Murphree in Rhodesia found higher performance from children of illiterate homes than from children of more privileged homes (Murphree, 1973).

To ascertain the association between the general SES of the students of a particular school and the school's performance on each of the evaluative criteria, information was elicited from each student on his parents' level of education, occupation, land ownership, housing type and the number of "modern" possessions found in his home. These possessions came from a select pre-tested list of "modern" consumer items. They included: box springs bed, camera, motorcycle, radio, bicycle, car, clock, pressurized lantern, television and tin roof.

Occupational status was measured by asking each individual student what his father does to earn money. The spectrum of reported vocations was coded into levels of remuneration ranging from "VIP" to unskilled laborer (see Table 3.1).

The responses to these five measures were figured and a mean score was calculated for each of the sample schools.

Self-Concept

To understand why some Haitian students achieve superior academic performance even within similar socio-economic contexts, a measurement of personal attitudes was included in the student questionnaire. Precedent studies have associated a student's higher academic performance with achievement motivation (Epps, 1969), self-perception of academic ability (Brookover and Schailer, 1963), self-esteem or self-concept (Bledsoe and Garrison, N.D.), and level of aspiration (Chaplin, 1968).

Table 3.1

Modern Possessions: Percentage of Students Reporting Family Ownership

Items Owned	Schools						
	Aquin	Le Blanc	Grépin	Gardon	Verena	La Feronay	Ruisseaux
box springs bed	0%	0%	0%	0%	50.0%	0%	14.3%
camera	0	0	0	0	25.0	0	0
motorcycle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
radio	75.0	62.5	75.0	37.5	85.7	85.7	57.1
bicycle	25.0	0	0	12.5	12.5	0	0
car	0	0	0	0	12.5	0	0
clock	75.0	50.0	37.5	37.5	75.0	57.1	71.4
lamp	12.5	12.5	0	0	25.0	14.3	0
t.v.	0	0	0	0	37.5	0	14.3
tin roof	57.1	37.5	62.5	12.5	100.0	28.6	85.7

(*N*=55)

In "The Equality of Educational Opportunity" study, Coleman utilized two indicators of personal attitude: self-concept efficacy, and "control of one's environment." Both were found to be highly correlated with each other and with academic achievement. They yielded higher effects than any other single factor.

> Of all the variables measured in the survey, including all measures of family background and all school variables, their attitudes showed the strongest relation to achievement at all three grade levels. The zero-order correlations of these attitudes with achievement were higher than those of any other

> variable. . . . Taken alone, these attitude variables account for more variation in achievement than any other set of variables (all family background variables taken together or all school variables taken together). When added to any other set of variables, they increase the accounted for variation more than does any other set of variables (Coleman, et al., 1966, p. 319).

The measurements of personal attitudes used in "The Equality of Educational Opportunity" study, and later by Heyneman in 1975 in "Influences on Academic Achievement in Uganda: A 'Coleman Report' from a Non-Industrialized Society," were adapted to the Haitian context and utilized.

Self-concept comprises aspects of both ego-strength and self-confidence. Ego-strength is the extent to which a person believes in himself, the validity of his own perspective. Self-confidence is the extent of one's satisfaction with his own behavior, his ability to maintain internal control over external circumstances, both positive and negative.

To determine a student's self-concept, four statements were scattered at random throughout the interview. Each was a phrase stated negatively. To demonstrate a high self-concept, a student had to reply, "no." This "double-strength" negative was designed to negate the "acquiescent set" described by Kahl (1966), whereby a student replies "yes" to all questions in an effort to please the interviewer. This concern was unfounded. Moyen II students were found to be credible informants, as likely to say "no" as they were to say "yes."

A further self-concept measurement set of questions was included to determine the extent to which a student feels in control of his

immediate environment, or controlled by it. A series of 10 positive and negative situations was described to the student, asking him to accept credit or blame for each (see Appendix A, questions 83 through 92). Fatalism plays such an important, debilitating role in poverty that an internal assumption of personal responsibility for circumstances indicates a positive self-concept.

Since the unit of analysis in this evaluative research is each case-study school, a composite self-concept score was calculated for each school based on the responses of its students. Table 3.2 illustrates the spectrum of responses.

Modernity

A related concept to self-concept which also has been demonstrated in precedent research to be inter-correlated with academic achievement is "modernity." Modernity is an indication of world awareness, an understanding of scientific world interpretations (as opposed to superstition), and an openness to challenging traditional values.

Four statements to elicit an indication of modernity were scattered at random throughout both the student interview and the teacher questionnaire. They were drawn from the O-M scale (Smith and Inkeles, 1968) and Heyneman (1975).

The modernity indicators consist of the following:

Political knowledge:	"Who is the president of the United States?"
Superstition:	"If you go to the end of a rainbow, what will happen?"
World awareness:	"Where does the Pope live?"
Traditional values:	"Do you think that young people should always obey their elders, whether they are right or wrong?"

Responses to the four modernity statements were tallied for students and teachers for each school. Table 3.3 shows the comparative levels of modernity.

Table 3.2

Responses to Statements Measuring Student Self-Confidence

	Aquin	Le Blanc	Grépin	Gardon	Verena	La Feronay	Ruisseaux
Are you often unlucky? (percentage responding "No")	25%	13%	38%	50%	50%	71%	100%
Are you often persecuted? (percentage responding "No")	63	25	71	50	71	50	67
Do you often fail in the things you try to do? (percentage responding "No")	63	38	63	50	75	67	100
How good a student are you? (percentage of "high" response)	50	25	13	13	13	0	57
Internal control for difficulties (percentage of "low" response)	13	0	0	13	0	0	14
Internal control for success (percentage of "high" response)	25	25	37	37	63	29	29
TOTALS	239	126	222	213	272	217	367

(N=55)

*"No" is an indication of positive self-concept.

Table 3.3

Responses From Four Statements to Determine Levels of Student Modernity

	Aquin	Le Blanc	Grépin	Gardon	Verena	La Feronay	Ruisseaux
Political knowledge (percentage responding correctly)	50%	38%	63%	25%	63%	50%	14%
Supersition (percentage not superstitious)	50	0	25	62	50	71	57
World Awareness (percentage responding correctly)	25	38	38	25	50	86	43
Traditional values (percentage responding "No")	25	13	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	100	89	126	112	163	206	114

(N=55)

POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The research was a collaborative effort between Compassion International and the Haitian Armée du Salut Mission. The population was determined to be the total number of Armée du Salut primary schools which had the complete range of primary grades, from Enfantine I to Moyen II. This population totalled 30 schools with an overall enrollment of 8,000 students. Since its founding in 1950, the Haitian Armée du Salut has grown to a membership of 11,000 in churches dispersed throughout all five of Haiti's major geo-political districts.

Private school systems like the Armée du Salut's represent a major portion of the overall Haitian primary education context. In 1982-83, at the time of the data collection, 59.4 percent of the 723,041 primary school students in 3,241 schools were enrolled in such private institutions. At present, there are more than 350 such foreign and domestic private voluntary organizations functioning in Haiti (Millot and Easton, 1985, p. 2-130).

The Armée du Salut school system was selected from among the eight such missions assisted by Compassion International in Haiti primarily because it alone offered a complete geographic spread of schools throughout all of Haiti.

From this population, a stratified sample of seven primary schools was randomly selected for case-study analysis. Stratification ensured representation of all of Haiti's geographic districts, as well as different types of locale: urban, semi-rural and rural.

Within each randomly drawn case-study school, a second population and sample existed. The population at this level was the entire Moyen II (final year of primary school) class of that school. From this population, a random sample of eight students was drawn to participate in the student interview. The student sample size was determined to be generalizable to the whole of each school's Moyen II population, yet manageable for the three interviewers so that the interviews could be completed in the course of a single school day--a precaution taken to attain minimal interaction among the student sample in order to ensure maximum validity and reliability of data.

Participant Primary Schools

The sample of primary schools drawn represented a spectrum encompassing all five of Haiti's districts, and included two urban schools--Port-au-Prince and Aquin, three semi-rural schools--Grépin, La Feronay, and Ruisseaux, and two rural schools--Le Blanc and Gardon (see Figure 3.1=. All the schools were directed by Haitian Armée du Salut officers, who were under the unified administration in Port-au-Prince of Education Officer Captain Jonas Georges.

A brief description of each school selected for case study follows.

CASE STUDY #1: ECOLE ARMEE DU SALUT--AQUIN

Aquin Primary School was founded in 1967. At the time of the data collection, the school was under the direction of Captain Wilner Derilien. He served as school director over a teaching staff of eight, and taught fulltime himself.

There were 280 children enrolled at Aquin, a student-to-teacher overall ratio of 31 to 1. Located in the Département du Sud (south), this urban school is in the heart of the city of Aquin, approximately a three-hour drive from the capital, Port-au-Prince. Aquin is located about half-way out on the southern peninsula in the heart of Haiti's chief coffee and sugar cane agricultural region.

By Haitian standards, Aquin had a very good facility. Its nine classrooms provided almost 13 square feet per student, and each child occupied 14.1 inches of desk or bench space. The school was constructed of cement block with cement floor and a tin roof. It had a vocational training section, and high school education was available in the immediate vicinity.

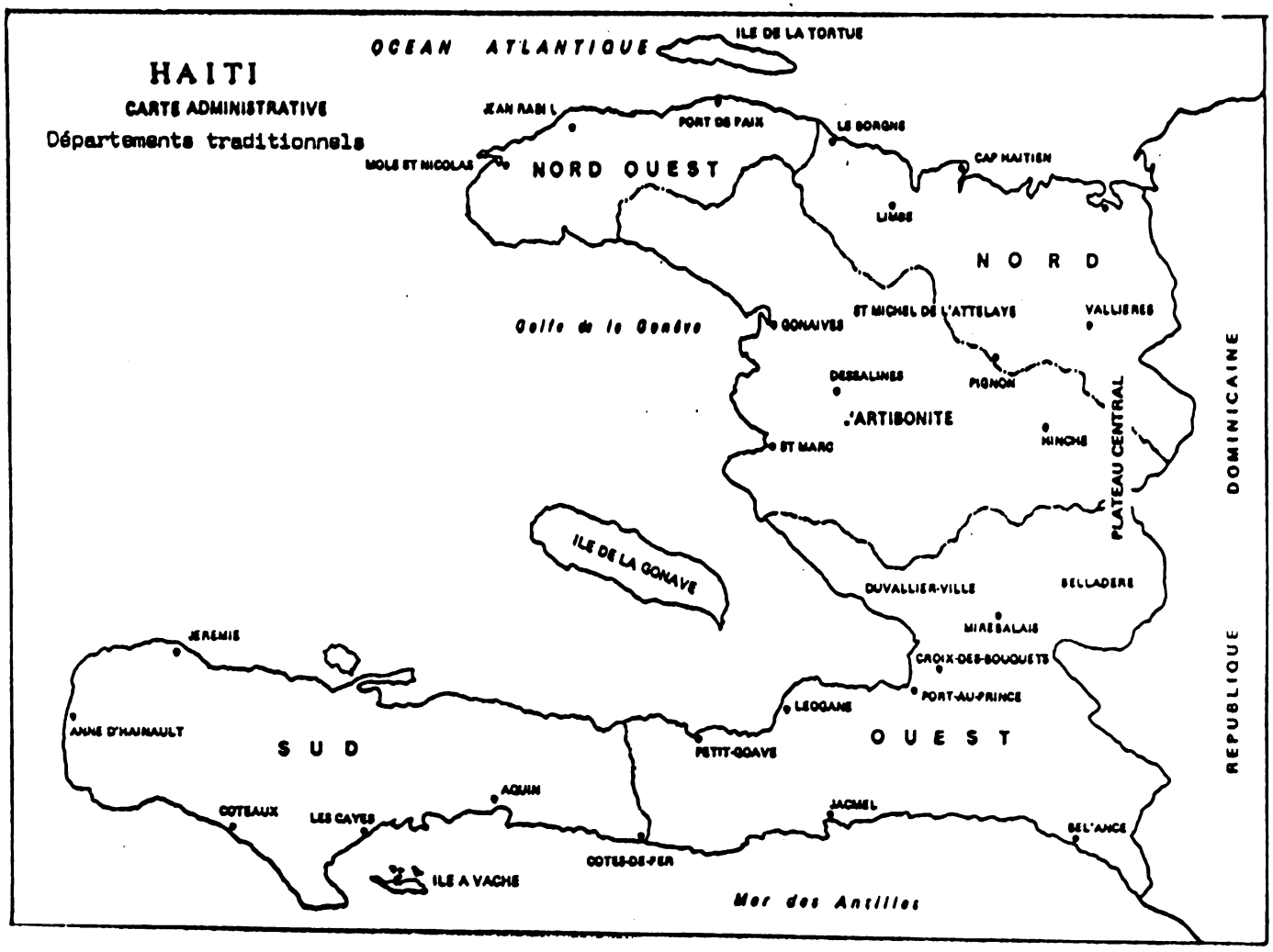

Figure 3.1

Haiti: Traditional Geo-Political Departments

Source: La Scolarisation en Haiti, 1978

The tuition rate averaged $61 per year, and salaries of teachers ranged from $50 to $100 per month.

The school was largely made up of students of families who attended the local Armée du Salut church. The parents were very active in the PTA sessions held each trimester--100 percent attendance was reported.

Aquin's rating on the three evaluative criteria utilized in this study is as follows:

Evaluative Criterion #1: Educational Survivorship--Medium
Evaluative Criterion #2: Family Education Contribution--Low
Evaluative Criterion #3: Life-Skills Competencies--Medium

CASE STUDY #2: ECOLE ARMEE DU SALUT--LE BLANC

Le Blanc was founded in 1972, and at the time of the data collection was under the direction of Lieutenant Dieudonne Rancy. She served as school director over a teaching staff of eight, and taught fulltime herself.

There were 210 children enrolled at Le Blanc, which provided a student-to-teacher ratio of 27 to 1 overall. In the youngest grades, however, the ratio was 70 to 1, while the oldest grades enjoyed a 7 to 1 ratio. Like Acquin, Le Blanc is located in Haiti's Département du Sud (south). Unlike Acquin, Le Blanc is situated in an extremely remote rural setting, approximately two hours from Port-au-Prince by car, and then an additional two hours by horseback into the mountains. Although in a remote setting on Haiti's southern peninsula, Le Blanc, like Aquin, exists on its production of coffee and sugar cane.

Le Blanc had cement block construction with a tin roof in good condition. Its six classrooms, however, provided a scant 4 square feet per student, and its youngest grades had only 8.7 inches of desk or

bench space per student. There was no vocational training program, and high school facilities were located in the village of Fond-de-Nègres, more than two hours away.

The tuition rate at Le Blanc averaged $43 per year, and teachers' salaries ranged from $30 to $80 per month.

Half (50 percent) of the students' families were members of the local Armée du Salut church. The level of parental participation in the PTA session each trimester was very high (99 percent).

Le Blanc's rating on the three evaluative criteria utilized in this study is as follows:

Evaluative Criterion #1: Educational Survivorship--High
Evaluative Criterion #2: Family Education Contribution--High
Evaluative Criterion #3: Life-Skills Competencies--Low

CASE STUDY #3: ECOLE ARMEE DU SALUT--GREPIN

Grepin Primary School was founded in 1964. At the time of the data collection, the school was under the direction of Major Catherine Pacquette. She directed a teaching staff of 13, and was herself a fulltime teacher.

There were 302 children enrolled at Grépin, which resulted in a student-to-teacher overall ratio of 27 to 1. In the youngest Enfantine classes, the ratio was 73 to 1. The oldest class, Moyen II, had a 12 to 1 ratio. The day of the data collection was a tragic day at Grépin. Heavy rains in the mountains had caused the usually parched and dry riverbed beside the school to swell into a raging river. Three of the children drowned that morning while trying to cross the river to school.

Grépin is located in Haiti's Département du Nord (north) in the town of Gros-Morne. It is classified as semi-rural. It is reached by traveling north of Port-au-Prince for three hours on a paved road to

the city of Gonaïves, then an additional hour further north on dirt roads. The people of Grépin are primarily subsistence farmers who struggle to make a living from extremely difficult terrain. Deforested and desert-like, the northwest is almost perpetually under drought conditions.

Grépin consisted of 13 classrooms, all of cement block construction under a tin roof. It was the most spacious of the case-study schools, allowing 15 square feet per student. Despite the square footage, however, its youngest grades had only 6.5 inches of desk or bench space per student. Grépin had a vocational training section, and students could progress to high school right in nearby Gros-Morne.

The tuition rate was $52.20 per year, and teachers' salaries ranged from $36 to $75 per month.

More than half (66 percent) of the students' families were members of the local Armée du Salut church. The level of PTA participation at each trimester's session was 50 percent.

Grépin's rating on the three evaluative criteria utilized in this study is as follows:

Evaluative Criterion #1: Educational Survivorship--High
Evaluative Criterion #2: Family Education Contribution--Medium
Evaluative Criterion #3: Life-Skills Competencies--High

CASE STUDY #4: ECOLE ARMEE DU SALUT--GARDON

Gardon Primary School was founded in 1964. At the time of the data collection, the school was under the direction of Captain Ixmail Polusca. He directed a teaching staff of eight, and carried a 25 percent teaching load himself. Captain Polusca was also the local pastor.

There were 216 children enrolled at Gardon, with a consequent student-to-teacher ratio of 27 to 1. The ratio in the lower grades was 42 to 1, but the Moyen II students had a 20 to 1 ratio. At the time of the study, the region of Gardon was in a state of panic due to drought conditions. No rain had fallen in over nine months. The peasants were digging their seed corn out of the dry soil to eat final meals as the research team arrived. That night, to the relief of the community, the rains came. The team was given considerable credit for the good fortune.

Gardon is located in Haiti's Département du Nord-Ouest (northwest)--by far the most economically depressed region in Haiti. It is classified as rural. Gardon is reached by traveling north of Port-au-Prince for three hours on paved road to the city of Gonaïves, then another hour further north by Jeep to Gros-Morne, where Grépin is located. From there, it takes an additional three hours by horse to reach Gardon. The parents of the students at Gardon are all subsistence farmers who struggle to grow food in deforested and desert-like terrain, which is almost perpetually under drought conditions.

Gardon was comprised of eight classrooms, all of cement block construction under a tin roof. The school was in excellent condition structurally, and afforded 9 square feet per student. The desk or bench space per student was also quite generous, averaging 15.2 inches. Gardon did not have a vocational training program, and students had to board to attend high school in Gros-Morne, three hours away.

The tuition rate was $49.30 per year, and teachers' salaries ranged from $25 to $60 per month.

Almost all (95 percent) of the students' families were members of the local Armée du Salut church. The level of PTA participation at each trimester's session was the lowest in the overall study (5 percent).

Gardon's rating on the three evaluative criteria utilized in this study is as follows:

Evaluative Criterion #1: Educational Survivorship--Low
Evaluative Criterion #2: Family Education Contribution--High
Evaluative Criterion #3: Life-Skills Competencies--Low

CASE STUDY #5: ECOLE ARMEE DU SALUT--COLLEGE VERENA

Collège Verena, a primary school, was founded in 1969. At the time of the data collection, the school was under the direction of Major Raymond Ternier. It was the largest school in the sample, with 20 teachers. The school director also taught part-time.

There were 850 children enrolled at Verena with a consequent student-to-teacher ratio of 42 to 1. The ratio in the Enfantine grade was 42 to 1, and in the highest grade, Moyen II, the ratio was 35 to 1.

Verena is located in the heart of Port-au-Prince in one of the poorest sections of the entire capital city. The families of Verena's students live in the St. Martin area, which can only be described as slum standards. Many have roots in the countryside of Haiti, but have migrated to the capital as part of the massive urban migration that keeps Port-au-Prince growing at 6.1 percent per year (Ahlers, 1977). There are very few schools available to the children of St. Martin, and the director said that if he accepted all school applications, he could fill eight schools the size of Verena within an hour. Clearly classified as urban, Verena is located in Haiti's Département de l'Ouest (west).

Verena consisted of 20 classrooms, all of cement block construction with a concrete roof. By Haitian standards, the facilities were top rate. Despite the urban density outside the walls, inside the students had 12 square feet of classroom space per child. The desk space per student was the highest among the case studies, with an average of 16.5 inches. The Moyen II students had individual desks with 26.3 inches of space. Verena had an active vocational program, and students had access to numerous high schools throughout the capital city.

The tuition rate was 500 percent above that of the nearest case-study school, at $257 per year. Verena, however, enjoyed the benefit of a funding agency in Switzerland which fully funded the entire cost for every child enrolled. Teachers' salaries ranged from $100 to $170 per month.

About 75 percent of the families of the students were members of the local Armée du Salut church. The level of PTA participation was also quite high with 80 percent of the parents attending the once-per-trimester sessions.

Verena's rating on the three evaluative criteria utilized in this study is as follows:

Evaluative Criterion #1: Educational Survivorship--Medium
Evaluative Criterion #2: Family Education Contribution--Low
Evaluative Criterion #3: Life-Skills Competencies--High

CASE STUDY #6: ECOLE ARMEE DU SALUT--LA FERONAY

La Feronay Primary School was founded in 1976. At the time of the data collection, La Feronay was directed by Major Alfred Joseph. He served as school director over a teaching staff of six, and was himself a fulltime teacher in the school.

There were 214 children at La Feronay, and the student-to-teacher overall ratio was 31 to 1. Located in Haiti's Département de l'Artibonite, this semi-rural school is near the town of Croix-de-Bouquets, 45 minutes northeast of Port-au-Prince. La Feronay is situated in part of the Artibonite Valley, one of the the most fertile, irrigated sections of land in all of Haiti. Agricultural products of this region, where 80 percent of Haiti's crops are grown, include coffee, sugar cane, rice and vanilla.

The school facilities of La Feronay were a scattering of wooden shacks and shelters. The upper two grades met in the church building. The four lowest met under a brush arbor, with cardboard walls dividing the classrooms. There were 9 square feet of classroom space per student, and the average bench space per student was 14.4 inches. There was no vocational training section. Progression on to high school was possible in Croix-de-Bouquets, about a two-hour walk away.

The tuition rate averaged $48.80 per year, and the salaries of the teachers ranged from $40 to $100 per month.

The school had only about 25 percent of its families attending the local Armée du Salut church. The PTA received moderate participation, with only 45 percent of the parents attending the sessions each trimester.

La Feronay's rating on the three evaluative criteria utilized in this study is as follows:

Evaluative Criterion #1: Educational Survivorship--Medium
Evaluative Criterion #2: Family Education Contribution--Medium
Evaluative Criterion #3: Life-Skills Competencies--Medium

CASE STUDY #7: ECOLE ARMEE DU SALUT--CARREFOUR DES RUISSEAUX

Ruisseaux Primary School was founded in 1980. At the time of the data collection, the school did not have a fulltime school director.

The Moyen II teacher, who carried a full teaching load, served as acting director. The school had a teaching staff of seven.

There were 242 children enrolled at Ruisseaux, a student-to-teacher overall ratio of 46 to 1. In the youngest grade, a single teacher was responsible for 112 Enfantine students.

Located in the Département du Sud (south) near the town of Miragoane, this semi-rural setting is two hours southwest of the capital city of Port-au-Prince. Like Aquin and Le Blanc, Ruisseaux shares the agriculturally-oriented lifestyle of the southern peninsula.

The facilities of Ruisseaux were substandard, even in the Haitian context. The school had just two classrooms, both of mud wall and thatched roof construction. The lower six grades met in a brush arbor that leaked so badly, school had to be dismissed each time it rained. The crowded conditions allowed only 2 square feet of classroom space per student. There were no desks, only benches on which the youngest grades perched with 5.3 inches of space per pupil. Overall, including the upper grades, the desk space per student averaged 7.1 inches.

There was no vocational training program at Ruisseaux, but high school facilities were available a half-hour walk away in Miragoane.

The tuition rate averaged the least of any of the case study schools--$30 per year. Teachers' salaries were similarly low, ranging from $15 to $30 per month.

About 25 percent of the school families attended the local Armée du Salut church, but a mere 10 percent participated regularly in the PTA sessions held each trimester.

Data collection was conducted in April when it was anticipated that 13 students would take the June CEP exam. Ultimately, it was decided

that none of the Moyen II students were capable of passing the exam, and the entire class missed the long-awaited opportunity.

Ruisseaux's rating on the three evaluative criteria utilized in this study is as follows:

Evaluative Criterion #1: Educational Survivorship--Low
Evaluative Criterion #2: Family Education Contribution--Medium
Evaluative Criterion #3: Life-Skills Competencies (no score)*

DATA-GATHERING PROCEDURE

The procedure for data collection was established one full academic year prior to actual data collection, which took place February through April, 1983. With very little precedent academic research in Haiti, the instruments, facilitators, logistics and actual data collection process necessitated not merely culturally sensitive planning, but actual pre-testing of the entire procedure. Following is a brief historic review of the development of the process.

May 1-9, 1982	Haitian research assistants selected in Port-au-Prince. Research instruments designed. Single interviewer trained in interview techniques.
May 10, 1982	Data collection procedure and instrumentation pre-tested at Ecole Armée du Salut--Saintarde (semi-rural).
May 11-12, 1982	Debriefing of research assistants and interviewer. Preliminary tabulation of data. Instruments refined.
February 1-13, 1983	Three Haitian interviewers selected in Port-au-Prince, and trained in interview techniques. Instruments and interviewers received final adjustments and underwent final pre-testing on isolated Moyen II students and teachers selected from outside the research population. Selection of sample and schedule of school visits coordinated with Armée du Salut administration.

*Since Ruisseaux was only in its second year of existence, it had not yet produced a graduating class that could be tracked into either high school or relevant vocations.

February 14, 1983	Briefing session in Port-au-Prince with all school directors of case-study schools. Finalized schedules and data collection details.
February 22-23, 1983	Data collection--Aquin
February 24-25, 1983	Data collection--Le Blanc
March 1-2, 1983	Data collection--Grépin
March 3-4, 1983	Data collection--Gardon
March 15-16, 1983	Data collection--Verena
March 17-18, 1983	Data collection--La Feronay
April 12-13, 1983	Data collection--Ruisseaux
April 14-30, 1983	Debriefing of interview staff. Tabulated data and wrote preliminary report for Haitian Armée du Salut and Compassion International.

The data collection task itself was a two-fold effort. The first task was to obtain measures of performance or non-performance from each of the case-study schools on each of the three value criteria: 1) educational survivorship, 2) family education contribution, and 3) life-skills competencies. The second data-collection task was to obtain quantifiable data on a spectrum of variables which characterized each of the case-study schools. These environmental variables included school facilities, teacher characteristics, and traits of the Moyen II students.

These data were collected utilizing three research instruments--the student interview, the teacher questionnaire, and a school facilities survey, which included a five-year vocational review of graduates. Each was administered to the sample school during the course of a single day.

The daily schedule for data collection in each school followed a prescribed pattern developed to accommodate the normal flow of the school day with minimal disruption from the data collection team. A typical daily data collection schedule follows:

7:30 a.m.	Flag raising ceremony (greeting to school)
7:45-8:30 (Team A)	Vocational history session--Moyen II class
8:00-8:30 (Team B)	Selection of sample Moyen II students
8:30-9:45 (Team A)	Interviews with Moyen II students #1 and #2
(Team B)	School facilities survey--school director
9:50-10:30 (Teams A & B)	Interviews with students #3, #4, #5 (classrooms survey--Enfantine to Preparatoire)
10:30-10:45	Break (school recess)
10:45-12:00 (Teams A & B)	Interviews with students #6, #7, #8 (classrooms survey--Elementaire to Moyen)
12:00-1:00 (Teams A & B)	Lunch with teaching staff
1:00-2:30 (Teams A & B)	Teacher questionnaire (group session)
2:30	Teaching staff photos and discussion

ORGANIZING AND ANALYZING THE DATA

This comparative/evaluative research has as its pivotal focus three value criteria against which a selected sampling of seven Haitian primary schools were evaluated individually and comparatively. These value criteria of educational outcome expectations from the perspective of Haitian peasant parents included: 1) educational survivorship, 2) family education contribution, and 3) life-skills competencies. Indicators designed to measure each school's performance or non-performance on each criterion were incorporated into the three research instruments. Each school was analyzed on a detailed case-study basis

by these criteria and subsequently rated "high," "medium," or "low" in its performance for each.

To ascertain the characteristics of primary schools that ranked "high" on each criterion, and to compare those characteristics with primary schools that ranked "low," a second set of data was incorporated. This second set consisted of quantifiable data on a spectrum of variables which characterized each of the case-study primary schools.

As a conceptual framework to classify this second set of data, the precedent research of Coleman, et al., (1966), "The Equality of Educational Opportunity" report in industrialized societies, and the 1975 research of Heyneman, "Influences on Academic Achievement in Uganda: a 'Coleman Report' from a Non-Industrial Society" were referenced.

Both studies divided phenomena influencing academic achievement into intuitively distinct areas of data: 1) regional environmental characteristics (rural/urban, northwest/southeast, etc.), 2) school personnel characteristics (training, attitudes, socio-economic status, etc.), 3) school physical facilities (classroom space, textbooks), and 4) student characteristics. These same four diverse areas of data classification were used to organize the Haiti school characteristics data around the three evaluative criteria.

This organization of the data was utilized in order to seek answers to a single basic question: "What characterizes Haitian primary schools that effectively meet the educational outcome expectations of the Haitian people who risk their limited resources on schooling for their children?" Any national-level educational reform that does not include the educational expectation perspective of its people will surely falter.

Evaluative Criterion #1: Educational Survivorship

Educational survivorship is the criterion that measures the extent to which a student progresses in a timely manner from one grade to another, culminating in the passage of the Certificat d'Etudes Primaires exam and official graduation from primary school. The rating of each case-study school as "high," "medium," or "low" on this criterion was accomplished by analysis of essentially four factors: 1) 1983 CEP scores, 2) repetition rate, 3) dropout rate, and 4) attitudinal: satisfaction/determination factor.

THE CERTIFICAT d'ETUDES PRIMAIRES (CEP) SCORES

A school mean score was calculated from the combined scores of all the schools' Moyen II students who took the 1983 CEP examination (see Appendix C, number 20). A score of 5.0 was necessary to pass, out of a possible 10.0. This first factor is clearly the most vital to the peasant parent, as it is the ultimate academic hurdle. Regardless of a school's repetition or even dropout rate, if it has a reputation for high scores and a high level of CEP exam passage, it is not likely that it will lack for students or revenue.

THE REPETITION RATE

While it can be argued pedagogically that repetition is often necessary to maintain academic standards and a student's ultimate achievement, pragmatically speaking, a school known for excessive grade repetition is a financial nightmare for parents who must invest as much as 25 percent of their annual income in tuition costs per child enrolled each school year. Though often a sign of disciplined and quality education, the repetition rate for each case study was calculated with repetition

viewed as a negative factor in its overall educational survivorship rating (see Appendix A, number 7).

THE DROPOUT RATE

Like repetition, dropout is viewed by the peasant parent as financial "wastage." Consequently, each case study's dropout rate was calculated and counted negatively against the school's overall educational survivorship rating (see Appendix A, number 11).

ATTITUDINAL: SATISFACTION/DETERMINATION FACTOR

A final indicator viewed as affecting a school's educational survivorship rating is the attitudinal condition of its students and parents. Aside from a school's actual rate of successful graduation, repetition or dropout, this is an element of student and parent satisfaction, loyalty or determination that must be considered. It is the perceived value of the school that maintains its community support, often quite apart from its actual record of academic achievement. This factor was calculated from the student's responses to the following five questions scattered randomly throughout the interview:

Have you ever wanted to quit school? (see Apendix A, number 9)
How much do you like school? (Likert-type degree of intensity scale of 1-9--see Appendix A, number 62)
How good is your school compared to other schools you know? (Likert-type degree of intensity scale of 1-9--see Appendix A, number 63)
How important is schooling to your future? (Likert-type degree of intensity scale of 1-9--see Appendix A, number 61)
How angry do your parents become when you do poorly in school? (Likert-type degree of intensity scale of 1-9--see Appendix A, number 66)

Mean percentages were calculated for each school from the student responses to these questions, and then entered into the analysis with the other three educational survivorship factors.

Taking into consideration the results of the four factors described

above, the classification of the case-study schools for evaluative criterion number one, educational survivorship, follows in rank order:

Ecole Armée du Salut--Grépin: High
Ecole Armée du Salut--Le Blanc: High
Ecole Armée du Salut--Aquin: Medium
Ecole Armée du Salut--La Feronay: Medium
Ecole Armée du Salut--Verena: Medium
Ecole Armée du Salut--Ruisseaux: Low
Ecole Armée du Salut--Gardon: Low

Evaluative Criterion #2: Family Education Contribution

Family education contribution is the second criterion. It measured the extent to which a student serves as a family resource, passing on his school-acquired skills to his unschooled family members. The rating of each case-study school as "high," "medium," or "low" on this criterion was accomplished by the analysis of four factors: 1) the student's ability to serve his family, 2) the student's attitudes toward the responsibility, 3) the student's actual behavior patterns: performance or non-performance, and 4) the level of family need for such a student resource.

STUDENT ABILITY

Prior to any other indication of levels of performance by students as family education resources, it was deemed necessary to calculate, school by school, the actual ability of students to serve in this capacity. This was accomplished by analysis of past and present performance with the following questions:

"Can you sign your father's or mother's name?" (see Appendix A, numbers 18 & 19)
"Do you read for your family?" (see Appendix A, number 24)
"Do you write for your family?" (see Appendix A, number 25)
"Do you keep track of your family's finances?" (see Appendix A, number 26)

The level of ability of each school's students was subsequently entered into the family education contribution analysis.

STUDENT ATTITUDE

Beyond ability, an indication of the students' attitudes toward the task or responsibility was thought relevant. Attitude was measured primarily by two questions at different points in the interview:

> "Should a student serve his family by reading, writing, and accounting for them?" (see Appendix A, number 27)
> "Would you be willing to teach out-of-school peers who cannot read or write?" (see Appendix A, number 55)

Such indicators of a positive or negative attitude toward serving as a family education resource were calculated, school by school, and entered into the analysis.

STUDENT BEHAVIOR

The strongest measurement of the activity level of students making family education contributions for any school case study went beyond ability and attitude to actual behavior. The kinds and levels of student education contribution to their families were explored throughout much of the interview, but the actual measurement was derived from these three indicators:

> "Have you actually taught your father to read or write? With what results?" (see Appendix A, number 28)
> "Have you actually taught your mother to read or write? With what results?" (see Appendix A, number 29)
> "Do you read for and teach brothers and sisters in your own home?" (see Appendix A, number 51)

The mean level of actual student activity in criterion number two, family education contribution, was calculated for each case-study school and served as a major factor in its rating.

FAMILY NEED FOR EDUCATIONAL RESOURCE

To accurately classify any school as "high," "medium," or "low" on its performance on this criterion, it was necessary to calculate the level of familial need for such student assistance in the home. This required gathering information about literacy and education levels of parents and siblings. The following questions were used:

"Can your father read and write?" (see Appendix A, numbers 20 & 21)
"Did your father attend school?" (see Appendix A, number 30)
"Can your mother read and write?" (see Appendix A, numbers 22 & 23)
"Did your mother attend school?" (see Appendix A, number 31)
"Do you have brothers and sisters in your home who cannot read or write?" (see Appendix A, number 50)

Taking into consideration the findings on these four factors, the classification of the case-study schools for evaluative criterion number two, family education contribution, follows in rank order:

Ecole Armée du Salut--Le Blanc: High
Ecole Armée du Salut--Gardon: High
Ecole Armée du Salut--Grépin: Medium
Ecole Armée du Salut--La Feronay: Medium
Ecole Armée du Salut--Ruisseaux: Medium
Ecole Armée du Salut--Aquin: Low
Ecole Armée du Salut--Verena: Low

Evaluative Criterion #3: Life-Skills Competencies

Life-skills competencies is the third and final criterion. It measured the extent to which a student is able to use his schooling to advance to higher education, or obtain a vocation which required his prior schooling--ultimately allowing him to fulfill his responsibility as bâton vieillesse by securing a respectable vocation that would ensure adequate familial support in years to come.

Calculations to rate each school as "high," "medium," or "low" on this criterion were accomplished objectively by tracking the graduates of each school over a period of the previous five years. The percentage

of each year's graduates who continued academically to high school was considered "top achievement." This was followed by: enrollments in vocational training institutions, acquiring vocations with schooling prerequisites, obtaining unskilled labor, or, finally, the greatest disappointment, subsistence farming or unemployment (see Appendix C, Vocational History Review).

Data for this analysis were derived from discussions with each school's Moyen II class and teachers in a five-year, year-by-year "vocational history" review. Only Ecole Armée du Salut--Ruisseaux was excluded from this analysis since in its two years of existence, it had not as yet produced a graduating class.

Taking these data and the "priority of accomplishment" perspective into consideration in the analysis, the classification of the case-study schools for evaluative criterion number three, life-skills competencies, follows in rank order:

Ecole Armée du Salut--Grépin: High
Ecole Armée du Salut--Verena: High
Ecole Armée du Salut--Aquin: Medium
Ecole Armée du Salut--La Feronay: Medium
Ecole Armée du Salut--Gardon: Low
Ecole Armée du Salut--Le Blanc: Low

CONCERN FOR VALIDITY/RELIABILITY

A major cause for contamination resulting in invalid data in such a cross-cultural research is the novelty of an expatriate's involvement in the community. Consequently, three Haitian research assistants conducted the interviews and administered the questionnaires, relegating the single expatriate researcher to the role of classroom observer, in which the variables were primarily the presence or absence of classroom phenomena not affected by his physical presence.

The research assistants were trained by the researcher in Port-au-Prince, and had worked extensively at the community grass roots level among the 250 primary schools assisted by Compassion International in Haiti. Pre-test experiences indicated the high quality of verbal interaction facilitated by interviewers of this nature. They had no stake in the outcome, were neutral in the communities, and were specifically trained for the interview task.

The interviewing occurred under controlled conditions during the course of a single school day to allow minimal interpersonal contact between interviewees during data collection. Several immediate cross-checkable questions were incorporated early into the interview to ensure reliability of responses. Pre-test observations found Moyen II students to be extremely honest, capable data sources.

SUMMARY

The research utilizes three instruments--a structured student interview, a teacher questionnaire, and a school facilities survey--to look at relations between three value criteria and four sets of data. The evaluative criteria were: 1) educational survivorship, 2) family education contribution, and 3) life-skills competencies. The four data sets were: 1) school characteristics, 2) teacher characteristics, 3) home/family environment, and 4) student (Moyen II) traits.

The data were organized and analyzed to classify each of seven selected primary schools in a range from "high," to "medium," to "low" for each of the three value criteria.

The focus of the analysis was to determine characteristics of Haitian primary schools which effectively meet the educational outcome

expectations of peasant parents. Findings served as a basis for suggesting guidelines for the enhancement of school performance in keeping with those educational outcomes valued by the school's community.

Chapter Four

FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

The focus of the research is the evaluation of selected Haitian primary schools from the perspective of peasant parents' concern who invest sacrificially in their children's schooling. The educational outcomes expected of schooling by such Haitian parents have been articulated in three value criteria statements: 1) educational survivorship--the student's survival to primary school completion, 2) family education contribution--the student's ability to serve as a family resource, passing on his school-acquired skills to his unschooled family members, and 3) life-skills competencies--the student's ability to use his primary schooling to gain entrance into higher education, or to obtain a vocation which will ensure adequate familial support in years to come.

Data relating to each of these three value criteria were analyzed in order to classify each of the case-study primary schools in a range from "high," to "medium," to "low," on the basis of its performance on each value criterion.

This chapter reports on the research findings resulting from the analysis of school, teacher, home and student characteristics as they compare and contrast with the performance of those primary schools rated "high" and "low" on each of the three value criteria.

VALUE CRITERION #1: EDUCATIONAL SURVIVORSHIP

This first value criterion refers to the internal efficiency of the primary school. It indicates the extent to which its students complete the full range of primary school grades (from Enfantine I to Moyen II), with a minimum of grade repetition or dropout, and successfully pass the Certificat d'Etudes Primaires (CEP) examination. Analysis of these internal efficiency qualifiers rendered the following rating of the seven case-study primary schools included in the sample. They are presented in Table 4.1 in rank order.

Table 4.1

Educational Survivorship Indicator: Rating of Sample Primary Schools

School	Rating	Mean 1983 CEP Score
Ecole Armée du Salut--Grépin	High	6.05
Ecole Armée du Salut--Le Blanc	High	5.61
Ecole Armée du Salut--Aquin	Medium	5.50
Ecole Armée du Salut--La Feronay	Medium	5.43
Ecole Armée du Salut--Verena	Medium	5.15
Ecole Armée du Salut--Gardon	Low	4.88
Ecole Armée du Salut--Ruisseaux	Low	(no score)

For the purposes of comparison and contrast, the following discussion is primarily an analysis of the characteristics of those schools

rated at either extreme of the spectrum, "high" or "low." The schools at the high end of this educational survivorship spectrum are Grépin and Le Blanc. Those rated at the lower end are Gardon and Ruisseaux.

Student Characteristics

Data describing student traits are divided into three categories: family and home, school experience, and attitudinal factors.

FAMILY AND HOME

The influence of family and home in a traditional society like Haiti was found consistently to have a more significant impact on the socialization of children than in more modern societies where the values and influence of the home are diluted by conflicting messages from television and other electronic stimuli. The power of Haitian familial influence was found to be quite evident in several areas of inquiry.

Socio-Economic Status (SES)

The expectation that a student who comes from a SES-advantaged background (in which his parents have received more formal education, or in which his father has a better paying, more secure income, or in which the home contains a greater number of modern possessions), will perform better in terms of academic achievement was not found to be true. As in the findings of Heyneman in Uganda, this assumption, which was so well substantiated in the context of Western research, did not prove true in Haiti.

In fact, the opposite was found. Those schools which ranked highest in educational survivorship were found to be among the lowest in SES. Grépin and Le Blanc were two of the lowest three case-study

schools in terms of SES. However, the lowest-ranking school, Gardon, also ranked lowest in SES of its students.

The highest-ranking schools reported fewer books in the students' homes. At Le Blanc, 62.5 percent of the students and at Grépin, 37.5 percent had no books at all, compared to Gardon (50 percent) and Ruisseaux (only 14.3 percent) that had access to no books at home. Across the entire sample of 55 students in seven schools, less than 18.2 percent owned any books other than a Bible or hymnbook. Less than 5.5 percent had more than 10 books in their homes.

The students of the schools which ranked highest academically were also the least likely to have eaten any breakfast before coming to school. On the day of data collection, 75 percent of Le Blanc's students and 87.5 percent of Grépin's students had eaten nothing that day. Similar but less dramatic nutritional conditions also existed in the lowest-ranking schools, with 75 percent of Gardon's students and 42.9 percent of Ruisseaux's students having eaten no breakfast that day.

The lack of nourishment was particularly noteworthy in that the students in the highest-ranking schools also had the furthest distance to walk to get to school. In Le Blanc, 37.5 percent of the students, and in Grépin, 50 percent, had hiked more than one hour over the mountains to attend school. More than half of the students in the highest-ranking schools had gotten up prior to 5:00 a.m. in order to do this.

Home Responsibilities

Examination of the workload carried by students in the case-study schools revealed that those students in the highest-ranking schools carried greater levels of chores and home responsibilities than did students in lower-ranking schools (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2

Responsibilities in the Home
(Percentage of Students Responding "Yes")

Chores	Aquin	Le Blanc	Grépin	Gardon	Verena	La Feronay	Ruisseaux
Agriculture/ Gardening	43%	100%	75%	50%	13%	86%	43%
Fetching Water	88	100	75	100	50	100	100
Childcare	88	85	86	100	100	100	86
Tending Livestock	63	75	86	75	0	57	71
Sweeping/ Cleaning	88	100	100	100	71	100	86
Laundry	88	100	100	86	57	83	83
Marketing/ Buying and Selling	100	88	83	100	100	100	100
Cooking	50	83	83	67	67	40	67
Teaching Siblings	88	75	75	88	75	86	86
TOTALS	696	796	763	766	533	752	722

The level of home responsibilities appears to be in direct correlation with the extent of urbanity of the schools, the urban student carrying considerably less of a home responsibility burden. It would appear that across the student sample, children who are students are treated no differently in the home than children who are not students. There was little report of preferential treatment; but

what difference was reported dealt with the issues of "higher expectations" and "more severely disciplined."

Parental Influence

Parents of students in the highest-ranking schools had the highest level of illiteracy. Only 25 percent of the fathers in Le Blanc could read or write, and only 50 percent in Grépin. The mothers' literacy rate was even lower, with 75 percent illiterate in Le Blanc, and 100 percent illiterate in Grépin. This compared to an overall literacy rate across the schools in the sample of 51.9 percent of fathers literate and 26.5 percent of mothers. It would appear that the students in these schools get very little academic assistance from their illiterate parents.

The education level paralleled the literacy rate. The two schools highest in academic achievement had the highest dropout rate of fathers from primary school. In Le Blanc, 62.5 percent of the fathers, and in Grépin, 75 percent of the fathers were primary school dropouts. Overall, 85.5 percent of the sample's fathers and 94.2 percent of the mothers had not completed as much education as their Moyen II-level offspring.

The mastery of the French language, Haiti's national language and the official language of the classroom, is essential to academic achievement in Haiti, and yet the amount of French spoken in the homes of the two highest-ranking schools was the lowest among the case-study schools. In Le Blanc, 62.5 percent and in Grépin, 50 percent of the students' households spoke "no French at all." In 92.7 percent of the overall sample's homes, French was spoken "rarely" or "not at all."

Perhaps it was due to the fact that the majority of fathers and mothers were dropouts themselves and were determined that their offspring should do better, but the parents of students in the highest-ranking schools were far more involved in their children's schooling. In Le Blanc, 75 percent of the parents, and in Grépin, 62.5 percent of the parents were actively involved in the parent-teacher conferences held each trimester. This compared to 5 percent in Gardon, and 10 percent in Ruisseaux, the two lowest-ranking schools (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3

Percentage of Parental Participation in Schooling

Schools	Percentage of Parents Involved in PTA
Aquin	58.0%
Le Blanc	75.0
Grépin	62.5
Gardon	10.0
Verena	60.0
La Feronay	45.0
Ruisseaux	5.0

A further probe into the level of parental support or performance demands experienced by the students was measured by asking, "How angry do your parents become when you do poorly in school?" The difference between high-performance schools and low-performance schools was notable; 87.5 percent in Le Blanc and 100 percent of the respondents in Grépin reported a "9" on a Likert-type degree of intensity scale of 1-9, with 9 being "extremely angry." This compared to only 37.5 percent in Gardon, and 57.1 percent in Ruisseaux. The involvement of

parents in their children's schooling played a major role in the level of their academic performance.

The selection by parents of which child to choose as bâton vieillesse for the familial education investment said much about the parents' perception of schooling. Overall in the student sampling, the characteristic most cited was "obedience"--the child most respectful of elders and least likely to get into mischief resulting in expulsion. Of the students, 37 percent suggested that obedience was the most important criterion for their selection for schooling; 29.6 percent felt they were selected because they were the eldest; and only 5.6 percent felt they were selected because they were the most intelligent or most able to learn. In only 11.1 percent of the households did all school-age children attend school regardless of characteristics.

This is significant because the parents in those schools that ranked highest on educational survivorship tended to choose students less on the basis of obedience and more on intelligence and eldest in sibling order. The parents at the two lowest-ranking schools tended to select children for schooling largely on the basis of acquiescent or obedient behavior: Gardon with 62.5 percent, and Ruisseaux, 42.9 percent (see Table 4.4).

When schooling is perceived by parents not so much as learning or education, but as a system to survive in order to derive the social benefits available only to those who complete the system, the selection of the quietest, most obedient child makes good sense. Unfortunately, though such children may get into less mischief, they are also most likely to be passive, less enthusiastic learners. This selection process alone could account for much of the grade repetition, failure and dropout so prevalent in Haitian primary schools.

Table 4.4

Student Selection for Schooling: Parental Criteria by School

Criteria	Aquin	Le Blanc	Grépin	Gardon	Verena	La Feronay	Ruisseaux
Oldest child	37.5%	37.5%	50.0%	0.0%	50.0%	14.3%	14.3%
Intelligent/ teachable	0	12.5	0	25.0	0	0	0
Obedient	25.0	12.5	37.5	62.5	37.5	42.9	42.9
Other	25.0	25.0	12.5	12.5	12.5	14.3	14.3

(N=55)

SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

To further explore school characteristics that distinguished those schools that ranked "high" on educational survivorship from those that ranked "low," analysis extended into the actual school experiences of the students.

Students in the high-ranking schools tended to have begun their schooling at an earlier age. The average starting age at Le Blanc and Grépin was 6.1 years, while Gardon and Ruisseaux students typically entered schooling a full two to two-and-a-half years later, at 7.7 and 8.5 years of age.

Students in the high-ranking schools also started at lower grades in their current schools and tended to have done far less transferring from school to school. In Le Blanc, 75 percent, and in Grépin, 50 percent of the students started at their schools in Enfantine I.

The fact that grade repetition is perceived by parents as financial wastage has been discussed. In spite of this financial hardship, those schools that ranked highest in educational survivorship were also found to have the highest overall rate of grade repetition. This was true in early grades as well as later grades. The higher a school's educational survivorship rating, the higher was found to be its rate of grade repetition (see Table 4.5). Overall, 83.4 percent of the student sample had repeated grades in the course of their schooling; 33 percent had repeated two or more grades.

Table 4.5

Grade Repetition Rates: Percentages by School

Schools	Grades Repeated		
	None	One	Two+
Aquin	25.0%	38.0%	37.0%
Le Blanc	0.0	87.5	12.5
Grépin	0.0	37.5	62.5
Gardon	50.0	50.0	0.0
Verena	12.0	70.0	18.0
La Feronay	10.0	80.0	10.0
Ruisseaux	28.6	57.1	14.3

Schools with the highest repetition rates might well be expected to also have the highest dropout rates as frustrated students and parents give up on the system. The opposite was found to be true. The academically highest schools had not only the highest repetition rate, but also the lowest dropout rate. Table 4.6 illustrates that the highest schools academically, in spite of their high repetition

rate, did not experience as high a dropout rate. It would appear that if a school had a reputation for the ultimate academic success of its students, despite heavy repetition to maintain those standards, peasant parents would not allow their children to drop out, and would continue to support the school. High repetition does not equal high dropout if the promise of academic achievement is evident historically. Students in academically strong schools consequently tended to hold their teachers and school in high regard.

Table 4.6

School Dropout Rates: Percentages by School

Schools	Students with Dropouts in Home
Aquin	50.0%
Le Blanc	50.0
Grépin	50.0
Gardon	87.5
Verena	38.0
La Feronay	15.0
Ruisseaux	58.1

A final observation of the students' school experience is that those schools with a higher mean score on the CEP examination also had fewer students who actually failed the exam, which is more important from the parents' perspective. Only 16.7 percent in Le Blanc, and 12.5 percent in Grépin, scored less than the required 5.0 to pass. The tragic story in Gardon was that more than half the Moyen II students (57.2 percent) failed the 1983 CEP examination,

while 42.9 percent failed in Ruisseaux. Failure rates of this magnitude would not maintain parental support for long, despite a lower repetition rate and seemingly greater short-term educational survival gains.

ATTITUDINAL FACTORS

In an effort to further understand how students in the case-study schools that ranked high in educational survivorship (Le Blanc, Grépin) differed from those students in schools that ranked low (Gardon, Ruisseaux), it was relevant to inquire into the students' attitudes. Higher academic achievement has been associated with the student's level of aspiration (Chaplin, 1968), his self-perception of academic ability (Brookover and Schailer, 1963), and his self-esteem or self-concept (Borislow, 1962).

The findings in non-industrial societies have also linked academic performance to students' attitudes about themselves. "The Equality of Educational Opportunity" study used two separate measures of personal attitudes: self-concept and "control of the environment," and found both to be highly related to each other and to academic achievement.

The data from Haiti showed some consistency with precedent research findings, and also some deviations perhaps peculiar to Haiti. Overall, students of those schools that ranked high in educational survivorship had the lowest self-concept of the entire sample. Levels of self-concept ran almost parallel with urban and rural locales. Urban students rated higher, while rural students, regardless of academic achievement, rated lower. This seems to reflect the urban migration mentality so prevalent in Haiti: urban is good, rural is bad.

Other attitudinal factors tended to explain this apparent anomaly. Low self-concept seemed to have little effect in terms of fatalism or hopelessness. Perhaps because of the lower self-concept, students in the schools ranked highest academically showed strong evidence of greater determination to survive educationally when asked what quality they considered most important for academic success (good memory, hard work, obedience or intelligence). Hard work was the response of 37.5 percent in Le Blanc and 28.6 percent in Grépin, compared to 0 percent in Gardon and 14.3 percent in Ruisseaux.

This tendency of academically strong students to be more driven to succeed was evident in their assessment of the "importance of schooling for future employment." On a Likert-type degree of intensity scale of 1-9, with "9" being "very important," 100 percent of Le Blanc's students and 75 percent of Grépin's students rated it 9, compared to 0 percent in Gardon and 28.6 percent in Ruisseaux.

This perspective of schooling being crucial to future vocational options was again evident when the students were asked about career aspirations and actual expectations. Students from the high-ranking schools academically tended to set higher vocational goals for themselves: 62.5 percent in both Le Blanc and Grépin described jobs classified as "VIP" or professional status, compared to only 25 percent in Gardon and 14 percent in Ruisseaux. They were also the most likely to want to migrate away from their home locale and even Haiti.

Teacher Characteristics

The research which actually explores the impact of teachers on academic achievement stems primarily from the Western world and generally depicts a minimal influence. Although when students in a

region experience widespread academic difficulty, the teaching staffs are the first to be attacked, there is little empirical evidence to link the characteristics of teachers with performance of children. "The Equality of Educational Opportunity" report of 1966, for example, found that the influence of teachers was slight (Coleman, et al., 1966).

Rossi, in his review of all the achievement literature covering the era most concerned with achievement issues, reported that:

> Perhaps the strongest impression these researchers make is that the teacher's contribution to his students' achievement, in the short run, is minimal. Thus we find that indexes of teaching experience correlated with student achievement around +.2 at the maximum and are often zero or slightly negative. Similar small correlations are obtained with the measures of the quality and the amount of teacher training. In sum, no clear pattern of findings emerges from the research on this topic. We may conclude that the teacher's contributions to his students' achievement do not arise directly out of his background, training, sex, or marital status (Rossi, 1961, p. 270).

Heyneman in Uganda came to similar conclusions in 1975 after analyzing a broad spectrum of teacher variables. His findings by running correlations between teacher characteristics and school achievement found only one teacher measure which was significantly associated with achievement: the quality of Ugandan teachers' English, the language of classroom instruction. The amount of training teachers received, teaching experience, parental schooling, and frequency of English spoken in their childhood home had no significant impact upon mean achievement in their primary schools. Heyneman concluded, "If teachers make any difference to a school's academic achievement, it is most likely expressed through the quality of their English language ability" (Heyneman, 1975, p. 48).

Recognizing these findings of non-relationships in both industrial and non-industrial societies, this comparative/evaluative study of Haiti has sought to explore similar teacher variables, but also to place emphasis on characteristics beyond training, teaching experience or salary. From the less confining methodology of the case-study approach, inquiry into teachers' attitudes, values, self-concepts and motivations were added. This additional perspective shed some interesting light on particular teacher characteristics not often researched. Given the broad mandate imposed on teachers by unschooled Haitian parents, including that they serve as personal examples of moral conduct, portray positive attitudes toward government and church, and provide community leadership, as well as instill academic knowledge, such attitudinal indicators may considerably intensify the weight of school influence on students' development academically and in character.

Data describing teacher characteristics were consequently divided into three categories: family and home, training and school experience, and attitudinal factors.

FAMILY AND HOME

Schools that ranked "high" on value criterion number one, educational survivorship, had teaching staffs of generally higher socio-economic status than those schools that ranked "low." They not only received higher salaries, but came originally from childhood homes of higher socio-economic status.

By measuring the number of "modern" possessions in their current homes compared to those in their childhood homes, it was also possible to determine that they had made greater socio-economic advances during

their lifetimes than had their counterparts in schools that ranked low in educational survivorship. Table 4.7 shows the variances in socio-economic advancement and indicates that teachers in the schools that ranked high had achieved advancements of 16 percent in Le Blanc and 38 percent in Grépin, compared to only 1 percent in Gardon, while the teachers of Ruisseaux actually decreased 15 percent from the conditions they knew as children. It should be no surprise that the attitudes of these groups toward the teaching profession paralleled their socio-economic historic experiences.

Table 4.7

Comparative Socio-Economic Status: Teachers' Current Vs. Childhood Homes

	Aquin	Le Blanc	Grépin	Gardon	Verena	La Feronay	Ruisseaux
Current SES Indicator	331	158	148	71	470	120	100
Childhood Home SES Indicator	250	133	91.6	63	307	259	117
Variance in SES	+24%	+16%	+38%	+1%	+35%	-12%	-15%

The higher SES played itself out also in their self-reported general health status. Teachers in schools with high academic achievement also enjoyed better health and missed schooling less often due to health problems.

Although the variances in SES of teachers' childhood homes would apparently speak of more privileged background, this must be recognized to be strictly relatively speaking. For example, none of the teachers

in schools that ranked either high or low had mothers who had completed even a primary school education.

TRAINING AND SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

The teachers in Le Blanc and Grépin could be characterized as generally older, more mature teachers, the average age being 26, compared to 21 at Gardon and Ruisseaux. They had a higher percentage of women teachers. Gardon's teaching staff was 75 percent male, and 83.3 percent of Ruisseaux's teachers were male.

The teachers at schools with high academic achievement also tended to be more experienced generally, and to have served longer at their current teaching posts. At the lower-ranking schools, Gardon and Ruisseaux, better than half of the teaching staffs were in their first two years of teaching, and as high as 67 percent were in their first year at their current posts.

Across the seven case-study schools, fewer than 32.8 percent of the teachers had received as much as a year of teacher training; 24.3 percent without any training at all were merely mimicking the teaching they had received as students without the benefit of any pedagogic formation. Such untrained teachers made up 75 percent of Gardon's staff, and 33.3 percent of Ruisseaux's. Table 4.8 shows the overall teacher training status.

Teachers in schools that ranked high in academic achievement tended to be generally more cosmopolitan. Nearly half (41.6 percent) of these teachers had travelled at least 200 kilometers from their place of birth, while only 16.6 percent in the lower-ranking schools had ventured that far from their village.

Table 4.8

Teacher Training Status Across Sample Schools

	Aquin	Le Blanc	Grépin	Gardon	Verena	La Feronay	Ruisseaux
No training	0.0%	33.3%	25.0%	75.0%	14.3%	14.3%	33.3%
Less than one year	60.0	66.7	75.0	12.5	4.8	85.7	50.0
One to five years	40.0	0	0	12.5	81.0	0	16.7

(N=70)

Consistent with Heyneman's Ugandan data on English usage in the home, the findings in Haiti gave evidence that teachers in academically strong schools were more likely to use French, the language of classroom instruction, in the casual context of their own homes. One-third of the teachers in Le Blanc and Grépin used French in their homes, while less than half that many (14.6 percent) used French in Gardon and Ruisseaux. Overall, 54.4 percent of the teachers in the seven case-study schools claimed to use French "rarely" or "never." Only 8.8 percent said they used it "often." It would appear that usage of French, although Haiti's national language and the official language required for classroom instruction, is nearly as foreign to teachers as it is to students in Haiti. Such linguistic blockages to learning are a national hurdle Haiti must seriously confront in any national-level educational reform.

ATTITUDINAL FACTORS

A teacher's contentment with his status in life, and particularly his vocation, may be more significant in the lives of Haitian students than in the lives of students in much of the Western world. Teachers, especially in rural or semi-rural settings, are often the community leaders, called upon to model many of the values the community holds sacred. They heavily influence opinion formation because they hold superior educational status in a society where education is the guarantee of social status. They live a highly visible existence in the village, carrying that role of responsibility day and night.

This influential role that extends beyond traditional teacher responsibilities is pertinent to the discussion of academic achievement in that the happiest teachers tended to be found in the most academically strong schools. In Le Blanc and Grépin, 41.7 percent of the teachers claimed to be in the teaching profession because they genuinely liked being teachers. This compared to only 22.9 percent of the teachers in Gardon and Ruisseaux who said they were happy at their work.

A major part of job satisfaction is the sense that what one is doing is important and makes a needed contribution to society. Teachers in schools that ranked "high" expressed a far higher valuation of school as an important prerequisite to establishing a career. In Le Blanc, 100 percent of the teachers and in Grépin, 91.7 percent, ranked the importance of school as an investment with a "9" on a Likert-type degree of intensity scale of 1-9, while only 75 percent of Gardon's teachers and 83.3 percent of Ruisseaux's equally endorsed schooling as an investment.

Their higher level of training and school experience was reflected as well in their understanding of the "learning" aspect of

schooling. Teachers in schools that ranked "high" tended to downplay the importance of "obedience" as essential to school success, and cited "intelligence" as the most vital student criterion. In the lowest-scoring school for educational survivorship, more than half (57.1 percent) of the teachers singled out "obedience" as most essential. This perspective was consistent with that of the parents and students in those schools.

Perhaps it is a reflection of their own educational achievement and higher SES, but teachers in schools that ranked high academically, like Grépin and Le Blanc, were not as likely to cite poverty conditions as the root problem to academic failure. When asked for a rationale for the high dropout rate in schools throughout Haiti, 100 percent of Gardon's and Ruisseaux's teachers blamed it on financial constraints. Le Blanc's and Grépin's teachers, however, put the blame squarely on "lack of parental understanding of the importance of schooling." A parallel response was obtained when asked to explain why less than half of Haiti's school-age children attend school.

Teachers in those schools ranking high academically also tended to place the blame for the high CEP examination failure rate on the schools themselves and the scholastic system in Haiti, rather than on the students for failure to learn. In schools ranking lower academically, only 14.6 percent placed the focus of blame on themselves, the schools or the system.

A final attitudinal observation was very revealing when one considers that all the teachers in both "low" and "high" schools academically live in poverty conditions. When asked to explain what constitutes "success," only 16.7 percent of the teachers in the

schools ranking high in academic achievement described a concept of acquiring riches and possessions. This compared to 62.5 percent in Gardon, and 50 percent in Ruisseaux, who held that "success" meant the acquiring of material possessions. Even in poverty, the teachers in Le Blanc and Grépin consistently described personal qualities such as integrity, generosity, determination and servanthood as characteristics of successful people. Such world views surely have a heavy impact on the formation of Haitian students under their instruction.

School Characteristics (Program and Facilities)

The schools in the sample were categorized as urban, semi-rural, and rural. Precedents in the literature and research from a Western perspective have consistently found positive correlations existing between population density and school quality (Swanson, 1961; Pierce, 1947). Research from developing nations, however, has often found the opposite to be true. In Uganda, Heyneman found the mean academic achievement of rural schools to be the highest, the semi-rural next highest, and the urban schools averaging the lowest scores (Heyneman, 1975, p. 18).

The two urban schools in this Haiti research were rated "medium," neither highest nor lowest. The highest schools, consistent with the findings of developing world research, were rural (Le Blanc) and semi-rural (Grépin). However, the lowest schools likewise were rural (Gardon) and semi-rural (Ruisseaux). (Unlike Uganda, where teachers of all qualities are government-assigned to their teaching posts, thus placing excellent teachers even in remote schools, the teachers in Haiti are free to seek posts wherever they choose.) Though less

dramatic, Haiti seems consistent with developing country research findings that quality schooling is not to be found exclusively in large urban centers.

In this section of analysis, a final aspect of the schools is examined for any evidence of bearing on educational survival--that of the schools' programs and facilities. When the "Coleman Report" (1966) spoke of "equality" of educational opportunity, it was making reference to equivalence in distribution of teachers and facilities. Later, Wise, in Rich Schools, Poor Schools: The Promise of Equal Educational Opportunity referred to the amount of money each school spends on each child (Wise, 1967).

There is no national standard established by the Haitian Ministry of Education for school facility construction or maintenance. The range of school buildings among the seven case-study schools went from thatched roof with dirt floor and mud or cardboard walls, to spacious double-decker concrete block with tin roof. Furnishings ranged from individual desks with storage to a single log on the ground. Although all classrooms had blackboards, they too ranged from green concrete "built-into-the-wall" style to a plain piece of brown cardboard nailed to the wall.

Other facility data were collected on availability of posters, maps and instructional aids, textbooks, school supplies, lighting, ventilation, classroom layout, library, playground, latrines, dining facilities, square footage of classroom space per student, desk space, teacher-to-student ratio, etc., on the "School Facilities Survey" (see Appendix C).

The broad spectrum of school facilities and environments in the Haitian case-study schools seemed certain to yield a variation of impact

on the quality of learning occurring, with certain ramifications on educational survivorship. The findings, however, did not show that variance in educational facilities related clearly with student achievement. This finding is consistent with the United States findings of "The Equal Educational Opportunity" report, and research more parallel to the Haiti situation in non-industrialized nations (Heyneman, 1975). In the quest for school improvement, particularly in poverty-stricken locales where the limitations in equipment and facilities seem obvious, the decision to spend limited financial resources to put on a new roof, purchase new desks, or put in electric lights may, in fact, have very little impact on the actual quality of learning.

Some findings in the facilities, however, and especially in school program, were notably different between schools that ranked high versus those that ranked low on the educational survivorship criterion.

Those schools that ranked "high" on the basis of 1983 data collection were not only outstanding for that year, but had a history of high performance academically. Grépin, for example, had a 1983 CEP examination mean score of 6.05, but also had a 95 percent passage of the exam the previous three years. Likewise, Le Blanc, with a 1983 CEP mean score of 5.61, successfully passed 91 percent of its students the previous three years. The school scoring lowest, Gardon, not only had a 1983 CEP mean score of 4.88 (below the passing level), but had a low passage rate historically. In 1982, none of the students at Gardon passed.

An indication of the amount of money a school spends on each student is the student-to-teacher ratio of the school. Haitian schools that showed academic strength were found to have lower student-to-teacher

ratios, especially in the higher grades where final preparation for the CEP examination occurs. As illustrated in Table 4.9, at Le Blanc and Grépin, at the Moyen II level, the ratio averaged 9.5 students per teacher. At Gardon and Ruisseaux, the student-to-teacher ratio for Moyen II was 16.5 to one. Perhaps more revealing was the ratio at the school entry level, Enfantine I, where the student-to-teacher ratio at Ruisseaux was 112 to 1, and at Gardon, 73 to 1, compared to an average of 56 to 1 in the two highest-ranking case-study schools.

This discrepancy in expenditure for teachers is revealing when it is noted that the tuition level among these four schools differs very little. The "high" schools averaged $47.60 per year, compared to $39.65 averaged by the "low" schools.

Table 4.9

Student:Teacher Ratio Across Schools (Lowest and Highest Grades)

	Aquin	Le Blanc	Grépin	Gardon	Verena	La Feronay	Ruisseaux
Enfantine I	25:1	70:1	42:1	73:1	41:1	46:1	112:1
Moyen II	18:1	7:1	12:1	20:1	35:1	19:1	13:1
Overall Average	31:1	26:1	24:1	30:1	43:1	31:1	46:1

A slight difference was noted in the amount of classroom space or classroom density between high- and low-ranking schools in educational survivorship. The average amount of classroom space per child

at Le Blanc was merely 4 square feet, and 15 square feet at Grépin. This compared to 9 square feet per child at Gardon, and a cramped 2 square feet per child at Ruisseaux. However, when one merely compares the extremes, the cramped conditions at Le Blanc nearly paralleled those at Ruisseaux. But this similarity in conditions had no bearing on their academic differences. Across the seven case-study schools, it cannot be reasoned that the more spacious the school, the better its academic performance. Table 4.10 shows the range of classroom density across schools.

Table 4.10

Classroom Density Across Schools
(Square Feet of Space per Student per Grade)

	Aquin	Le Blanc	Grépin	Gardon	Verena	La Feronay	Ruisseaux
Enfantine I	20	3	9	5	10	6	1
Enfantine II	13	3	14	5	10	6	1
Préparatoire I	7	3	22	11	7	3	2
Préparatoire II	9	3	24	10	11	10	2
Elémentaire I	13	7	12	11	12	4	7
Elémentaire II	20	8	21	11	10	11	7
Moyen I	24	5	15	17	11	14	12
Moyen II	24	20	15	17	24	21	12
SCHOOL MEAN	13	4	15	9	12	9	2

A final school program observation seems relevant considering the fact noted earlier that students in schools ranking "high" also tended to have greater home responsibilities, got up earlier in the morning and walked farther to school. Both Le Blanc and Grépin had a free daily hot lunch program for the students provided by the school. In Gardon, the lowest socio-economic region in the sample, the lunch was provided only when food was available, averaging two to three times per week. In Ruisseaux, the children received no food at any time. The Institute for International Research, Inc., which in 1985 did the most complete sector assessment of education and human resources in Haiti for USAID concluded that:

> The continued and expanded availability of food in primary schools is necessary and has educational as well as health outcomes. School feeding programs are not just a free lunch. They make an important contribution to the learning achievements of children, and thus to the health and welfare of the nation (Pigozzi, 1985, p. 5-112).

The USAID study noted further that parents view very positively a school that participates in a feeding program, observing that, ". . . parents would rather send a child to a private school where there is food than to a less expensive public school where there is no food" (Pigozzi, 1985, p. 5-84). The availability of a quality school lunch program was consistently linked to high educational survivorship.

VALUE CRITERION #2: FAMILY EDUCATION CONTRIBUTION

This second value criterion refers to the extent to which the students of a school serve as family resources, passing on their school-acquired skills to their unschooled family members. In the

current Haitian context, where 57 percent of all school-age children do not attend school, and 93 percent of the national labor force does not have even a primary school education, the youth in school is often expected to serve as the primary family reader, writer, accountant and basic teacher to unschooled siblings, and often, parents. This is an educational outcome expected by the parents which not only provides a uniquely long-term financial contribution to elderly parents, but also produces an immediate return on the educational investment.

An analysis of these family education contributions and the extent of such activity in each of the seven Haitian case-study primary schools rendered the following rating of schools on the value criterion. They are presented in Table 4.11 in rank order.

Table 4.11

Family Education Contribution Indicator: Ranking of Sample Primary Schools

School	Rating	
Ecole Armée du Salut--Le Blanc	High	1,144
Ecole Armée du Salut--Gardon	High	1,125
Ecole Armée du Salut--Grepin	Medium	1,113
Ecole Armée du Salut--La Feronay	Medium	1,022
Ecole Armée du Salut--Ruisseaux	Medium	978
Ecole Armée du Salut--Aquin	Low	911
Ecole Armée du Salut--Verena	Low	784

For the purposes of comparison and contrast, the following discussion is primarily an analysis of the characteristics of those schools rated at either extreme of the family education contribution spectrum. Those schools at the "high" end are Le Blanc and Gardon. Those rated at the lower end are Aquin and Verena.

Student Characteristics

The data describing the student characteristics were divided into three categories: family and home, school experience, and attitudinal factors.

FAMILY AND HOME

The context of the family and home is deemed relevant to this youth as a family education resource concept in that, like societies at the macro level, the social dynamic of the family unit at the micro level dictates both the climate and the need for such a contribution. In Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap (1970), Mead describes societies undergoing such a rapid rate of development and social change that the experiences of the children (e.g., schooling) differ markedly from those of the adults so that the normal downward flow of learning, from adult to child, is in some areas reversed, with the adults often learning from the experiences of their children.

While this dynamic is clearly descriptive of what is happening across Haiti this generation, the findings of the research analyzed the phenomenon within the context of the individual home. Generally speaking, the characteristics of the home paralleled those of Mead's societies, causing the levels of such youth resource activities to vary dramatically even from locale to locale. The more rural, less

schooled, socio-economically deprived the family, the greater the role of the youth in family education contributions.

Socio-Economic Status (SES)

Families in those primary schools found to have the greatest youth activity as educational resources tended to be of considerably lower SES. Utilizing the SES assessment tool of "modern possessions in the home" (see Table 3.1), such homes scored only half the possessions level of homes with minimal such youth contribution. The SES levels of Le Blanc at 164, and Gardon at 102, contrast dramatically with Aquin's 238 and Verena's 425.

Other indicators support the same observation. Families in such low socio-economic locales tended to be larger, averaging 6.3 people per family, as opposed to 5. They enrolled fewer of their school-age children in school (37.5 percent, compared to 67.5 percent), and had less money available to spend on tuition costs. More than half the homes (56.2 percent) had no books in them at all, compared to only 31.2 percent. Less than 12.5 percent had lamps--none had electricity. Finally, 100 percent of the parents in such low SES homes were found to be unskilled laborers or subsistence-level peasant farmers.

Logically, it would follow that families of such limited SES would look to any resource they had as being responsible to contribute to the family's overall status. There is minimal duplication or wastage; education of selected children must benefit all.

Home Responsibilities

The "limited resources" mentality carries over into more than educational concerns. The children of such low SES but high youth

education contributions tended to also have heavier work responsibilities, including major childcare roles in the home. Table 4.2 shows the levels of home responsibilties across the case-study schools--Le Blanc and Gardon with a mean of 781, compared to Aquin and Verena with 614.5.

The contrast continued in the actual performance of educational contributions. The level was very high across the entire spectrum of case-study schools: 94.3 percent served as readers; 77.5 percent as writers; and 90.8 percent as accountants. The rural schools of Le Blanc and Gardon excelled at having youth as prolific family scribes. Table 4.12 shows the spectrum across all schools.

Table 4.12

Youth as Family Scribes
(Percentage Across Sample Schools Responding "Yes")

Tasks	Aquin	Le Blanc	Grépin	Gardon	Verena	La Feronay	Ruisseaux
Primary Family Reader	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	75.0%	100.0%	85.7%
Primary Family Writer	62.5	100.0	87.5	100.0	50.0	71.4	71.4
Primary Family Accountant	87.5	100.0	87.5	87.5	87.5	100.0	85.7
TOTALS	250.0	300.0	275.0	287.5	212.5	271.4	242.8

(N=55)

An indicator of the family education contribution which measures the extent of the phenomenon more critically was the level of actual teaching by students taking place in the home (see Table 4.13).

Table 4.13

Youth as Family Teachers
(Percentage Across Sample Schools Responding "Yes")

Literacy	Aquin	Le Blanc	Grépin	Gardon	Verena	La Feronay	Ruisseaux
Student taught father	50%	88%	38%	50%	25%	57%	71%
Student taught mother	25	63	75	63	63	57	71
Student taught siblings	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTALS	175	251	213	213	188	214	242

(N=55)

There appeared to be no social stigma attached to a youth teaching adults, provided it was done for one's immediate family in the context of the home. The greatest rationale offered by students for their roles as family scribes and teachers was "to protect the family's honor." The rationales of those who did not serve in those capacities were: "parents already literate" (33 percent), "parents too busy" (11 percent), "parents never asked" (3.7 percent), and "don't feel it would be respectful" (5.6 percent).

Parental Influence

The characteristics of the parents and their influence in homes where significant family education contributions were being made by students is relevant to understanding and potentially utilizing this phenomenon. They tended to hold more traditional values, and were less influenced by the modernity of their urban contemporaries.

The education level of the parents in Le Blanc and Gardon was generally lower than in Aquin and Verena. Table 4.14 shows that no parents in Le Blanc, and only 12.5 percent of the fathers in Gardon, completed as much as primary school. In the urban centers of Aquin and Verena, 37.5 percent of the fathers and 16.2 percent of the mothers were primary school graduates.

Table 4.14

Parental Education Levels of Primary School Students

Schooling Level	Aquin	Le Blanc	Grépin	Gardon	Verena	La Feronay	Ruisseaux
Father:							
Attended No Schooling	25.0%	37.5%	25.0%	50.0%	12.5%	28.6%	42.9%
Dropped Out of Primary School	50.0	62.5	75.0	37.5	37.5	71.4	57.1
Graduated Primary School	25.0	0	0	12.5	50.0	0	0
Mother:							
Attended No Schooling	25.0	37.5	75.0	87.5	40.0	71.4	57.1
Dropped Out of Primary School	62.5	62.5	25.0	12.5	40.0	28.6	42.9
Graduated Primary School	12.5	0	0	0	20.0	0	0

The parental literacy rate, on even the most basic of measurements (ability to sign one's name) was also lower--25 percent in Le Blanc and 31.3 percent in Gardon, compared to 43.8 percent in Aquin and 62.5 percent in Verena. Such parental educational limitations in the rural regions of Haiti would offer ample rationale for the widespread familial education contributions of their youth. The students are filling a literary vacuum in homes that can no longer afford to ignore the written messages in the rapidly changing world around them.

Consistent with such educational and literacy limitations, it follows logically that there was also less French, the language of the classroom, spoken in such homes. No French at all was utilized by 56.2 percent in Le Blanc and Gardon, compared to 31.2 percent in the urban homes in the sample schools.

SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

Students most active as family education resources tended to be older and to have started their schooling at an older age. This is consistent with rural enrollment patterns in numerous precedent research efforts (Heyneman, 1975). This is partially due to the reluctance of parents to send a five-year-old on a daily hour-or-more hike to school in the most isolated, sparsely populated and underdeveloped areas. Maturity and sibling order (more oldest siblings) could account for some of their home responsibilities as teachers and scribes.

The school as an institution did not have a monopoly on learning in communities where there was a high level of students making family education contributions. The students were more likely to credit

parents, siblings, relatives or the church for the teaching of subjects normally reserved for classroom instruction. When asked in an open-ended question to indicate the person most responsible for teaching them a particular subject (reading, colors, writing, singing, counting and the alphabet), students across the spectrum of Haitian case-study schools credited those listed in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15

Identification of Community Learning Institutions (Student Responses to "Who Taught You?")

Subject	School	Parents	Siblings	Relatives	Church
Reading	47%	18%	25%	10%	0%
Colors	50	34	13	0	0
Writing	49	19	32	0	0
Singing	46	25	11	0	15
Counting	33	45	14	8	0
Alphabet	52	21	27	0	0
MEAN TOTALS	46.1	27.5	20.3	3	2.5

(N=55)

The formal school institution was cited only 46.1 percent of the time by the 55 students in the sample as the primary institution responsible for the teaching of even specifically school-oriented curricula. Parents received 27.5 percent of the credit, and siblings, 20.3 percent. The combined parent and sibling rates would indicate

that the home as a learning institution (48 percent) was often perceived as even more viable than the school (46.1 percent). Pertinent to the discussion of students making educational contributions to the home is the fact that siblings were cited as primary educators of school-oriented learning 20 percent of the time.

ATTITUDINAL FACTORS

Students from schools ranking high in family education contribution tended to come from families of relatively low SES, low parental education and generally remote rural settings. It would seem consistent in Haiti that they would therefore have a relatively low self-concept. Self-concept indicators in this study ran almost directly along urban/rural lines. Le Blanc and Gardon ranked lowest, while Aquin and Verena were two of the three highest.

These students tended to set lower vocational goals for themselves, with only 6.2 percent targeting "VIP"-rated vocations (see Table 1.2), compared to 50 percent of their counterparts in the cities doing so. With relatively low vocational goals, they also tended to perceive and value schooling less as an essential route to their chosen vocations. This sense of vocational futility, coupled with the financial constraints of their parents, left these students more vulnerable to dropout, especially when triggered by financial disasters caused by crop failure, or health problems.

Teacher Characteristics

The fact that the schools scoring high on family education contribution were generally rural by nature, compared to the urban nature of low-scoring schools, suggested a potential difference in the level

of teacher impact on students. Urban students have a wide variety of role models, including those imported via the electronic media. In the rural setting, however, the teacher, who is often the most educated, cosmopolitan member of the community, holds a more significant role in the value formation of students. This is pertinent to the discussion of youth making educational contributions to their families because although the phenomenon of student "teachers" seems quite prevalent in Haiti, teachers can either encourage and utilize the resource, or ignore it. For example, instead of merely teaching students to read, a supportive teacher could simultaneously teach his students how to teach another to read, thus multiplying the community impact of the school significantly.

Data describing teacher characteristics around this second value criterion, family education contribution, were divided into three categories: family and home, training and school experience, and attitudinal factors.

FAMILY AND HOME

Schools that ranked high on the value criterion of family education contribution were rural in nature, and the characteristics of their teachers followed consistently. Compared to teachers in the urban settings who had geographic mobility, the "typical" teacher was very much a "local" boy or girl who grew up in the community and knew it with the intimacy of one born and raised there. None of the teachers in Le Blanc and Gardon were working as much as 50 kilometers from their place of birth. This compared to 47.6 percent in Verena alone who were born and raised more than 100 kilometers from where

they now lived. None had ever been outside Haiti, and less than 25 percent had travelled as far as 200 kilometers from their villages.

This familiarity with their school's environment apparently was a positive strength for them, as 83.3 percent felt good about their profession and believed that teachers did get proper respect from the community. Only 41.4 percent of their urban counterparts felt that teachers got adequate respect. Some teachers reported that teaching close to one's birthplace sometimes caused status problems, for it was difficult to take command of parents or to mobilize community leaders who had known the teachers as children.

Socio-Economic Status (SES)

The SES of rural teachers was found to be considerably lower than that of their urban colleagues. They grew up in poverty conditions, and were able to improve their lot in life, although minimally. The SES indicators of Le Blanc (158) and Gardon (71) were less than half those of Aquin (331) and Verena (470). This reflected an improved SES over their childhood homes of only 16 percent and 1 percent respectively, whereas the urban teachers enjoyed a 30 percent SES increase.

Their salary levels reflected their SES precisely with mean school monthly salaries of $60 in Le Blanc and $42 in Gardon, compared to $75 in Aquin and $135 in Verena. Further, 77 percent of the rural teachers found it necessary to moonlight with two or three jobs. Only 37.1 percent of urban teachers were so financially constrained. Also, the rural teachers experienced more than twice the health problems.

Of the rural teachers, 83.3 percent came from homes where subsistence agriculture was the family vocation. Only 6.2 percent of their fathers had completed primary school, and 91.6 percent of their mothers had never attended school at all. It follows logically that 68.7 percent never heard French spoken in their childhood homes.

TRAINING AND SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

The teaching credentials of rural schools, which ranked high in terms of their students actively serving as family education resources, were, like their SES, considerably lower. There were no high school graduates on their teaching staffs, compared to 20 percent at Aquin and 57.1 percent at Verena. The teachers tended to be younger in rural schools, and there was a higher proportion of male teachers--70.8 percent, compared to 38.8 percent in the cities.

Half of the teachers in both Le Blanc and Gardon were in their first or second year of teaching, compared to only 7.4 percent in Aquin and Verena. More than half (54.1 percent) had never received any kind of teacher training at all. This lack of training and newness to the teaching task were reflected in their perspective of what schooling is all about. At Le Blanc, 83.3 percent of the teachers, and at Gardon, 62.5 percent, selected "a good memory" as the top priority for achieving success in school. This was chosen over "intelligence," "obedience," and "hard work."

Rural teachers also tended to use less French in the context of their own homes. In 68.7 percent of the teachers' homes in Le Blanc and Gardon, French was never used at all. This was reflected on their six French ability questions, where every rural teacher missed at least

half. Of the urban teachers, fewer than 34.5 percent performed as poorly. Table 4.16 shows the French performance level across the spectrum of case-study schools.

Table 4.16

Responses to Six Questions of French Ability: Percentage Responding Correctly

	Aquin	Le Blanc	Grépin	Gardon	Verena	La Feronay	Ruisseaux
Question 97	90.0%	66.7%	25.0%	50.0%	85.7%	57.1%	33.3%
Question 98	11.1	16.7	16.7	37.5	47.6	42.9	33.3
Question 99	40.0	16.7	50.0	12.5	66.7	57.1	16.7
Question 100	70.0	33.3	50.0	50.0	76.2	100.0	50.0
Question 101	20.0	16.7	8.3	12.5	33.3	28.6	0.0
Question 102	90.0	100.0	75.0	37.5	85.7	71.4	33.3
OVERALL SCORE	321.1	250.0	225.0	200.0	395.2	357.1	166.6
PERCENTAGE CORRECT	54%	42%	38%	33%	66%	60%	28%

(N=70)

Unless or until the Ministry of Education in Haiti officially replaces French with Creole as the approved language of classroom instruction, a teacher's proficiency in French will have a bearing on his students' academic achievement, especially on the CEP examination, which is written exclusively in French. This is particularly relevant for the teachers of the upper grades--Moyen I and Moyen II.

ATTITUDINAL FACTORS

A word which characterizes the attitudes of Haiti's rural school teachers might well be "pragmatic." Asked to identify the ultimate task of the school, 88 percent responded not in the classic educational perspective of problem solving or broadened world view, but very simply, "to prepare students for entry into vocations." Asked to describe what constitutes "success," the majority (62.5 percent) described the acquiring of riches and possessions. Only 7.1 percent of their urban counterparts shared their perspective of success; most described admirable human traits such as integrity, respect or kindness.

This preoccupation with pragmatism carried over into their own self-concept. Much like their students, rural teachers in case-study schools that scored high in family education contribution held themselves in lower esteem than urban teachers. Asked to rank themselves as the "worst," "average," or the "best" teacher in their school, only 29.1 percent responded "the best." This contrasts with 70.9 percent of urban teachers who, in confidentiality also, ranked themselves so highly. The rural teachers tended to feel more persecuted (58.3 percent), and that they more often failed (44.1 percent). They held more traditional values and were less inclined toward modernity.

Typically, in keeping with their own insecurity, the rural teachers in the sample were quick to blame the students themselves, not the school or the educational system, for the high CEP examination failure rate across Haiti.

The high dropout rate was similarly explained by external factors, such as the financial constraints of the students' parents,

not the school's performance or parents' lack of understanding or commitment to schooling.

The rural teachers further expressed frustration that peasant parents tended to choose not the most "intelligent" of their children for their educational investment, but the most "obedient" child. This left them with the most passive, uninspired students to work with on a daily basis while the brightest, most avid learners were out working in their fathers' fields.

Finally, and most pertinent to the discussion of youth making family education contributions, the rural teachers were consistently more supportive to the idea of students teaching adults--even those outside the students' immediate homes. Of rural teachers, 27.1 percent, and only 7.4 percent of urban teachers, felt that students would experience "no problems" teaching adults. Those who viewed the process more skeptically did not doubt the students' ability to teach, but rather, the adults' ability to learn.

School Characteristics

The ranking of the seven Haitian case-study schools for the value criterion of family education contribution fell exactly along the lines of the rural/urban dimension. The smaller, more remote, less densely populated the school setting, the higher it scored on this second value criterion. In larger urban centers like Verena in the capital city of Port-au-Prince, the dynamic of students serving as family scribes or family teachers of school-derived knowledge and skills, while definitely a common home dynamic, did not appear to be as widespread as in rural areas of Haiti.

Schools which scored high on the family education contribution criterion tended to score lower on both of the other two value criteria: educational survivorship and life-skills competencies. This discrepancy was particularly notable in the life-skills competencies criterion. The mean school score for Le Blanc and Gardon was 32, compared to eight times that score (257.5) for Aquin and Verena. Rural schools had a much lower rate of high school entry or the obtaining of skilled vocations requiring school preparation.

Although the tuition levels in rural schools like Le Blanc and Gardon were generally lower, as were, correspondingly, teacher salaries, no real difference in the quality or frequency of the school lunch program was found. It apparently was recognized to be a vital part of the school program and received its fair share of the overall school budget.

The ratio of students to teachers at Le Blanc and Gardon was found to be generally lower, especially in the upper grades (overall, 26 to 1, compared to 37 to 1 in the urban schools). In the first two grades of schooling, Enfantine I and II, however, the 56 to 1 ratio of rural schools compared to only 33 to 1 in the cities. This high student-to-teacher ratio at these earliest, most crucial entry years of schooling may suggest the desirability of utilizing older students, not only as teachers in their own homes, but as peer instructors for the lower grades within the school itself.

The rural schools were also found to be twice as crowded as their urban counterparts. Table 4.10 shows that the amount of classroom space per student in Le Blanc and Gardon was 4 and 9 square feet, respectively, compared to an average of 12.5 square feet at Aquin

and Verena. This observation, while somewhat cold and calculated on paper, has quite an impact when one actually steps into an overcrowded classroom and sees row upon row of little children sitting shoulder to shoulder like so many chickens on a roost.

VALUE CRITERION #3: LIFE-SKILLS COMPETENCIES

This third and final value criterion refers to the extent to which a student is able to utilize his schooling functionally in life. The pragmatic conclusion to the educational investment of the peasant family is that the youth be equipped through his primary schooling to have knowledge, competencies, and ultimately the credentials essential to qualify for further education (high school or vocational training), leading to the acquisition of an acceptable vocation which will adequately allow him to support his parents and others dependent on him.

Graduation from primary school alone is an accomplishment that puts him ahead of 93 percent of Haiti's labor force, of which 73 percent has received no instruction at all, and less than 20 percent has a primary education (Millot and Easton, 1985, p. 2-65). Table 1.2 depicts that the highest proportion of educated persons is in the finance and service branches. Only 40 percent of people in manufacturing, Haiti's most promising economic sector, have finished primary school.

Graduation from primary school alone does not guarantee entrance into high school. The current rate of admission to secondary school is just over half (62 percent) of all primary school graduates. Consequently, nearly 20,000 Haitian children annually leave the education system with no more than a primary school certificate. Figure 1.1

illustrates the low internal efficiency confronting the aspiring bâton vieillesse. The system currently produces as much "wastage" as "product." "The present primary school system cannot be considered a strong resource for the labor market. Moreover, from an individual perspective, experiencing dropout or rejection from school is a poor way to start a productive career" (Millot and Easton, 1985, p. 2-86).

Although beyond the scope of this researcher's evaluation of primary schooling, it can be noted that high school has its own negative selection process, which pushes out six "rejects" for every graduate.

Graduates and dropouts alike ultimately fail at the task of securing work in the turmoil of Haiti's poverty and underdevelopment. According to the 1982 census, open unemployment reaches 12.2 percent of the labor force, with underemployment estimated at 40 percent. "Adding open unemployment and underemployment yields an 'equivalent unemployment' of 50 percent of the total labor force" (Millot and Easton, 1985, p. 2-67).

Such pessimistic forecasts of vocational options for the bâton vieillesse do not seem to deter the Haitian peasant in his educational investment. All aspects of his life--health, environment, income, possessions, etc.--are similarly shrouded in negative circumstances beyond his power to control. To acquiesce to the multiple risks in his life is to give way to fatalism or the sense of hopeless futility that characterizes those completely overwhelmed by poverty. The parent of a bâton vieillesse may be ensnared by poverty conditions, but as long as the child is progressing in school, there is hope, and he is therefore not defeated by poverty.

What, then, characterizes the Haitian primary school which is successfully preparing and placing its students in further educational and vocational opportunities? Analysis of the historic performances of the seven primary school case studies rendered the following rating on this life-skills competencies criterion. They are presented in Table 4.17 in rank order.

Table 4.17

Life-Skills Competencies Indicator: Ranking of Sample Primary Schools

School	Rating	Score
Ecole Armée du Salut--Grépin	High	349
Ecole Armée du Salut--Verena	High	270
Ecole Armée du Salut--Aquin	Medium	245
Ecole Armée du Salut--La Feronay	Medium	171
Ecole Armée du Salut--Gardon	Low	39
Ecole Armée du Salut--Le Blanc	Low	25
Ecole Armée du Salut--Ruisseaux	(No Score)	(No Score)

To facilitate comparison and contrast, the following discussion is primarily an analysis of those case-study schools rated at either extreme of the life-skills competencies spectrum. Those schools at the "high" end are Grépin and Verena. Those rated at the "low" end are Gardon and Le Blanc. Since Ruisseaux was only in its second year of existence, it had not yet produced a graduating class that could be tracked into either high school or relevant vocations.

Student Characteristics

The data describing the student characteristics were divided into three categories: family and home, school experience, and attitudinal factors.

FAMILY AND HOME

The students of Grépin and Verena, in the actual historic accomplishment of acquiring entrance into high school or vocations suitable for adequate familial support, were the closest to fulfilling the mandate of the bâton vieillesse. The characteristics of their family and home environment played a major role in their achievement.

Socio-Economic Status (SES)

The families of students in those case-study schools which ranked "high" in life-skills competencies differed from those that ranked "low" in that they were generally of a higher SES. They had more of their school-age children enrolled in school (71 percent), compared to only 37.5 percent at Le Blanc and Gardon. Once enrolled, fewer were forced to eventually drop out due to financial constraints. Their health status reflected their SES--they were generally healthier.

The parents tended to have marketable skills, working at vocations more reliable than subsistence farming. Fewer than 30 percent of the fathers were peasant agriculturalists, compared to 93.7 percent in the low-ranking schools. The parents were generally more cosmopolitan and modern in their thinking, reflecting their typical "urban" surroundings. Two of the three highest-ranking schools were urban (Aquin and Verena), but the highest ranked was Grépin, which is semi-rural. The lowest-ranking schools, Le Blanc and Gardon, are thoroughly rural.

Home Responsibilities

Students in these "high" life-skills competencies schools did not carry the same level of home chores and responsibilities that their "low" counterparts did. This was reflected in lesser routine chores, like tending animals, fetching water and house cleaning, but also in fewer childcare responsibilities.

Pertinent to this research, they also were somewhat less involved in teaching school-acquired skills in the home. This reflected a lessened need for such a resource due to a higher percentage of school-age children enrolled in school and fewer parents who had not had the benefit of schooling.

Parental Influence

The parents appeared to be very influential in the level of performance of students in such schools. Being better educated themselves and possessing more marketable skills, they seemed to instill in their children higher aspirations and expectations. They were actively involved in PTA sessions each trimester at their schools, with 81.2 percent attendance, compared to half that (40 percent) at schools which ranked "low."

Parental support extended even into daily academic performance levels. When asked to rate on a Likert-type degree of intensity scale of 1-9, "How angry do your parents become when you do poorly in school?", 100 percent of Grépin's and Verena's students responded with "9", which is "very angry." This contrasted to only 62.5 percent in Le Blanc and Gardon. When asked about the high dropout rates throughout Haiti, and why they themselves did not drop out, more than half the students at Grépin and Verena cited "parental encouragement and

support," compared to only 12.5 percent in the low-ranking schools.

Although the gender mix in primary schools throughout Haiti is split nearly equally, 53.5 percent boys and 46.5 percent girls (Pigozzi, 1985), in all the case-study schools the concensus of opinion (75.9 percent) among students was that schooling was more important for boys. This was true even though only 45 percent of the student respondents were male. At Grépin, the highest-rated school in life-skills competencies, the male students outnumbered the females by 3 to 1. It is possible that the spectrum of vocational options is broader for males in Haiti, but the finding at Grépin was not consistent enough throughout the other schools to be considered a general trend.

Parents at schools that had high life-skills competencies ratings were, however, consistently more likely to send to school their oldest, firstborn child, regardless of gender. Half of the students at Grépin and Verena felt they were selected for schooling because they were the eldest, compared to only 18.7 percent in Le Blanc and Gardon.

SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

Schools that adequately prepared their students to enter a rewarding vocation or progress to higher education were also schools that were academically strong. The relationship between schools that scored high on the educational survivorship criterion and the life-skills competencies criterion is quite evident. Grépin is the strongest school in both criteria.

Schools that rated high on life-skills competencies had not only high mean school scores on the 1983 CEP examination, but had more students with very high scores. They had a higher rate of students

transferring in from other schools because of their superior academic reputation. The standards were higher; 50 percent of the Moyen II students had repeated two or more grades. Only 6.2 percent of the schools which were rated "low" in life-skills competencies had similar repetitions.

Though the high-ranking schools were more demanding academically, the students and their families tended to rise to the standard with fewer students contemplating dropping out. In fact, not one of the student respondents at Grépin or Verena expressed having had a desire to quit, while 12.5 percent at Le Blanc and 25 percent at Gardon survived despite wanting to quit. Even if they were to fail the 1983 CEP examination they were to take two months after the data collection, less than 6.2 percent of Grépin's and Verena's students would quit school rather than repeat Moyen II the following year.

ATTITUDINAL FACTORS

Students in schools that ranked "high" in life-skills competencies had not only the support and determination of their parents behind them, they also had a considerably higher self-concept and resulting confidence than students in schools that ranked "low." A higher percentage of them planned to continue their schooling into high school rather than enter the work force. When they do enter the work force, they expect to attain higher vocational positions. When asked in an open-ended format to name their first choice in vocation, 56.2 percent of the students identified a profession of high "VIP" status (see Table 1.2). Only 6.2 percent of students in schools that ranked "low" in life-skills competencies sought "VIP"-status jobs. In describing their second vocational choice if the first was not possible, 18.7

percent again chose "VIP"-level vocations. None of the students at Le Blanc or Gardon chose a "VIP"-status vocation if the first choice was not possible. Later in the interview, after SES of their families, school difficulties and self-concepts had been discussed, the students were again asked about vocation, but this time the question was not about "aspirations," but realistic "expectations." The anticipated gap between "aspiration" and "expectation" did not materialize with the students from Grépin and Verena; 25 percent persisted in naming "VIP"-level vocations as their expected careers (see Table 4.18).

Table 4.18

Student Vocational Aspirations Vs. Expectations

	Aquin	Le Blanc	Grépin	Gardon	Verena	La Feronay	Ruisseaux
Career First Choice ("VIP")	37.5%	12.5%	50.0%	0.0%	62.5%	14.3%	0.0%
Career Second Choice ("VIP")	0	0	25.0	0	12.5	14.3	14.3
Realistic Expectation ("VIP")	25.0	0	12.5	0	37.5	14.3	0

With career goals and expectations set this high, it would follow logically in Haiti that nearly half (43.7 percent) wanted to train for those vocations abroad, and one in five wanted to leave Haiti to actually perform their various professions.

Although students at Grépin and Verena tended to hold their own school and teachers in higher esteem, the prospect of a teaching career for themselves was less attractive than it was to students at

Le Blanc and Gardon, where nearly 9 out of 10 students (87.5 percent) said they would be happy to enter the teaching profession.

The difference in levels of career aspirations and expectations is somewhat substantiated by the students' responses to "How important is schooling to your future career plans?" On a Likert-type degree of intensity scale of 1-9, with "9" being "extremely important," 37.5 percent of the students at the high-ranking life-skills competencies schools so responded, compared to only 12.5 percent among the schools that ranked "low."

Teacher Characteristics

The observation that the high-ranking schools in "life-skills competencies" were generally also high ranking in "educational survivorship" is consistent with many of the commonalities found in teacher traits. More significant than their SES, education level or amount of teacher training were their attitudes--toward life in general, their work, and specifically, their students. With a generally high level of confidence and self-concept, such teachers viewed themselves as superior instructors (100 percent of the teachers in Grépin and Verena rated themselves as the "best" teachers in their schools), but they were often dissatisfied, feeling that the teaching profession did not get the respect it deserves. They were less likely to encourage their students to become teachers. An indication of their influence has already been seen in the high career aspirations of their students.

Data describing teacher characteristics of schools scoring high versus those scoring low on this third value criterion, life-skills competencies, were divided into three categories: family and home, training and school experience, and attitudinal factors.

FAMILY AND HOME

Like the teachers in schools strong in educational survivorship, the teachers in schools that ranked "high" in the life-skills competencies criterion tended to be of generally higher overall SES. This could be seen in their salaries, which were nearly double the pay rate of low-scoring schools, but also in their "modern possessions," cosmopolitan world view, better general health status and the extent of their travels in Haiti and abroad. Only one-third of these teachers felt enough financial strain to find moonlighting at second jobs necessary; more than half (54.8 percent) of their counterparts in Le Blanc and Gardon worked two or more jobs.

Not only were they themselves of higher SES, but teachers at Grépin and Verena also came from childhood homes of higher SES. Their fathers and mothers were less likely to be subsistence farmers or unskilled laborers, generally possessing marketable skills. The French language was occasionally spoken in 51.1 percent of their childhood homes, reflecting the generally higher education level of their parents. In the childhood homes of the teachers at Le Blanc and Gardon, however, 100 percent reported that French was "never" spoken, and only 16.6 percent of the parents had marketable skills; 30 percent of their fathers and 91.6 percent of their mothers had never had any schooling at all.

Even though starting life with a higher SES, the teachers at schools with a strong performance in life-skills competencies had achieved greater percentages of SES improvement over the conditions of their childhood homes. The teachers at Grépin enjoyed a 30 percent increase, and in Verena, 35 percent. Meanwhile, Le Blanc teachers

had raised their SES 16 percent, and at Gardon, the teachers' SES was at a stagnant 1 percent increase.

TRAINING AND SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

The teachers at schools that ranked high on the life-skills competencies criterion tended to be more educated, better trained, more experienced teachers than their counterparts in schools that ranked low. Only 10.7 percent were inexperienced teachers who were in their first or second year of teaching, compared to fully half of the teachers at Le Blanc and Gardon. Less than one in five (19.6 percent) at Grépin and Verena were teaching without the benefit of formal teacher training, contrasted with every other teacher (54.1 percent) at schools that ranked low.

A marked difference was found in the teachers' proficiency and use of French, their official classroom language. Although very few of the childhood households of teachers across the spectrum used any French (9.6 percent), nearly half (49.3 percent) of the teachers at Grépin and Verena currently used French at least occasionally in the context of their homes. This was the case for only 31.2 percent at Le Blanc and Gardon. The use of French was apparently more natural for them, and their level of French mastery became apparent on the French usage portion of the questionnaire. While the teachers at Grépin and Verena answered correctly 52 percent of the time, the responses for Le Blanc and Gardon were correct only 37.5 percent of the time. A further indication of language proficiency was that 40 percent of the Grépin and Verena teachers claimed to speak a third language, usually English or Spanish, while none of the Le Blanc or Gardon teachers claimed ability in another language.

ATTITUDINAL FACTORS

The generally stronger SES of both the teachers and students of schools that ranked high in life-skills competencies was reflected rather consistently throughout the attitudinal measurements.

They viewed the overall task of schooling in more classic educational terms rather than the pragmatic "preparation for a vocation" perspective. Only 15 percent of teachers at Le Blanc and Gardon shared their "classic education" view of schooling. Even their expressed definition of "success" was guided by life qualities more elevated than escaping poverty through riches or possessions; 58.9 percent of them defined success in terms of personal qualities. Only one in five (20.8 percent) of Le Blanc's and Gardon's teachers viewed "success" from a similar "lofty" perspective.

Teachers at Grépin and Verena were quick to blame parental lack of appreciation for schooling rather than financial constraints for the high dropout rate in primary schools in their region. The rationale for why some students survive to complete primary schooling was also a non-monetary response, which credited the students themselves for "hard work" and determination.

School Characteristics

Schools which performed best on the life-skills competencies criterion tended to be more urban than rural. The two urban schools in the sample were among the top three in this criterion, while the two lowest were the two rural schools, Le Blanc and Gardon. Since life-skills competencies measured the historic record of a school's placement of students into high school or relevant vocations, the facility of access to higher education and vocational options in the

urban settings may ultimately have had more effect on this criterion than the actual performance of individual schools. For example, Le Blanc was one of the two highest-ranking schools in the educational survivorship criterion, but the lowest-ranking in life-skills competencies. This would seem to indicate more a function of locale than school performance.

Schools that ranked high, like Grépin and Verena, did also perform well academically. They tended to be larger schools, and were less densely crowded. In fact, the square footage of classroom space per student was double that of schools that ranked low--13.5 square feet versus 6.5 square feet per student.

Schools that ranked high on life-skills competencies could clearly be distinguished from those that ranked low by the absence or presence of a very relevant program--vocational training. The top three schools with strong records of job placement for their students had active vocational programs as part of their curriculum, while none of the lower half of the seven case-study schools did. Such programs, while not offering training in specific job skills, offered their students exposure to vocational options relevant to their setting and locale.

Perhaps pertinent to the analysis of what relationships were found in school facilities and performance on this life-skills competencies criterion is that the relationships one might have expected, were not found. Other than the relationships mentioned above, no relevant factors to explain differences in school facilities could be determined.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Analysis of the relations between the three value criteria and the four sets of data--1) school characteristics, 2) teacher characteristics, 3) home/family environment, and 4) student (Moyen II) traits--yielded the preceding findings. Following is a summary of the major findings.

Value Criterion #1: Educational Survivorship

This criterion evaluated the outcomes of the Haitian primary schools in terms of the parental expectation that a student should progress in a timely manner from one grade to another, culminating in a primary school certificate (Certificat d'Etudes Primaires).

1. The socio-economic status (SES) of a student in Haiti is not an accurate predictor of academic achievement or educational survivorship. The expectation that students who come from relatively advantaged SES backgrounds would perform better was not found to be true. In fact, the opposite was found. Those schools which ranked highest in educational survivorship were among the lowest in SES.

2. High grade repetition does not necessarily lead to a high dropout rate. Those schools that ranked highest in educational survivorship were found to have the highest overall rate of grade repetition, but the lowest dropout rate. If a school has earned a reputation for the ultimate academic success of its students, despite heavy repetition of grades to maintain those standards, parents will not allow their children to drop out. In spite of the increased financial hardship, peasant parents will continue to support the school.

3. The parents of students in the schools ranking highest in educational survivorship had the lowest education level, literacy rate, and ability in French. The expectation that parents of higher education levels would foster students of higher rates of academic achievement and educational survivorship was not found to be true.

4. Parents of students in the schools ranking highest in educational survivorship, despite their own low level of academic achievement, were the most actively involved in their children's schooling. They were the most supportive, but also placed the highest demands on performance. They held schooling in high esteem for success in life.

5. Students in schools that ranked high in educational survivorship were treated no differently from non-schooled siblings in their homes. They carried greater home workloads in terms of chores and responsibilities than did their fellow students in low-ranking schools.

6. Students in the highest ranking schools also did not have the highest level of self-concept--they had the lowest. This low self-concept was countered by evidence of a greater level of sheer determination to succeed.

7. Students in schools that ranked high in educational survivorship, despite lower self-concepts, had greater faith in the rewards of schooling, and perceived schooling as essential for success in life. Their vocational aspirations and expectations were consequently higher than those of students in lower-ranking schools.

8. The teachers in schools that ranked high in educational survivorship were found to be generally older, more experienced in teaching, and stable, having served longer at current posts. Although little difference was found in levels of formal education or amount of teacher training, their ability in and use of French were considerably stronger. They received higher pay and had higher SES, but also grew up in homes of relatively higher SES. They were happier in their teaching profession, and held schooling in higher esteem than did teachers in schools that ranked low in educational survivorship.

9. The findings showed very little evidence that variance in school facilities was related to educational survivorship. This despite a wide range of school facility quality and provisions among the case-study schools. Schools ranking higher, however, were found to have generally lower student-to-teacher ratios.

10. There was evidence that schools which ranked higher on educational survivorship also provided more regular and better quality lunch programs. This apparently had ramifications in nutrition, health, learning and regularity of attendance.

Value Criterion #2: Family Education Contribution

This criterion evaluated the outcomes of the Haitian primary schools in terms of the parental expectation that the student will serve as a family education resource by passing on what he learns in school to the unschooled members of his family.

1. The phenomenon of youth serving as family educational resources was found to be prevalent throughout the spectrum of Haitian primary schools. However, the more rural, less schooled, socio-economically deprived the family, the greater was found to be the educative role of the student.

2. The families of students in schools which ranked high on the family education contribution criterion tended to be of lower SES. They had larger families, lower income, fewer marketable skills, and enrolled fewer of their school-aged children in school.

3. Parents of children in schools that ranked high in family education contribution were considerably less educated, had lower literacy rates, and used the national language, French, less frequently in their homes. The educative role of the student appeared to be filling a literary vacuum in their homes.

4. Consistent with the concept poor people have of utilizing all of a family's limited resources is the students' high level of home workload and responsibilities. The students performed the same level of chores, including major childcare roles, as did their unschooled siblings. They had the added task of teaching their school-acquired skills.

5. The students in schools most active in family education contributions tended to be older, having started schooling later in childhood. They had generally lower self-concepts, set lower vocational goals for themselves, and tended to perceive schooling as less essential to the acquisition of their targeted vocations. They were, consequently, more prone to becoming victims of dropout due to attitude and financial constraints.

6. The teachers in schools which ranked high on the family education contribution criterion tended to be of lower SES, grew up in homes of lower SES, received less salary, and had achieved a narrower margin of SES improvement over the status of their childhood homes. They were generally younger, had less education, teacher training and teaching experience. Their ability in and use of French were weaker, and they had generally lower levels of self-concept. Regardless of their limited preparation or ability as teachers, they were considerably happier in their profession.

7. The teachers in schools where high numbers of students were serving as family education resources were, however, more supportive of their students' abilities and educative roles. There was, however, little evidence that such teachers encouraged or facilitated the process, or utilized their students' abilities in the classroom context.

8. No relationship could be found between school facilities indicators and the level of student activity making family education contributions. Reflecting the generally lower SES of their environments, however, such high-ranking schools tended to be more densely crowded and had higher student-to-teacher ratios, especially in the lowest grade levels.

Value Criterion #3: Life-Skills Competencies

This final criterion evaluated the outcomes of Haitian primary schools in terms of the parental expectation that the student should be able to use his primary schooling functionally in life, to progress to higher education and ultimately to secure work that will ensure adequate familial support for his family.

1. The schools which ranked highest on the life-skills competencies criterion tended to be more urban than rural, reflecting, perhaps, more ready access to higher education and vocational options.

2. Families of students in such high-ranking schools tended to be of relatively higher SES. They had marketable skills beyond unskilled labor or susbsistence farming. They enrolled a higher percentage of their school-age children in school, and fewer ultimately dropped out due to financial constraints.

3. The parents of students in schools which ranked high in life-skills competencies were better educated, more cosmopolitan and modern, reflecting their generally urban contexts. They seemed to instill in their children higher standards, aspirations and expectations.

4. The students of such high-ranking schools in life-skills competencies tended to perform fewer household chores, including having less responsibility for childcare of younger siblings. They were involved less as family education resources as well, reflecting the higher educational levels of their urban homes.

5. Students in schools which ranked high in life-skills competencies had considerably higher levels of self-concept. They had high expectations of being able to continue their education into high school and sought vocations of higher status. They held schooling in higher regard, viewing it as essential for acquisition of their vocations.

6. The teachers in these high-ranking schools were also of higher SES and had achieved greater percentages of SES improvement over that of their childhood homes. They tended to be better educated, and had more teacher training and experience. They had better ability in French and it was used more regularly in their homes.

7. Schools which ranked high on life-skills competencies also tended to be strong in academic achievement and educational survivorship. They were larger schools with less student density. Few additional relationships between actual school facilities and the acquisition of life-skills competencies could be determined. However, the presence of a vocational training program as part of the school curriculum was a notable difference. The top three schools with strong records of life-skills competencies indicators had vocational programs. None of the lower half of the seven case-study schools had such programs.

Chapter Five

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUMMARY

The research evaluated the outcomes of Haitian primary schools from the perspective of Haitian parents, upon whom the schools are dependent for financial support. Three value criteria, which articulate parents' expectations of schooling for their children, served as the basis for this comparative/evaluative research. The case-study schools were each rated "high," "medium," or "low" on the basis of their performances in 1) educational survivorship--the extent to which students progress in a timely manner from one grade to another, culminating in primary school graduation, 2) family education contribution--the extent to which students serve as family education resources by passing on what they learn in school to the unschooled members of their family, and 3) life-skills competencies--the extent to which students are able to use their primary schooling functionally in life, progressing to higher education and ultimately securing work that will ensure adequate financial support for their family.

Relations between levels of performance on these three criteria and four sets of school-related data (school characteristics, teacher characteristics, home/family environment, and student (Moyen II) traits) were analyzed. Examination of both positive and negative associations between criteria and data sets enabled a combined analysis to be effected. The findings of these relationships were presented and summarized in Chapter Four.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this concluding chapter is to build testable hypotheses from the research findings and to provide practical suggestions for the enhancement of the Haitian primary school's performance in keeping with those educational outcomes valued by the school's community. These are presented in the form of the following 10 conclusions and recommendations.

Conclusion #1: Teacher Training and Status

The single greatest input a mission can have to improve the performance of its primary schools is to invest in the quality of the teachers.

The extent of teachers' education and specifically, teacher training, were not found to be significantly related to academic achievement in most precedent research in both "developed" and "developing" nations. Those studies, however, invariably were analyzing degrees of teacher training. In Haiti, the issue concerns not various levels of training, but often just the absence or presence of minimal teacher training. By even the minimal stated Haitian requirement for teaching primary school, 10 years of basic education, fewer than 28.6 percent of the case-study teachers were qualified to be teaching. One-fourth of the teachers had no teacher training whatsoever, while 72.1 percent had less than a single year. This left a very low percentage of adequately trained teachers in the case-study schools, but still considerably higher than the national average of 5 percent in private schools (Pigozzi, 1985). The need for pedagogic training is a recognized need among the teachers, as was evidenced by the fact that more than half (54.4 percent) cited teacher training as their school's greatest need for improvement.

More than half of the teachers felt that they did not get the kind of respect from the community that they deserved. The status of teachers in Haiti is not high; 81.4 percent of the teachers felt that, despite their education and responsibility in the community, their lack of status was due to the fact that nominal salaries forced them to live in the same poverty conditions as the peasant families they tried to influence. Nearly half (49.6 percent) were forced to take on second jobs to make ends meet, and 38 percent lived at a socio-economic level lower than that of their childhood homes.

The turnover rate among teachers is quite high, and teacher retention is a serious problem. More than half (60 percent) of the teachers questioned were in their first or second year at their current schools; 25.7 percent were in their very first year of teaching. More than 10 percent of Haiti's primary school teachers abandon the profession each year. Financial constraints and the meager supply of qualified teachers create a difficult contradiction: an inadequate supply of good, experienced teachers, but unqualified and experienced "teachers" readily available for as little as $25 a month.

Sample schools that ranked high in both educational survivorship and life-skills competencies were characterized by more mature, stable, better-schooled and pedagogically trained teachers. To compromise on teacher quality is ultimately to allow the school to collapse financially.

Recommendations: Networks of private schools, such as the Haitian Armée du Salut, must commit themselves to the development of their own cadre of qualified teachers. This entails a strategy that will make teaching a long-term viable career.

A standardized salary and promotion scale should be implemented for all teachers. Equity should be targeted by compensating teachers in accordance with their level of education, participation in on-going teacher training, teaching experience, and longevity of service. Teachers should have contracts delineating their responsibilities, receive regular upgrades in their pay scale, and be challenged to attain the next scale level.

Teacher salaries should be supplemented with a modest monthly rental allowance or a revolving fund established to assist them in obtaining adequate living quarters. Medical insurance and a pension plan should be offered, as well as a bonus for quality teachers who accept assignment to remote areas.

Although such a commitment to teacher quality will require additional funding up front, the evidence indicates that such an investment will eventually result in self-supporting schools as their increased performance attracts and maintains parental support across Haiti.

Conclusion #2: Parental Influence

> **Parents, regardless of their educational, vocational or socio-economic status, have a strong influence on student academic achievement and overall school performance.**

The dichotomous relationship that often exists between school and home as major community educational institutions is detrimental to both. The evidence showed that a school's achievement in all three value criteria of this research was due, in large part, to the determination, support, and reinforcement of schooling by Haitian parents in the home.

The influence of parents is very strong in Haiti, regardless of their own limitations in education, literacy, vocation or socio-economic status. Only 12.9 percent of the fathers and 5.8 percent of the mothers had received as much schooling as their Moyen II offspring, yet 94.4 percent of their children regarded them with traditional reverence, feeling that a youth should always obey his elders, whether they are right or wrong. Parents, a powerful home dynamic, give evidence of a deep commitment to the education of their children. If nurtured, they can be a school's greatest allies; or if neglected, they can be formidable foes.

A consistent predictor of a school's performance on all three criteria was the extent to which parents were actively involved in the school's parent-teacher sessions each trimester. Where attendance was high, so was evidence that parents closely monitored their children's school performance and made strong demands for academic achievement. There was also clear evidence of continued parental financial support, even despite high rates of grade repetition within the school.

Unschooled themselves, however, the evidence showed that many parents perceived schooling more as a system that must be survived in order to derive social benefits than as an institution for learning. As a result, nearly half (42 percent) selected their most obedient or respectful child to be the <u>bâton vieillesse</u>, while only 5.6 percent chose their most intelligent child. The result was that often the student in school, while the least likely to get into mischief, was the most docile, passive, uninspired learner. Meanwhile, the most avid learners and potential scholars were confined to manual labor in the cornfields. This misconception of schooling exacts a heavy

financial toll, too often ending in failure and wastage for peasant families who can ill afford such financial loss.

Recommendations: School directors and teachers must make concerted efforts to engage the parents of their students as powerful allies in the educative process.

PTA sessions should be frequent and regular attendance mandated. Parents should be commended for their reinforcement of schooling efforts in the home, and taught a variety of positive reinforcement techniques. Adult education in literacy and vocations, or nonformal education in relevant subjects, should be offered in the school building during the evenings to foster linkages between the school and the home.

Finally, parents should be assisted to understand the value, purpose and demands of schooling in order to facilitate a more viable selection of children for schooling. Since only 43 percent of school-age Haitian children attend school, representing only 30 percent of Haitian families, radio might be employed nationally to promote the importance of schooling, elevate the social status of teachers, and encourage the acquistion of education (e.g., literacy) formally, nonformally or informally.

Conclusion #3: Familial Financial Constraints

> **The financial burden of enrolling even one child in school is prohibitive for the majority of Haitian families.**

The urban and rural poor spend between 50 and 70 percent of their revenue on food, leaving relatively little for other basic needs. Educational costs can be regarded as prohibitive when they exceed 10 percent of income for such groups whose yearly income is below $500

(Millot and Easton, 1985). By this criterion, for the 80 percent of Haitians who constitute this income level group, the cost of primary education for even one child is a major problem. For this reason, although 43 percent of Haitian primary school-age children are enrolled, they represent only one in three (30 percent) of Haitian families. Even in paying such high proportions of their income, the poor of Haiti often have access only to schools of low quality.

This financial scenario will undoubtedly worsen in the future as recent economic trends indicate that per capita incomes among rural peasants are actually declining, while costs of schooling are escalating. Without financial intervention, this increased burden will result in higher dropout rates and lower enrollment, and could eventually contribute to the collapse of the school system. Such intervention is not likely to come from the government. There is evidence that the Haitian government, which historically has been unwilling to commit an adequate portion of its budget to education, might even decrease its commitment to the sector (Pigozzi, 1985). The "mandatory and free" primary education guaranteed to the Haitian people by their 1964 national constitution is not likely to become a reality in the foreseeable future, so alternative financial support must be found for the Haitian primary school system.

Recommendations: The private sector must devise financial incentive programs to encourage parents to enroll their children by assuring them of the financial assistance necessary for keeping them in school.

Assistance such as Compassion International's child sponsorship and scholarship programs, or similar assistance from the 350 private voluntary organizations working in Haiti, must be continued and

expanded to benefit many others. Such programs should be culturally sensitive, offering help without costing the poor their dignity or responsibility for their own families. Scholarships, administered through local schools on the basis of need, merit, and participation, should offer opportunites for schooling and related services, not cash directly to needy families.

The basic educational needs of the unschooled should be addressed by nonformal education programs and the facilitation of the familial educational efforts currently being conducted by schooled youth in the context of their own homes.

Conclusion #4: Students as Family Educators

> **The current educative functions of Haitian youth in the context of their homes need to be encouraged, facilitated and utilized in the classroom.**

The youth educative roles described by both teachers and students suggest that the societal dynamics described by Mead as "post-figurative" are applicable to this generation in Haiti (Mead, 1970). The experiences of the children, notably the advent of schooling, are so markedly different from the experiences of their parents that the normal parent-to-child flow of learning is often altered, with parents learning from their children.

A vast majority (94.4 percent) of the students reported serving as their family's primary reader; 77.8 percent as the family writer; and 90.7 percent as the family accountant. More than half (56.3 percent) had taught school-acquired skills to their parents, and 84 percent were currently teaching their siblings in the home.

While the level of such a family education contribution phenomenon is thus widespread across Haiti, it is particularly dynamic in the rural locations where parental education, literacy, vocational status, and socio-economic levels are lower. This resource is most prevalent where the educative need is greatest.

Although this dynamic of school and home linkage was common knowledge among teachers, it was seldom acknowledged, encouraged or facilitated by them. This reflected the traditionally perceived monopoly the school has on education, with teachers having an exclusive right to all community educational functions. This constitutes a missed opportunity for schools to foster supportive relations with the community by helping the youth to meet recognized familial learning needs. Viewed as teachers as well as learners, Haiti's youth could also make a contribution to the classroom learning dynamic.

Recommendations: In Haiti, where less than half (43 percent) of school-age children are enrolled in school, and only one in five adults (23 percent) are functionally literate, it is the duty of the school to extend beyond the confines of the classroom to meet the learning needs of the community.

To address these basic learning needs of the unschooled, a school does not have to pay out excessive funds for expanding its facilities or hiring additional teaching staff. The need can be addressed by simply recognizing, encouraging and facilitating the already existing dynamic of youth serving as family educators. For example, in the process of teaching students in the classroom to read and write, teachers need to be encouraged to also teach students how to teach

another person to read and write. This process could be practiced in the school setting through cross-age tutorial programs of older students teaching younger students under a teacher's supervision.

Conclusion #5: Quality of Instruction

> **Lack of innovative pedagogical methods in Haiti's primary schools results in under-utilized resources, a preponderance of reliance on rote memorization, and unproductive use of class time.**

Observation of the dynamics in dozens of classrooms across the case-study primary schools revealed a generally poor quality of instruction, regardless of their level of performance on the study's three value criteria. The majority of the teachers (72.4 percent) had not received adequate training, and their lack of pedagogical formation was evidenced by the rigid French colonial model of schooling they simply mimicked from their own schooling a generation ago. It was characterized by extensive reliance on rote memory, structured drills, and generally unstimulating and unproductive class time. That is the antithesis of the learning methodology by which the Haitian people learn everything else in their lives.

High student-to-teacher ratios were exacerbated by unimaginative techniques. A typical example of classroom activity observed was a single child standing beside the teacher's desk, reading from a book to the teacher, slowly and almost inaudibly, for 15 minutes, while the remaining 55 students sat motionless on their benches, not participating in the lesson at all. Dozing off or excessive squirming by the students was quickly punished with the teacher's ever-present rawhide switch, or by being forced to stand up on the bench, balancing for long periods of time.

The lack of supplies, such as individual slates, writing implements and paper, necessitated that each child go to the front blackboard for his single instance of lesson involvement, if any, per class. Without such basic materials, poor quality of instruction is even less likely to be effective.

Teachers tended to maintain a strict, authoritarian social distance from the children, resulting in a classroom atmosphere of austerity and fear. In the earliest, most impressionable grades, the use of French as the language of classroom instruction further distanced the teacher from the student.

Recommendations: The dynamics and conditions of the Haitian classroom are similar to those of nineteenth century England and the one-room schoolhouse of rural America. The use of student aides and cross-age tutors in America was effective in breaking down unmanageable student-to-teacher ratios, adding variety to the drill and practice pedagogical style, disarming the social distance that existed between students and teachers, and resulting in enhanced learning for both the tutee and the tutor.

In Haiti, where students have familial expectations placed on them to teach their school-acquired knowledge and skills to their unschooled parents and siblings, the potential of using older students to help teach younger students could improve not only the quality of classroom instruction, but enhance the quality of teaching in the home as well.

It is not likely that the Haitian school system will abandon the rote memory emphasis of colonial France in this generation.

Innovative variations of the system, however, such as cross-age tutoring, could give positive teaching experiences to students, which could stimulate interest in a teaching career--a viable vocational option for this generation of Haitian primary school students.

Conclusion #6: School Facility Impact

> **The quality of school facilities in Haiti is not an important predictor of student performance on any of the three value criteria.**

Consistent with precedent research findings in both "developed" and "developing" nations, none of the school facility indicators used to compare and contrast the school's performance indicated any trend or pattern. It would appear that a good teacher holding class under a tree with no facilities would do as well as a lesser teacher in a fully equipped school facility.

This conclusion was reached despite the fact that there was a wide variance in facilities across the case-study schools. They ranged from dark, thatched-roof shacks with dirt floors and mud or cardboard walls to well-lit, spacious, two-story concrete structures. The furnishings also ranged from individual modern desks with built-in storage compartments, to crude benches which doubled as church pews, to mere logs for seats. Minimal relations were identified from the spectrum of facilities and furnishings examined: visual aids, textbooks, supplies, light, ventilation, classroom layout and space, desk space, playground, mimeograph, sports equipment, and arts and crafts supplies (see Appendix C).

In the quest for improved school performance, particularly in poverty-stricken locales where the limitations in school facilities

and equipment seem obvious, the "natural" inclination to invest funds in facility improvements (e.g., add a tin roof, purchase better quality desks or install electricity) may improve a school's appearance, but there is universally little evidence that it will positively impact the actual quality of school outcomes.

Recommendations: A standard for school facilities needs to be defined by the local community's expectations of what constitutes an acceptable school. This will inevitably be determined by local standards and resources.

A mission, such as the Armée du Salut, could guide and facilitate the process by providing a central education office that offered consultative assistance, blueprints of school facility configurations, construction assistance, and contracts for furnishings, as well as centralized purchasing for its network of schools. However, it must be recognized that the true quality of a school stems not from the appearance of its classrooms, but from the learning dynamic that occurs within them.

Conclusion #7: Value of Literacy Skills

> **The extent to which a student reads and has access to reading materials is directly related to his level of academic performance and ultimately to his educational survivorship.**

All of the Haitian students interviewed expressed a real love for reading, and 94.4 percent of them served as the primary reader for their families. None of the case-study schools, however, contained libraries from which students could borrow books. No books at all were found in the homes of 37 percent of the students, and only 18.5 percent had any books besides the Bible or a hymnbook.

Recommendations: Collections of books in both French and Creole should be established in each primary school. The books should include a wide variety of subjects and be readily available for check-out. Homework assignments should include the reading of stories to parents and siblings in the home. The availability of literature and a nationwide effort to promote literacy should spread from youth in schools to the nation at large.

Conclusion #8: Higher Education/Vocational Training

> **The criteria which determine a child's ability to have access to higher education are more a function of locale, parental priorities and socio-economic status than of primary school quality.**

Schools with high academic achievement ratings did not automatically have high performances on life-skills competencies, but fell into both the highest and the lowest rankings when evaluated against this criterion.

A major determining factor was the actual locale of a school. The more urban the setting, the greater the school's rate of graduate placement into high schools, vocational schools, and acceptable vocations. Likewise, the higher the family's SES, the higher the likelihood of similar success. The more education or marketable skills the parents had, the higher was found to be their offsprings' life-skills competencies indicator.

This trend is not to say that a primary school has no influence on or responsibility for its students' performance on this criterion, but it is recognized to be a shared responsibility, with the effects of the school balanced by home and community circumstances. The role of the primary school, though viewed as uniquely responsible by

parents, is realistically limited to two main contributions toward the task: the provision of a sound academic preparation, and vocational exposures that allow a student to explore and discover his interests and abilities in a variety of vocational options. These combined develop the necessary background and sense of self-worth and confidence that enable a student to set his own goals in life.

Recommendations: Every primary school should establish a vocational program in its curriculum. This need not be intensive instruction in any single vocation, but rather an introduction for students to a variety of viable vocational options. In Haiti, the spectrum should include agricultural training. Those schools which ranked highest in life-skills competencies were distinguishable by their inclusion of a vocational program. None of the schools that ranked "medium" or "low" had such programs.

Primary school directors should foster relationships and structural linkages with the high schools their students are most likely to attend, to better prepare and facilitate student transitions. Higher education, however, is not advisable for all Haitian students, despite parental aspirations, and scholastic and vocational assessment should take place during the Moyen II year in order to counsel students and parents on the most advisable route.

Conclusion #9: Validity of School Meal Program

> **One of the most significant investments a Haitian primary school can make to maintain parental support and also impact the quality of its performances on all three value criteria is in the provision of a school meal program.**

The provision of a meal program has widespread documented ramifications for health, quality of learning and regularity of attendance.

The nutritional need is evident everywhere. "Approximately three-fourths of Haiti's children suffer some degree of malnutrition. It is estimated that rural Haitians consume only 60 percent of the calories and 50 percent of the grams of protein required daily to maintain health and moderate energy levels" (Pigozzi, 1985, p. 5-84).

Of the 55 students interviewed in the research, 70 percent had eaten nothing the day of the school visit. More than half (56 percent) had been doing chores since 5:00 a.m., and one-third (35.2 percent) had hiked more than one hour to school. For most, the school lunch would be their only hot meal of the day.

The students indicated that their parents would rather send them to a school where there is food than to a less expensive school where food is not served. A school meal program thus makes an important contribution to not only the learning and health of the individual student, but to a certain extent, to the financial support and thus the survival of the school itself.

Recommendations: School lunch programs should be continued and expanded in all primary schools. Where possible, supporting agencies should provide funds for the local purchase of food, rather than risk undermining the local economy by importing large amounts from international or urban sources.

Precedent research strongly supports that the majority of students were not likely to have eaten breakfast and were hungry enough in class to impair their ability to remain alert and active in their learning tasks. Consideration should be given to advancing the meal from lunch to breakfast, provided immediately upon arrival at school. This would enhance classroom learning throughout the school day and

surely impact tardiness in the morning. A snack offered after school would ensure that students remained throughout the entire school day.

Conclusion #10: Language of Instruction

> **The quality of the teachers' French and their ability to teach it have a direct impact on the level of a school's educational survivorship and a student's qualifications for higher education or vocational status.**

Those primary schools which ranked high on the educational survivorship and life-skills competencies criteria, those most directly indicating academic achievement, were distinguishable from those that ranked low in part by the quality and usage of French among teachers. Although there is widespread debate in Haiti as to the validity of French as the national language, as opposed to Creole, Spanish or even English, it is not likely that French will lose its dominant position in the Haitian education system this generation.

This stress on the need for French ability among teachers is consistent with the findings of Heyneman in Uganda. After analysis of a multitude of teacher characteristics, the only teacher measure which he found to be significantly associated with school achievement was the quality of a teacher's English, the language of Ugandan classroom instruction. Heyneman concluded, "If teachers make any difference to a school's academic achievement, it is most likely expressed through the quality of their English language ability" (Heyneman, 1975, p. 48). In Haiti, the dynamic equivalent is the teacher's ability in French.

Recommendations: Along with pedagogical methodology, an effective teacher training program must address the issue of improving the quality

of Haitian teachers' ability in French. The need for such training among all seven case-study schools was readily evident. The basic French Ability Test (see Appendix E), which was administered to all the teachers, revealed that in only three of the seven schools did the teachers answer even half of the six questions correctly. Since language acquisition is a life-long endeavor, not accomplished in short teacher training sessions, one of the criteria for establishing various pay-scale levels might be an annual French ability evaluation.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

There is little precedent empirical research that assesses the status of the Haitian school system. Educational planning and decision-making, from the level of the Ministry of Education to the individual school director, are severely limited by a lack of adequate information, statistics, and analysis of trends. Several kinds of studies could provide useful data for improving the internal and external efficiency of Haitian primary schools:

1. Longitudinal Study of Cohort Group. Without having to rely on scattered data sources collected inconsistently over time, a selected cohort grouping should be analyzed for student flow trends. This could determine the proportions of students who repeat, drop out, or transfer, as well as discover what becomes of them as adults and how they make use of the learning they acquired.

2. Analysis of Youth as Family Educators. The research has documented the extent of this phenomenon and attitudes concerning it in Haiti.

Now, the actual process, content, pedagogical techniques and effectiveness need to be analyzed. Such research should address curricular concerns such as ". . .what is taught, why, to whom, and under what circumstances" (Ward, N.D.).

3. Comparative Analysis of School Meals Programs. A study of academic performance variances is needed to compare outcomes of primary schools which have no meal program, those that serve a noon meal, and those that serve breakfast. Such nutritional programs consume vast resources and are a major service of 60 percent of Haitian schools, yet they are rarely monitored or coordinated with other health services.

4. Cross-Age Tutorial Roles of Youth in Classrooms. Many conditions appear to be ideal in Haitian schools for the utilization of older children as assistants in the teaching task of younger children in the classroom context. Analysis of attitudes, ability, receptivity and effectiveness is required as a rational basis for youth serving as classroom, as well as familial, resources.

SUMMARY

The focus of the research was to evaluate the educational outcomes of seven selected Haitian primary schools from the perspective of the peasant parents who invest sacrificially in their children's schooling, and on whom schooling in Haiti is financially dependent. Although only 13 percent of the fathers and 5.9 percent of the mothers had actually completed primary school themselves, parental expectations of school outcomes were fairly consistent with the internal and external academic

efficiency issues of school evaluation which have concerned academicians for centuries. Though approached from a purely pragmatic perspective, the three peasant-generated value criteria of the study were found to be realistic and theoretically sound.

The school, though held responsible by peasant parents for such educative outcomes, is not the sole influence on the value criteria. In the Haitian social structure, the family is a very powerful influence on a student's school performance. The extent of that influence is, in part, predicted by the socio-economic status of the family, the level of the parents' schooling and possession of marketable skills, and the extent to which the home itself is an environment conducive to learning (e.g., availability of books).

The locale, whether urban, semi-rural or rural, also plays a major role. Access to quality primary schools, higher education and vocational options are often dictated by locale. An urban setting was found to be a powerful psychological influence positively affecting a student's self-concept, modernity, aspirations and world view. This may, in part, be the result of these children achieving the Haitian social ideal--urbanization.

The extent to which students made educational contributions to their families (value criterion number two) was found to be widespread throughout Haiti, but also influenced by locale. It was most actively pursued in homes where the literacy vacuum is most prevalent. These tended to be homes that were more rural, had less schooling among family members, fewer marketable skills, and generally lower socio-economic status. Youth as family educators is a phenomenon that is not readily acknowledged, encouraged or facilitated by the school. An untapped

resource, youth are not utilized as an extension of the school primarily because of the school's historic perspective of viewing itself as the exclusive learning institution of society, having a monopoly on all aspects of community learning.

The first and third value criteria, educational survivorship and life-skills competencies, were often found to be related. Both are basically issues of improving academic achievement within the school. No efforts to merely accommodate the pressures on and expectations of parents (i.e., lessening the failure, repetition, or even the tuition, rates) will succeed unless the academic standards of the school which lead to the ultimate success, CEP exam passage, are maintained. Parents will tolerate making tremendous financial sacrifices as long as ultimate success is likely. Both criteria, however, were positively or negatively affected by environmental circumstances beyond the boundaries or control of the school.

Foundational to any improvement of Haitian primary school performance is the quality of the teaching staff. Primary concerns are improving pedagogical methodology, enhancing French ability, elevating social status, and guaranteeing career security. Investments aimed at improving the schools' physical facilities were found to have minimal, if any, impact on academic achievement.

Parental support must be solicited to reinforce school content and demands in the home. Informed and involved, parents are valuable school allies. Neglected or denigrated, they become liabilities to a school's success, and thus, its survival. Financial assistance in the form of scholarships, loans or employment must be provided to ease the heavy burden of schooling costs on Haitian families. The government

must be challenged to allocate additional budget funds to this development of its human resources.

Programs such as vocational and literacy training are needed in the basic school curriculum. Health care and nutrition education are essential, not peripheral, to improved learning among the poverty stricken, which comprise the majority of Haitian students.

Finally, students must be recognized, in the Haitian context, not uniquely as learners, the sole beneficiaries of schooling, but as viable educative linkages to the unschooled in their homes. They are also potential classroom resources for peers and younger students.

The research concludes that attempts at primary school improvement that make the parents' expectations of school outcomes a priority will not only enhance the school's performance and financial viability, but will make important contributions to the success of the bâton vieillesse and his family in life circumstances beyond the school.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

STUDENT INTERVIEW

APPENDIX A-1

STUDENT INTERVIEW
(Creole Version)

ID Ankétè-a _____

ID Lékol la _____

ID Elèv la _____

1. Ou sé you _____ti gason? _____ti fi?

2. Ki laj ou? _____

3. A ki laj ou té antré lékol? _____

4. Nan ki klas ou té antré nan lékol sa-a? _____

5. Ki lot lékol ou té pasé? 1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____

6. Poukisa ou té vi-n nan lékol sa-a? _____

7. Eské-ou doublé klas déja? _____oui _____non
   Si oui, ki klas? _____
   Sak fè ou té doublé? _____

8. Eské ou pèdi you ané lékol ou plis déja? _____oui _____non Si oui, konbyin ané? _____ Sak té fè sa? _____

9. Eské ou janm anvi kité lékol? _____oui _____non Poukisa ou ta rinmin kité lékol? _____

10. Konbyin ti moun ki gin la kay? _____
    Konbyin ladan yo ki bon pou al lékol? _____

11. Konbyin ladan yo ki al lékol tout bon? _____
    Konbyin ki kité lékol? _____

12. Sak fè yo té kité lékol? _____

13. Gin ti moun lakay ou ki bon pou yal lékol min yo pa alé.
    Sak fè sa? _____

14. Eské ou konnin poukisa sé ou min-m paran ou yo chouazi pou yo voyé lékol? _____oui _____non Poukisa yo chouazi-ou? _____

15. Lékol pi inpotan pou fi ou byin pou gason? _____
    Pou ki sa? _____

16. Ki jan yo rélé prézidan péyi Etazini-an? _____

17. Kilés ki réskonsab ou lakay ou? _____papa _____manman _____tant ____tonton ____grann ____granpè ____gran frè ____gran sè _____ lot moun _____

18. Ekri non papa-ou (oubyin gason ki réskonsab ou-a). _____

19. Ekri non manman-ou (oubyin fanm ki réskonsab ou-a). _____

20. Eské papa-ou (ou gason ki réskonsab ou-an) konn li? ___oui ___non

21. Eské papa-ou (ou gason ki réskonsab ou-an) konn siyin non-l? ____oui _____non

22. Eské manman-ou (ou fanm ki réskonsab ou-a) konn li?___oui ___non

23. Eské manman-ou (ou fanm ki réskonsab ou-a) konn siyin non-l? _____oui _____non

24. Eské ou konn li lèt ak papyé pou moun lakay ou? ____oui ____non (Poukisa ou pa fè-l piské ou konn li?) _____

25. Eské-ou konn ékri lèt pou moun lakay ou? _____oui _____non (Poukisa ou pa fè-l piské ou konn ékri?) _____

26. Eské-ou konn konté lajan (chif) pou moun lakay ou?____oui ____non (Poukisa ou pa fè-l piské ou konn fè kalkil?) _____

27. Si you ti moun kapab, èské-l fèt pou-l li, ékri, konté lajan (chif) pou paran-l yo? _____oui _____non
Poukisa? _____

28. Eské ou janm éséyé montré papa-ou (ou gason ki réskonsab ou-an) ki jan pou-l siyin non-l? (Si ou ékri) _____oui _____non
Eské-l té dako pou-l aprann nan min-ou? _____oui _____non
Poukisa? _____

29. Eské ou janm éséyé montré manman-ou (ou fanm ki réskonsab ou-an) ki jan pou-l siyin non-l? (Si ou ékri) _____oui _____non
Eské-l té dako pou-l aprann nan min-ou? _____oui _____non
Poukisa? _____

30. Eské papa-ou (ou gason ki réskonsab ou-a) té pasé lékol? _____oui _____non Si oui, ki klas li té rivé? _____

31. Eské manman-ou (ou fanm ki réskonsab ou-a) té pasé lékol? _____oui _____non Si oui, ki klas li té rivé? _____

32. Ki sa ou pra-l fè lè ou fi-n fè sètifika? _____

33. Ki sa papa-ou (ou gason ki réskonsab ou-an) fè pou-l viv? _____

34. Ki sa manman-ou (ou fanm ki réskonsab ou-an) fè pou-l viv? _____

35. Eské moun lakay ou gin tè? _____oui _____non

36. A ki sa kay lakay ou kouvri? ____pay ____tol ____béton ____boua _____lot _____

37. Konbyin chan-m kayou ginyin? _____

38. Nan bagay sa yo mouin pral sité la-a, kilès ladan yo ou gin lakay-ou? (Di-m sèlman sila yo ou ginyin lakay ou.)

_____you matla boks
_____you kodak
_____you motosiklèt
_____you radio
_____you bisiklèt
_____you machi-n
_____you révèy (mont)
_____you lanp kolmann
_____you télévizion

39. Konbyin tan ou pran nan rout pou ou vi-n lékol? _____

40. Ki jan ou vi-n lékol chak jou, sot lakayou?

_____a pyé
_____sou bèt
_____sou bisiklèt
_____nan vwati
_____nan taksi
_____lot _____

41. A ki lè ou lévé matin lè-ou pral lékol? _____

42. Si ou jouinn bout lakansièl, sak ap rivé? _____

43. Kilès nan travay sa yo ou konn fè lakay ou anvan-ou vi-n lékol ou byin lè-ou soti lékol?

_____travay nan jadin
_____al nan dlo
_____okipé ti bébé
_____okipé bèt
_____balé
_____lavé (véso, rad)
_____fè komision
_____lot _____

44. Eské ou sé you ti moun ki an dévinn anpil? (ki pa gin chans)
_____oui _____non

45. Eské ou rinmin li? _____oui _____non
Eské ou gin lot liv lakay ou san konté liv lékol? ____oui ____non
Konbyin? _____

46. Eské ou té manjé matin-an avan ou vi-n lékol? _____oui _____non
Ki sa ou té manjé? _____

47. Di-m si yo palé fransé lakay ou? ____jamè ____raman ____tanzantan _____souvan

48. Eské ou sé: _____premié pitit nan fanmi-ou?
_____dènié pitit?
_____nan mitan?

49. Eské pigran ti moun yo lakay ou konn édé-ou ak lékol ou? (Ou sil pigran, èské ou konn édé pi piti ti moun yo ak lékol yo?) ____oui _____non Ki jan? _____

50. Si ou konn fè bagay sa yo, di-m kilès ki té montre ou fè yo.

LESON YO	KI MOUN KI TE MONTRE OU?
Li	_____
Koulè yo	_____
Ekri	_____
Chanté	_____
Konté	_____
Fè jadin	_____
Fè komès	_____
A.B.C.	_____
Okipé ti moun	_____

51. Eské ou gin ti moun lakay ou ki pa konn li ou ékri?____oui ____non
Eské ou konn li ou ékri pou yo? _____oui _____non
Eské ou konn éseyé montre yo? _____oui _____non
Eské yo konn dako? _____oui _____non
Poukisa? _____

52. Ti moun lakay ou ki lékol yo, èské yo trété yo diféran ké ti moun ki pa al lékol yo? _____oui _____non
Ki jan? (travay, manjé, rad, pinision, kalé) _____

53. Eské ou reskonsab pou-ou okipé pi piti ti moun lakay ou? _____oui _____non Si oui, kisa ou konn fè pou yo?

_____bay manjé	_____binyin	_____abiyé
_____pini (kalé)	_____protéjé	_____lot ___
_____pran souin lè yo malad	_____fè dodo	_____
_____joué (bay istoua)	_____montré maché/palé	_____

54. Eské ou janm montré you moun you-n nan bagay sa yo?

LESON	KI MOUN OU MONTRE YO?
Li	_____
Koulè	_____
Ekri	_____
Chanté	_____
Konté	_____
Fè jadin	_____
Fè komès	_____
A.B.C.	_____
Okipé ti moun	_____

55. Gin anpil ti moun bo lakay ou ki pa lékol. Eské ou kouè yo ta doué aprann li, é ékri? _____oui _____non
Kilès ki ta doué reskonsab pou montré yo? _____
Eské ou ta montré yo si ou té kapab? _____oui _____non

56. Ki koté ou étidié (lè ou pa lékol la)? _____
Poukisa sé la-a ou étidié? _____

57. Ki lè ou étidié? _____
Poukisa sé lè sa? _____

	Ba Non Mové Ra							Ro Oui Bon Souvan
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

58. Nan ki mézi ou té fo lékol dépi Préparatoua jiska Mouayin II?

59. Kisa ou pansé dé profèse ou yo?

60. Eské lékol vo tout kob yo dépansé pou li-a?

61. Nan ki mézi lékol ap édé ou fè lajan lè ou fini?

62. Nan ki mézi ou rinmin lékol?

63. Sa ou pansé de lékol ou-a lè ou konparé-l a lot lékol yo?

64. Ki valè lakilti ak gadinay yo ta doué montré nan lékol primè?

65. Paran ou uo konn palé ak profésè ou? (jamè - souvan - raman)

66. Lè ou pa pasé non lékol ki valè faché paran ou yo faché?

67. Ki sa ou pral fè si ou pa pasé nan égzamin sètifika? _____

68. Lè ou té antré nan Préparatoua I, té gin plis élèv nan klas la anpil.
Poukisa tout ti moun sa yo kité lékol?_____
Poukisa ou pat kité ou min-m tankou lot yo? _____

69. Kisa you ti moun pi bézouin pou-l ka you bon élèv?

_____you bon mémoua
_____etidié anpil
_____obéyi nan lékol
_____intélijans
_____lot _____

70. Ki koté Pap la rété? _____

71. Eské ou ta rinmin vi-n you profésè lè ou gran? _____oui _____non
Poukisa? _____

72. Eské ou pansé ti moun yo doué toujou obéyi gran moun yo minm si yo anto minm si yo gin rézon? _____oui _____non

73. Konbyin foua ou konn santi ou malad?

(1) chak jou
(2) you foua pa séminn
(3) you foua pa moua
(4) you foua chak 6 moua
(5) you foua pa ané
(6) jamé

74. Eské ou manm al lopital paské ou malad? _____oui _____non
Si oui, konbyin jou ou té pasé?

(1) pat intèné
(2) intèné pou kèk jou
(3) intèné pou plis ké you sémèn
(4) intèné pou plis ké you moua

75. Ki lès nan maladi sa yo ou pasé déja?

_____malaria
_____tifoyid
_____tétanos
_____tibèkiloz
_____malnitrision
_____lot _____

76. Eské lénmi ou yo ap éséyé pèsékité ou? _____oui _____non

77. Ki métié ou ta pi rinmin fè lè ou fini lékol? _____
Ki dézièm ou ta pi rinmin? _____

78. Ki koté ou ta rinmin étudié pou ou dévni (répons 77) la? _____
Ki koté ou ta rinmin travay kom (_____ 77 (1))_____

79. Ki métié oui pansé ouap ka fè tout bon vré? _____

80. Eské ou échoué souvan nan prèské tout bagay ouap fè?___oui ___non

81. You moun ki rivé nan lavi-a, ki jan-l yé? _____

82. Eské ou résévoua èd Compassion? _____oui _____non
Si oui, dépi konbyin ané? _____

83. Lè ouap fè problèm aritmétik, épi ou trouvé yo difisil, èské sé:

_____a) Paské ou pat étidié byin lè ou tap préparé yo?
_____b) Ou byin paské profésè-a bay problèm ki tro difisil?

84. Si paran ou yo di ou intélijan, èské sé:

_____a) Paské kè yo kontan?
_____b) Ou byin paské ou fè you bon bagay vré?

85. Si profésè-a di ou "fè éfo pou ou ka trvay pi byin," èské sé:

_____a) Paské li di tout ti moun yo sa pou-l ankourajé yo?
_____b) Ou byin paské travay ou té fè-a pat bon minm jan ak lot jou yo?

86. Lè ou ginyin lè ouap joué (domino, foutbol), èské sé:

_____a) Paské ou joué byin tout bon?
_____b) Ou byin paské nèg kap joué avè-ou la pa joué byin?

87. Lè ou pa pasé nan you égzamin nan lékol, èské sé:

_____a) Paské egzamin an tro difisil?
_____b) Ou byin paské ou pat étidyé asé byin?

88. Lè ou bliyé you bagay profésè-a di nan klas la, èské sé:

_____a) Paské profésè-a pat montré-l byin?
_____b) Ou byin paské ou pat fè asé éfo pou ou sonjé?

89. Si ouap montré you zanmi ou joué _____, épi li gin problèm pou-l aprann jouèt la, èské sé:

_____a) Paské li pat ka konprann jouèt la?
_____b) Ou byin paské ou pat ka éspliké-l byin?

90. Si profésè-ou pasé-ou soti nan you klas al nan you lot, èské sé:

_____a) Paské li rinmin ou?
_____b) Ou byin akoz travay ou té travay byin?

91. Si ou jouin you dévinèt trè vit, èské sé:

_____a) Paské li pa difisil?
_____b) Ou byin paské ou konprann li trè byin?

92. Lè ou aprann you bagay vi nan lékol, nomalman èské sé:

_____a) Paské ou té suiv avèk atansion?
_____b) Ou byin paské profésè-a té ekspliké-l klè?

APPENDIX A-2

STUDENT INTERVIEW
(English Translation)

Interviewer ID _____

School ID _____

Student ID _____

1. Are you a _____boy? _____girl?

2. What is your age? _____

3. At what age did you start school? _____

4. In what grade did you enter this school? _____

5. What other schools have you attended? _____

6. Why did you transfer to this school? _____

7. Have you ever repeated a grade? _____yes _____no
   If yes, which grade? _____
   What was the reason you had to repeat? _____

8. Have you ever missed a year or more of schooling? _____yes ____no
   If yes, how many years? _____ For what reason? _____

9. Have you ever wanted to quit school? _____yes _____no
   Why did you want to quit? _____

10. How many children are there in your household? _____
    How many are of school age? _____

11. How many of those children actually attend school? _____
    How many have dropped out? _____

12. What was the reason for the school dropouts? _____

13. Are there school-age children in your household who do not attend school? Why do they not attend? _____

14. Do you know why your parents have chosen you to attend school?
    ____yes ____no Why were you selected? _____

15. Is schooling more important for girls or for boys? _____
    Why? _____

16. What is the name of the president of the United States? _____

17. Who is your guardian? _____father _____mother _____aunt ____uncle ____grandmother ____grandfather ____older brother ____older sister _____other _____

18. Please write the name of your father (or male guardian). _____

19. Please write the name of your mother (or female guardian). _____

20. Is your father (or male guardian) able to read? _____yes _____no

21. Is your father (or male guardian) able to sign his name? _____yes _____no

22. Is your mother (or female guardian) able to read? _____yes _____no

23. Is your mother (or female guardian) able to sign her name? _____yes _____no

24. Are you the primary reader for your family? _____yes _____no
(If not, why not, since you are able to read?) _____

25. Are you the primary writer for your family? _____yes _____no
(If not, why not, since you are able to write?) _____

26. Are you the primary accountant for your family? _____yes _____no
(If not, why not, since you can do mathematics?) _____

27. If a young person is able, should he read, write and do accounting for his parents? _____yes _____no
Why? _____

28. Have you ever tried to teach your father (or male guardian) to sign his name? _____yes _____no
Was your father willing and able to learn from you? ____yes ____no
Why? _____

29. Have you ever tried to teach your mother (or female guardian) to sign her name? _____yes _____no
Was your mother willing and able to learn from you? ____yes ____no
Why? _____

30. Has your father (or male guardian) attended school? ____yes ____no
If yes, what grade did he complete? _____

31. Has your mother (or female guardian) attended school?____yes ____no
If yes, what grade did she complete? _____

32. What do you plan to do when you finish primary school? _____

33. What is the vocation of your father (or male guardian)? _____

34. What is the vocation of your mother (or female guardian)? _____

35. Does your family own land? _____yes _____no

36. What kind of roof does your house have? _____straw _____tin
_____cement _____wood _____other _____

37. How many rooms are there in your house? _____

38. Which of the following items do you have in your home? (Indicate only those things actually in your house.)

_____a box springs bed
_____a camera
_____a motorcycle
_____a radio
_____a bicycle
_____a car
_____an alarm clock
_____a pressurized lantern
_____a television

39. How long does it take you to get to school? _____

40. How do you get to school each day from your house?

_____by foot
_____by donkey
_____by bicycle
_____by car
_____by taxi
_____other _____

41. What time do you get up on school-day mornings? _____

42. If you go to the end of a rainbow, what will happen? _____

43. What kind of work do you do in your home before and after school?

_____gardening
_____fetching water
_____childcare
_____animal care
_____sweeping
_____washing clothes
_____buying and selling
_____other _____

44. Are you often unlucky? _____yes _____no

45. Do you like to read? _____yes _____no
Do you have books in your house other than textbooks? ___yes ___no
How many? _____

46. Did you eat anything this morning prior to coming to school?
_____yes _____no What did you eat? _____

47. How often is French spoken in your home? _____never _____rarely
_____occasionally _____often

48. Are you the: _____eldest child in your family?
_____youngest child?
_____middle child?

49. Do older children in your home help you with your schooling? (Or, if you are the oldest, do you help younger children in your home with their schooling?) _____yes _____no
How do you help them? _____

50. If you are able to do the following, who taught you to do them?

LESSONS	PERSON WHO TAUGHT YOU
Reading	_____
Colors	_____
Writing	_____
Singing	_____
Counting	_____
Gardening	_____
Marketing	_____
Alphabet	_____
Childcare	_____

51. Are there children in your home who are unable to read or write? _____yes _____no Do you read or write for them? ____yes _____no
Do you try to teach them? _____yes _____no
Are they able to learn from you? _____yes _____no
Why? _____

52. Are children in your home who attend school treated differently from children who do not? _____yes _____no
How are they treated differently? (work, food, clothing, punishment) _____

53. Are you responsible to take care of younger children in your home? _____yes _____no If yes, what do you do for them?

_____feed them
_____punish them
_____take care of them when they are sick
_____play with them
_____bathe them
_____protect them
_____make them take a nap
_____teach them how to walk/talk
_____clothe them
_____other _____
_____

54. Have you ever taught anyone to do any of the following things?

LESSONS	PERSON YOU HAVE TAUGHT
Reading	_____
Colors	_____
Writing	_____
Singing	_____
Counting	_____
Gardening	_____
Marketing	_____
Alphabet	_____
Childcare	_____

55. There are many children in your community who do not attend school. Do you think they should learn to read and write? ____yes ____no
Who should be responsible to teach them? _____
Would you teach them if you were able? _____yes _____no

56. Where do you do your homework? _____
Why do you do it there? _____

57. When do you do your homework? _____
Why at that time? _____

	Low No Bad Never						High Yes Good Often		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

58. How good a student are you?

59. How good a teacher is your teacher?

60. How valuable is schooling as an investment?

61. How important is schooling in getting the vocation of your choice?

62. How much do you like school?

63. How good is your school compared to other schools you know?

64. How important is it to learn agriculture in primary school?

65. How often do your parents speak with your teacher?

66. How angry do your parents become when you do poorly in school?

67. What will you do if you do not pass the CEP examination? _____

68. When you entered school, there were lots of children in your class.
Why have many of them quit school? _____
Why didn't you quit school like the others? _____

69. What does a child need to be a successful student?

_____a good memory
_____hard work (effort)
_____obedience in school
_____intelligence
_____other _____

70. Where does the Pope live? _____

71. Would you like to become a teacher when you grow up? ____yes ____no
Why? _____

72. Do you think that young people should always obey their elders, whether they are right or wrong? _____yes _____no

73. How often are you sick?

(1) every day
(2) once a week
(3) once a month
(4) once every 6 months
(5) once a year
(6) never

74. Have you ever been hospitalized? _____yes _____no
If yes, for how long?

(1) not admitted
(2) several days
(3) more than one week
(4) more than one month

75. Which of the following illnesses have you had?

_____malaria
_____typhoid
_____tetanus
_____tuberculosis
_____malnutrition
_____other _____

76. Are you often persecuted? _____yes _____no

77. When you have finished your schooling, what vocation would you most like to have? _____
What is your second choice? _____

78. Where would you like to train for your vocation? _____
Where would you like to work in that vocation? _____

79. What vocation do you really expect you will have? _____

80. Do you often fail in the things that you try to do? ____yes ____no

81. Describe a person who is successful. _____

82. Are you sponsored by Compassion? _____yes _____no
If yes, since what year? _____

83. When you do an arithmetic problem, and you find it difficult, is it:

_____a) Because you didn't study hard enough to prepare for it?
_____b) Or because the teacher gave you too difficult a problem?

84. If your parents tell you that you are intelligent, is it:

_____a) Because they are in a good mood?
_____b) Or because you have really done well in school?

85. If your teacher tells you to work harder in school, is it:

_____a) Because he says that to all the students to encourage them?
_____b) Or because the work you have done is not as good as usual?

86. When you win in a game (dominoes, soccer), is it:

_____a) Because you played well?
_____b) Or because your opponent did not play well?

87. When you fail an examination in school, is it:

_____a) Because the examination was too difficult?
_____b) Or because you didn't study hard enough?

88. When you forget something that the teacher has taught in class, is it:

_____a) Because the teacher didn't teach it well?
_____b) Or because you didn't try hard enough to learn it?

89. If you are trying to teach a friend to play a game of _____, and he has trouble learning it, is it:

_____a) Because he cannot understand the game?
_____b) Or because you cannot explain it well?

90. If a teacher passes you from one grade to the next, is it:

_____a) Because he likes you?
_____b) Or because you have done good work?

91. If you solve a riddle quickly, is it:

_____a) Because it was not difficult?
_____b) Or because you understood it well?

92. When you learn something quickly in school, normally is it:

_____a) Because you paid close attention?
_____b) Or because the teacher clearly explained it?

APPENDIX B

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX B-1

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE
(French Version)

Chèr(e) Instituteur)trice,

Nous, à la Compassion, essayons dàapprendre autant que possible sur les écoles, les élèves et les professeurs en Haiti. Nous aimerons avoir vôtre aide. Nous vous prions de répondre à questions avec nous; les réponses resteront confidentielles. Les seules personnes qui liron vos réponses seront: mes collègues de recherches engagés dans le projet et moi-même. Personne du Minstère de l'Education, ni de Compassion, ni de vôtre mission, ni de vôtre école ne verra vos réponses.

Ce n'est pas un examen. Nous allons parcourir ensemble cette feuille question après question. Si vous ne comprenez pas une question, demandez-nous de vous aider, s'il vous plaît.

Vous nous aidez à améliorer la qualité de làenseignement primaire en répondant le mieux possible.

Merci de vôtre coopération.

Sincèrement vôtre,

Wesley K. Stafford
Directeur-Associé en Education
Compassion Internationale

_____
Nom de l'Ecole

1. Dans quelle(s) classe(s) enseignez-vous cette année?

____Maternelle	_____Préparatoire I	_____Elémentaire II
____Enfantine I	_____Préparatoire II	_____Moyen I
____Enfantine II	_____Elémentaire I	_____Moyen II
	_____Directeur seulement	

2. Etes-vous un(e) _____homme? _____femme?

3. Quel âge avez-vous? _____

4. Quel est votre lieu de naissance? _____

5. Où avez-vous fait la plus grande partie de vos études primaires?
_____

6. Avez-vous jamais étudié dans cette école? ____oui ____non Quelles classes? _____

7. Combien d'années avez-vous passé dans l'enseignement? _____

8. Combien de ces années avez-vous passé dans cette école? _____

9. Dans combien d'autres écoles avez-vous déjà enseigné? _____

10. Avez-vous suivi des cours pour devenir professeur? _____oui _____non
Si oui, combien d'années? _____ A quelle école? _____

11. Combien d'années avez-vous passé sur les bancs de l'école? _____
Dans quelle classe avez-vous quitté l'école? _____

12. Avez-vous une autre occupation maintenant à côté de l'enseignement?
_____oui _____non Laquelle? _____

13. Aimez-vous làenseignement? _____oui _____non

14. Avez-vous jamais souhaité abandonner làenseignement pour prendre une autre occupation? _____oui _____non
Laquelle choisirez-vous? _____

15. Pensez-vous que la plupart de vos élèves aimeraient devenir des professeurs après leurs études? _____oui _____non
Pourquoi? _____

16. Auriez-vous encouragé un élève à devenir professeur? ___oui ___non
Pourquoi? _____

17. Avez-vous d'autres frères et soeurs qui sont dans l'enseignement?
_____oui _____non

18. Quel est le plus grand problème d'un professeur? _____

19. Est-ce que vous utilesez le français chez vous? ____jamais ____rarement _____de temps en temps _____souvent

20. Est-ce qu'on parlait le français dans la maison où vous avez été élevé? _____jamais ____rarement ___de temps en temps ____souvent

21. Est-ce que votre père parle (ou parlait) le français?

_____a) Il ne parle (parlait) pas le français.
_____b) Il parle (parlait) très peu le français.
_____c) Il parle (parlait) assez bien le français.
_____d) Il parle (parlait) le français comme un français.

22. Votre père avait-il été à l'école?____oui ____non Si oui, en quelle classe était-il arrivé? _____

23. Quelle est (a été) l'occupation de votre père? _____

24. Est-ce que votre mère parle (parlait) le français?

_____a) Elle ne parle (parlait) pas le français.
_____b) Elle parle (parlait) très peu le français.
_____c) Elle parle (parlait) assez bien le français.
_____d) Elle parle (parlait) le français comme une française.

25. Votre mère avait-elle été à l'école? _____oui _____non Si oui, en quelle classe était-elle arrivée? _____

26. Quelle est (a été) l'occupation de votre mère? _____

27. Avez-vous jamais visité d'autres régions d'Haiti? ____oui ____non Quelle est la plus éloignée de chez vous? _____

28. Avez-vous déjà voyagé en dehors du pays? _____oui _____non Où? _____

29. Parmi les objets suivants, indiquez dàabord ce que vous avez chez vous ensuite indiquez ce que vos parents avaient chez eux dans la maison quand vous étiez enfant

OBJET	CHEZ VOUS MAINTENANT	CHEZ VOS PARENTS
1. Un matelas box (Simmons)		
2. Un kodak		
3. Une motocyclette		
4. Un appareil de radio		
5. Une bicyclette		
6. Une voiture		
7. Un réveil		
8. Une lampe coleman		
9. Une télévision		
10. Une toiture en tôle		

30. Est-ce qu vous vous sentez malade:

_____chaque jour _____une fois par mois
_____une fois par an _____une fois tous les 6 mois
_____une fois par semaine _____jamais

31. Lesquelles de ces maladies avez-vous déjà eues?

_____malaria _____tétanos _____anémie (faiblesse)
_____typhoide _____tuberculose _____malnutrition
_____autres _____

32. Est-ce que vos ennemis essaient de vous persécuter? _____oui _____non

33. Les statistiques révèlent que beaucoup dàenfants abandonnent l'école dans les premières années de classe; pourquoi, d'après vous, cela arrive-t-il? _____

34. Il y a une petite quantite dàenfants qui arrive jusqu'à la classe Moyen II. Quàest-ce qui leur permet de le faire d'après vous?

_____

35. Quelle est la qualité la plus importante dont un élève a besoin pour réussir a l'école?

_____obéissance/respect
_____une bonne mémoire
_____intelligence
_____beaucoup dàeffort

36. Quel est le plus grand problème dàun élève? _____

37. Beaucoup d'enfants dans cette localité qui ont l'âge d'aller à l'école n'y sont jamais allés. Pourquoi tous ces enfants ne vont-ils pas à l'école?_____

38. Si une famille peut envoyer un seul de ses enfants à l'école, sur quels critères pensez-vous qu'elle se basera pour choisir qui doit être envoyé ou non? _____

39. Si un jeune sait lire et écrire, pensez-vous qu'il devrait essayer l'enseigner à ses frères et soeurs qui ne sont pas à l'école? _____oui _____non Pensez-vous qu'un jeune soit capable de leur enseigner? _____oui _____non

40. Pensez-vous quàun jeune qui sait lire et écrire devrait essayer d'enseigner à son père et à sa mère s'ils ne peuvent pas lire et écrire? _____oui _____non Pensez-vous qu'un jeune soit capable de leur enseigner? _____oui _____non

41. Pensez-vous qu'un jeune recontrerait des difficultés s'il avait essayé d'enseigner aux autres adultes de sa localité? _____oui _____non Si oui, quelles difficultes? _____

42. Est-ce que vous échouez souvent dans presque tout ce que vous essayez de faire? _____oui _____non

43. Où vit le pape? _____

44. Dans quel rang auriez-vous placé votre école en comparaison aux autres écoles que vous connaissez en Haiti?

_____a) parmi les pires
_____b) parmi les mauvaises
_____c) parmi celles qui ont la moyenne
_____d) parmi les meilleurs écoles

45. Parmi les professeurs de votre l'école, vous considérez-vous comme:

_____a) le pire
_____b) parmi les pires
_____c) parmi les meilleurs
_____d) le meilleur

46. Pensez-vous que les professeurs sont respectés comme ils devraient l'être dans la communauté? ____oui ____non Pourquoi? _____

47. Quel est le plus grand problème des parents de vos élèves? _____

48. Avez-vous beaucoup de malchance? _____oui _____non

49. Lesquelles de ces langues parlez-vous?

_____Creole _____Français _____Anglais _____Espagnol
_____Autres _____

50. Pensez-vous que les jeunes doivent toujours obéir à leurs ainés, que ceux-ci aient raison ou non? _____oui _____non

51. Est-ce que vous parlez souvent aux parents de vos élèves? _____oui _____non Combien de fois par trimestre? _____

52. Combien dàenfants avez-vous? _____ Combien de vos enfants sont à l'âge d'aller à l'école? _____ Ou vont-ils à l'école? _____ Pourquoi avez-vous choisi cette école-là pour eux? _____

53. Pensez-vous qu'on devrait enseigner l'agriculture dans les écoles primaires? _____oui _____non Pourquoi? _____

54. D'après vous, quelle était la principale cause des nombreux échecs des élèves au Certificat d'Etudes Primaires? _____

55. Quàest-ce que l'école doit avoir accompli pour un étudiant au moment où il finit ses études? _____

56. Pourquoi avez vous choisi làenseignement comme profession? _____

57. Quelles sont les caractéristiques dàun bon professeur? _____

58. Si vous pouviez faire quelque chose pour améliorer la qualité de votre école, qu'est ce que vous auriez fait? _____

59. Qui est le président des Etats-Unis? _____

60. D'après vous, quelles sont les principales caractéristiques d'une personne qui est "arrivée" dans la vie? _____

61. Pensez-vous que l'école vaut tout l'argent que les familles dépensent pour elle? _____oui _____non

APPENDIX B-2

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE
(English Translation)

Dear Instructor,

We, at Compassion, are trying to learn as much as possible about the schools, students and teachers in Haiti. We would like to have your assistance. Would you please respond to the following questions; the responses will remain confidential. The only people who will read your responses are my research colleagues engaged in this project and myself. Nobody from the Ministry of Education, Compassion, your mission, or your school will see your responses.

This is not an examination. We are going to go through this questionnaire together, question by question. If you do not understand a question, please ask us to help you.

You will be helping us to improve the quality of primary instruction by responding to the best of your ability.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Wesley K. Stafford
Associate Director of Education
Compassion International

_____
Name of School

1. What class(es) are you teaching this year?

_____Maternelle	_____Préparatoire I	_____Elémentaire II
_____Enfantine I	_____Préparatoire II	_____Moyen I
_____Enfantine II	_____Elémentaire I	_____Moyen II
	_____Director only	

2. Are you a _____man? _____woman?

3. What is your age? _____

4. Where is your place of birth? _____

5. Where did you do the majority of your primary schooling? _____

6. Have you ever been a student in this school? _____yes _____no
   In what grades? _____

7. How many years have you been a teacher? _____

8. How many of those years have you taught in this school? _____

9. In how many other schools have you taught? _____

10. Have you received formal teacher training? _____yes _____no
    If yes, how many years? _____ In what school? _____

11. How many years of formal education have you had? _____
    What is the highest grade you completed? _____

12. Do you currently have another occupation besides teaching? ____yes
    _____no What occupation? _____

13. Do you like teaching? _____yes _____no

14. Have you ever wanted to quit teaching in favor of another occupation? ___yes ___no What occupation would you choose? _____

15. Do you think that the majority of your students would like to become teachers after their schooling? _____yes _____no
    Why? _____

16. Would you encourage a student to become a teacher? ____yes ____no
    Why? _____

17. Do you have brothers and sisters who are also teachers?___yes ___no

18. What is the biggest difficulty teachers face? _____

19. How often do you use French in your home? _____never _____rarely
    _____occasionally _____often

20. How often was French spoken in your childhood home? _____never
    _____rarely _____occasionally _____often

21. Does (or did) your father speak French?

    _____a) He speaks (or spoke) no French.
    _____b) He speaks (or spoke) very little French.
    _____c) He speaks (or spoke) French fairly well.
    _____d) He speaks (or spoke) French like a Frenchman.

22. Did your father receive any schooling? _____yes _____no If yes,
    what was the highest grade he completed? _____

23. What is (or was) your father's occupation? _____

24. Does (or did) your mother speak French?

_____a) She speaks (or spoke) no French.
_____b) She speaks (or spoke) very little French.
_____c) She speaks (or spoke) French fairly well.
_____d) She speaks (or spoke) French like a French woman.

25. Did your mother receive any schooling? _____yes _____no If yes, what was the highest grade she completed? _____

26. What is (or was) your mother's occupation? _____

27. Have you ever travelled to other regions of Haiti? ____yes ____no
What is the furthest region you have visited? _____

28. Have you ever travelled outside of Haiti? _____yes _____no
Where? _____

29. Among the following items, indicate first of all those which you have currently in your home; then indicate those items your parents had in their home during your childhood.

ITEM	IN YOUR CURRENT HOME	IN YOUR CHILDHOOD HOME
1. Box-springs bed		
2. Camera		
3. Motorcycle		
4. Radio		
5. Bicycle		
6. Car		
7. Alarm clock		
8. Pressurized lantern		
9. Television		
10. Tin roof		

30. How often are you sick?

_____daily _____once a month _____once a year
_____once a week _____once every 6 months _____never

31. Which of the following illnesses have you had?

_____malaria _____tetanus _____anemia
_____typhoid _____tuberculosis _____malnutrition
_____other _____

32. Do you often feel persecuted? _____yes _____no

33. The statistics show that many children drop out of school in the first few years. Why, in your opinion, does this happen?

_____

34. There is a minority of students who survive to the Moyen II level. What, in your opinion, allows them to accomplish this? _____

35. What is the most important quality that a student needs to succeed in school?

_____obedience/respect
_____a good memory
_____intelligence
_____hard work/effort

36. What is the biggest difficulty that students face? _____

37. Many school-age children in this community do not attend school. Why do these children not attend school? _____

38. If a family is only able to send one of its children to school, on what criteria do you think they base their choice? _____

39. If a youth is able to read and write, do you think that he should try to teach his brothers and sisters who are not enrolled in school? _____yes _____no
Do you think that a youth would be able to teach them?
_____yes _____no

40. Do you think that a youth who can reaad and write should try to teach his father and mother if they are not literate?___yes ___no
Do you think that a youth would be able to teach them?___yes ___no

41. Do you think that a youth would encounter difficulties if he tried to teach other adults in the community? ____yes _____no If yes, what difficulties? _____

42. Do you often fail in the things that you try to do? ____yes ____no

43. Where does the Pope live? _____

44. How would you rate your school in comparison to other schools you know in Haiti?

_____a) one of the worst
_____b) below average
_____c) average
_____d) one of the best

45. How would you rate yourself as a teacher in comparison to the other teachers in your school?

_____a) the worst
_____b) below average
_____c) average
_____d) the best

46. Do you think that teachers get the respect that they deserve in the community? ____yes ____no Why? _____

47. What is the greatest difficulty your students' parents face? ____
_____

48. Are you often unlucky? _____yes _____no

49. Which of the following languages do you speak?

_____Creole _____French _____English _____Spanish
_____Other _____

50. Do you think that young people should always obey their elders, whether they are right or wrong? _____yes _____no

51. Do you often speak with the parents of your students?___yes ___no
How many times per trimester? _____

52. How many children do you have? _____ How many of your children are of school age? _____ Where do they attend school? _____
Why did you choose that school for them? _____

53. Do you think that agriculture should be taught in primary school?
_____yes _____no Why? _____

54. In your opinion, why do so many students fail the C.E.P. examination? _____

55. What is the primary task of the school for its students? _____

56. Why did you choose teaching as a profession? _____

57. What characterizes a good teacher? _____

58. If you could do anything to improve the quality of your school, what would you do? _____

59. Who is the president of the United States? _____

60. What characterizes a successful person? _____

61. Do you think that school is worth the money that families invest in it? _____yes _____no

APPENDIX C

SCHOOL FACILITIES SURVEY

APPENDIX C-1

SCHOOL FACILITIES SURVEY
(French Version)

_____ _____
(Nom de l'école) (Date de la visite)

1. Date de la fondation de l'école: _____ (Age _____ ans)

2. Nombre d'années depuis que l'école a le Moyen II: _____

3. Emplacement: _____zone urbaine _____village _____zone rurale

4. Distance vers la route asphaltée la plus proche: _____kms

5. Section secondaire? _____oui _____non
Plus grande classe du cours secondaire? _____

6. Section de formation professionnelle? _____oui _____non
Quels choix de profession? _____

7. Liste d'attente pour rentrer à l'école primaire? _____oui _____non
Choix des critères d'admission _____

8. L'école a t-elle son propre édifice? _____oui _____non Quel édifice(s) est utilisé actuellement comme école? _____

9. Nombre d'édifices scolaires: _____ Nombre de salles de classe: _____

10. Nombre de professeurs à plein temps: _____ aides: _____ cuisinières: _____

11. Liste du niveau éducatif des professeurs (du plus élevé au plus bas). De _____ à _____

12. Liste des salaires (mensuels: du plus eleve au plus bas) des professeurs. De _____ à _____

13. Le directeur de l'école enseigne t-il? _____oui _____non
Quel pourcentage de fois? _____%

14. Le directeur de l'école est-il aussi un pasteur? _____oui _____non

15. Ecolage annuel: _____ _____ _____ _____
Moyen II Moyen I Elémentaire II Elémentaire I

_____ _____ _____ _____ _____
Préparatoire II Préparatoire I Enfantine II Enfantine I Maternelle

16. Pourcentage d'élèves qui fréquentent physiquement l'église de _____ -- _____%

17. Réunion pour professeurs et parents? _____oui _____non Combien de fois (par trimestre) _____. Pourcentage de parents qui y assistent? _____%

18. Education des adultes (école du soir)? _____oui _____non Cours offerts? _____

19. L'école a une bibliothèque? _____oui _____non Nombre de livres? _____ Peut-on les consulter? _____oui _____non

20. Taux de succès aux examens du Certificat d'Etudes Primaires (C.E.P.)

	NOMBRE d'ELEVES	NOMBRE AYANT REUSSI
1982-83		
1981-82		
1980-81		
1979-80		
1978-79		
1977-78		

21. Dossiers des inscriptions:

	MOYII	MOYI	ELII	ELI	PREII	PREI	ENFII	ENFI	MAT	TOTAL
1982-83										
1981-82										
1980-81										
1979-80										
1978-79										
1977-78										

22. L'école fournit-elle les textes des professeurs? _____oui _____non
L'école fournit-elle les textes des élèves? _____oui _____non

23. Y a t-il un règlement au sujet des uniformes à l'école?
_____oui _____non

24. Est-ce une école assistée par Compassion? _____oui _____non
Nombre d'élèves assistés? _____
Date du début de l'assistance _____ (_____ans)

25. Matériaux de construction de l'école: _____blocs de ciment
_____argile/boue _____bois _____pierre _____autre _____

26. Matériel du plafond de l'école: _____tôle _____chaume
_____ciment _____bois _____autre _____

27. Parquet de l'école: _____terre battue _____ciment _____bois
_____brique _____autre _____

28. Etat général de l'édifice: _____en construction _____excellent
_____bon _____passable _____pauvre
(expliquer) _____

29. Latrine? _____oui _____non Nombre de compartiments: _____
Etat: _____excellent _____bon _____passable _____pauvre
(expliquer)_____

30. Cours de récréation? _____oui _____non Dimension: _____pieds carrés

31. Origine de l'eau de l'école: _____rivière/ruisseau _____puits privé _____puits public _____fontaine publique _____recueillement d'eau de pluie _____conduite privée
_____autre _____

32. Diner fourni? _____oui _____non Combien de jours par semaine? L M Mer J Ven Diner fourni à tous les élèves sans paiement?
_____oui _____non
Combustible utilisé pour la cuisson: _____charbon _____bois
_____kérosine _____gaz _____électricité _____animal
_____autre _____

33. Salle à manger? _____oui _____non

34. Equipement varié:

_____jardin
_____machine à polycopier
_____terrain de football
_____salle de détente des professeurs
_____machine à taper
_____corde à sauter
_____radio
_____magnétophone
_____matériel artisanal

Salle de classe: _____

1. Elèves: _____ (Garçons: _____ Filles: _____)
2. Absents: _____ Professeurs: _____ Aides: _____
3. Longueur: _____ Largeur: _____ Pieds carrés: _____
4. Portes: _____ Fenêtres (grillagées): _____
5. Tableaux noirs: _____ Carte géographique: _____
   graphiques/photos: _____
6. Bancs/bureaux (dimension): _____ (description): _____
   Nombre de pouces/élèves: _____
7. Bureau du professeur: _____ Coffre/cabinet: _____
8. Texte par élève: _____ Sujet: _____
9. Matériel à écrire utilisé: _____
10. Croquis de la salle de classe:

_____

_____ _____

Nom de l'Ecole Année Scolaire

_____

ELEVES DU MOYEN II M/F CEP RESIDENCE ACTUELLE ED. PROFESSION CHOMEUR?

_____

1

_____

2

_____

3

_____

APPENDIX C-2

SCHOOL FACILITIES SURVEY
(English Translation)

_____ (Name of School)

_____ (Date of Visit)

1. Date the school was founded: _____ (Years in existence: _____)

2. Number of years the school has had a complete primary program: _____

3. Locale: _____urban _____semi-rural _____rural

4. Distance to the nearest paved road: _____kms

5. High school? _____yes _____no
   The highest grade available: _____

6. Vocational training program? _____yes _____no
   Vocational options taught: _____

7. Is there a waiting list to enroll in the primary school? _____yes
   _____no What are the criteria for admission? _____

8. Does the school have its own building? _____yes _____no
   What building(s) does it use for classrooms? _____

9. Number of school buildings: _____ Number of classrooms: _____

10. Number of fulltime teachers: _____ teachers' aides: _____
    cooks: _____

11. Levels of teachers' education (from highest to lowest).
    From _____ to _____

12. Teachers' salaries (monthly: from highest to lowest):
    From _____ to _____

13. Does the school director teach? _____yes _____no What percentage
    of his time? _____%

14. Is the school director also the local pastor? _____yes _____no

15. Annual tuition: _____ _____ _____ _____
Moyen II Moyen I Elémentaire II Elémentaire I

_____ _____ _____ _____ _____
Préparatoire II Préparatoire I Enfantine II Enfantine I Maternelle

16. Percentage of students who attend the local church: _____%

17. School has PTA meetings? _____yes _____no How many times per trimester? _____ Percentage of parents who attend: _____%

18. Adult education? _____yes _____no Courses offered: _____

19. Library? _____yes _____no Number of books: _____
Can be checked out? _____yes _____no

20. CEP examination record of success:

	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	NUMBER WHO PASSED
1982-83		
1981-82		
1980-81		
1979-80		
1978-79		
1977-78		

21. Enrollment records:

	MOYII	MOYI	ELII	ELI	PREII	PREI	ENFII	ENFI	MAT	TOTAL
1982-83										
1981-82										
1980-81										
1979-80										
1978-79										
1977-78										

22. Does the school provide textbooks for the teachers? _____yes _____no
Does the school provide textbooks for the students? _____yes _____no

23. Are school uniforms required? _____yes _____no

24. Does the school receive assistance from Compassion? _____yes _____no
Number of students sponsored: _____
Date assistance began: _____

25. Building material: _____cement block _____mud _____wood
_____stone _____other _____

26. Roofing material: _____tin _____thatch _____cement _____wood
_____other _____

27. School floor: _____earth _____cement _____wood _____brick
_____other _____

28. General condition of buildings: _____under construction
_____excellent _____good _____fair _____poor
(explain) _____

29. Latrines? _____yes _____no Number of compartments: _____
Condition: _____excellent _____good _____fair _____poor
(explain) _____

30. Playground? _____yes _____no Dimensions: _____square feet

31. Water source for the school: _____river/stream _____private well
_____public well _____public fountain _____rainwater catchment
_____other _____

32. Lunch program? _____yes _____no How many times per week?
(Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday) Is it provided to
all students free of charge? _____yes _____no
Fuel used for cooking: _____charcoal _____wood _____kerosene
_____gas _____electricity _____other _____

33. Dining room? _____yes _____no

34. Miscellaneous equipment:

_____school garden
_____mimeograph
_____soccer field
_____teachers' lounge
_____typewriter
_____jump ropes
_____radio
_____tape recorder
_____arts and crafts materials

Classroom Identification: _____

1. Number of students: _____ (Boys: _____ Girls: _____)

2. Absentees: _____ Teachers: _____ Aides: _____

3. Length: _____ Width: _____ Square footage: _____

4. Doors: _____ Windows (grillwork): _____

5. Blackboards: _____ Maps: _____ Visual aids: _____

6. Desks/benches (dimensions): _____ Description: _____
   Number of inches per student: _____

7. Teacher's desk: _____ Locker/cabinet: _____

8. Number of texts per student: _____ Subject being taught: _____

9. Writing utensils used: _____

10. Sketch of classroom layout:

VOCATIONAL HISTORY REVIEW

_____ _____
Name of School School Year

MOYEN II STUDENTS	M/F	CEP	RESIDENCE	EDUCATION	PROFESSION	EMPLOYED?
1) Pierre Antoine	M	Passed	Aquin	8eme (HS)	No	---
2) Gislaine Belbrun	F	Failed	Le Blanc	---	Tailor	Yes
3)						

APPENDIX D

INTRODUCTION LETTER TO SCHOOL DIRECTORS

APPENDIX D-1

INTRODUCTION LETTER TO SCHOOL DIRECTORS
(French Version)

mardi 29 mars 1983

Major Raymond Ternier
Collège Verena
Port-au-Prince

Cher Major Ternier:

L'Armée du Salut et Compasion Internationale collaborent actuellement dans le but de réaliser une étude permettant de recueillir le plus d'informations possibles au sujet des écoles primaires, des élèves et des professeurs en Haïti. Le Collège Verena de Port-au-Prince (Armée du Salut) a été choisi comme l'une des écoles que nous aimerons visiter. Nous serons dans la zone de vôtre école _____ et aimerions visiter vôtre établissement au début de la matinée.

Si ceci convient à vôtre personnel et vous, nous aimerons avoir une conversation courte et simple avec vous d'abord, en tant que directeur, au sujet de vôtre école. Nous voudrions passer environ une heure de temps avec tous vous professeurs réunis en un seul groupe et leur demander de remplir un questionnaire. Nous aimerions aussi parler individuellement à plusieurs de vos élèves du Moyen II au cours de la journée.

Comprenez bien ceci et veuillez l'expliquer aussi aux professeurs et aux élèves, les questions que nous poserons ne sont pas un examen et leurs réponses seront gardées très confidentiellement. En collaborant avec nous, vous aiderez l'Armée du Salut et Compassion Internationale à améliorer qualité de l'éducation primaire en Haïti.

Merci de vôtre aide.

Sincèrement vôtre,

_____	_____
Capitaine Jonas Georges	Wesley K. Stafford
Coordonnateur des Ecoles	Directeur-Associé en Education
Armée du Salut	Compassion Internationale

P.S. Il est très important pour vous d'avoir la feuille de renseignements cijointe remplie au moment de notre visite _____.
Veuillez y écrire le nombre d'élèves présents dans chaque classe pour les années académiques indiquées (soyez aussi précis que possible).

APPENDIX D-2

INTRODUCTION LETTER TO SCHOOL DIRECTORS
(English Translation)

Tuesday, March 29, 1983

Major Raymond Ternier
Collège Verena
Port-au-Prince

Dear Major Ternier:

The Salvation Army and Compassion International are cooperating in a study with the goal of obtaining as much information as possible about primary schools, students, and teachers in Haiti. Collège Verena of Port-au-Prince (Salvation Army) was selected as one of the schools we would like to visit. We will be in the area of your school on _____, and would like to visit your establishment at the start of the school day.

If this is convenient for you and your personnel, we would like to have a brief interview first of all with you, as director, about your school. We would like to spend at least an hour with all of your teachers in a group in order to complete a questionnaire. We would also like to speak individually with several of your Moyen II students in the course of the day.

Be assured yourself, and explain to your teachers and students, that the questions we will ask are not an examination, and that responses will be kept in confidence. In cooperation with us, you are helping the Salvation Army and Compassion International to improve the quality of primary education in Haiti.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely yours,

_____
Captain Jonas Georges
School Coordinator
Salvation Army

_____
Wesley K. Stafford
Associate Director of Education
Compassion International

P.S. It is very important that you have the enclosed form completed at the time of our visit on _____. Please fill in the number of students present in each class for the school years indicated (be as precise as possible).

APPENDIX E

TEACHER FRENCH ABILITY TEST

APPENDIX E

TEACHER FRENCH ABILITY TEST

1. Je n'ai pas assez d'argent pour acheter de nouveaux souliers. Je dois:

   _____a) Apprêter 20 dollars
   _____b) Empréter 20 dollars
   _____c) Prêter 20 dollars
   _____d) Emprunter 20 dollars

2. De temps en temps j'emploie accidentellement la bicyclette de Pierre parce qu'elle est:

   _____a) Même à la mienne
   _____b) Différente à la mienne
   _____c) Semblable à la mienne
   _____d) Originale à la mienne
   _____e) Aucune réponse n'est correcte

3. Paul est le premier de sa classe. Il est:

   _____a) Le plus bon élève
   _____b) Le meilleur élève
   _____c) Le plus meilleur élève
   _____d) Aucune réponse n'est correcte

4. De la fenêtre de sa chambre, Jean a vu un accident de voiture terrible. Il en est:

   _____a) La victime
   _____b) Le témoin
   _____c) L'auditeur
   _____d) L'admirateur
   _____e) Aucune réponse n'est correcte

5. Je dois parler à Marie:

   _____a) Je la téléphone
   _____b) Je téléphone avec elle
   _____c) Je lui téléphone
   _____d) Je le téléphone

6. Pendant les repas le chat est toujours à nos pieds:

_____a) En bas la table
_____b) Sous la table
_____c) Sur la table
_____d) Aucune réponse n'est correct

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aarons, Audrey and Hawes, Hugh, (1979). Child-to-Child. London: MacMillan Press, Ltd.

Ahlers, Theodore H. (1977). "Report on the Statistical Analysis of Migration Data Collection in Survey of Four Haitian Small Towns." Medford: Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. (Mimeographed)

Allen, V.C. (Ed.) (1976). Children as Teachers: Theory and Research on Tutoring. New York: Academic Press.

Aries, Philippe (1962). Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Banfield, Edward C. (1970). The Unheavenly City. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 229-31.

Beavers, R. (1968). "Curriculum Change in Developing Countries." Leicester: University of Leicester, M. Ed. Thesis.

Beeby, C. E. (1979). "Teachers, Teacher Education and Research," in Gardner, R. (Ed.) Teacher Education in Developing Countries: Prospects for the Eighties. London: Institute of Education, University of London, 135-161.

Beeby, C. E. (1966). "The Quality of Education in Developing Countries." Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Beeby, C. E. (1962). "Stages in the Growth of a Primary Education System." Comparative Education Review, 6(1), 2-11.

Bledsoe, Joseph C., and Garrison, Karl C. (N.D.) "The Self-Concepts of Elementary School Children in Relation to Their Academic Achievement, Intelligence, Interests, and Manifest Anxiety." Athens, Georgia: United Office of Education Cooperative Research Project No. 1008.

Borislow, Bernard (1962). "Self-Evaluation and Academic Achievement." Journal of Counseling Psychology, 9, 246-55.

Bortner, R. W., Bohn, Claudia J., and Hultsch, David F. (1974). "A Cross-Cultural Study of the Effects of Children on Parental Assessment of Past, Present, and Future." Journal of Marriage and the Family, 36(2), 370-78.

Brim, Orville G. and Wheeler, Stanton (1966). Socialization After Childhood: Two Essays. New York: John Wiley.

Brookover, Wilber B. and Shailer, Thomas (1963). "Self-Concept of Ability and School Achievement." Sociology of Education, Winter, 271-78.

Bulcock, Jeffrey W., Clifton, Rodney A., and Beebe, Mona J. (1977). "A Language Resource Model of Science Achievement: Comparisons Between 14-year-olds in England and India." Stockholm: Institute for the Study of International Problems in Education.

Cass, James (1974). "Do Schools Make a Difference?" SR/W Education, 59.

Chaplin, M. D. (1968). "Self-Concept, Level of Aspiration, and Academic Achievement." Journal of Negro Education, 37, 435-39.

Cicirelli, Victor (1977). "Family Structure and Interaction: Sibling Effects on Socialization" in McMillan, M. Child Psychiatry: Treatment and Research. New York: Brunner/Maxel.

Coleman, James S., Campbell, Ernest Q., Hobson, Carol J., McPartland, James, Mood, Alexander M., Weinfall, Frederick D., and York, Robert L. (1966). "The Equality of Educational Opportunity." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Comber, L. C. and Keeves, John P. (1973). "Science Education in 19 Countries: An Empirical Study." Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell.

Coombs, P. H. (1982). "Critical World Educational Issues of the Next Two Decades." International Review of Education, 28(2), 143-57.

Coombs, P. H. and Ahmed, M. (1974). Attacking Rural Poverty. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Coombs, P. H. (1974). Building New Educational Strategies to Serve Rural Children and Youth. New York: UNICEF and ICED.

Coombs, Philip H. (et. al.) (1973). "New Paths to Learning for Rural Children and Youth." New York: International Council for Educational Development.

Cotten, J. (1982). "Evaluation Research on the PL-480 Title II School Feeding Program in Haiti." Port-au-Prince: USAID Mission.

Cremin, Lawrence A. (1974). "The Family as Educator: Some Comments on the Recent Historiography" in The Family as Educator. New York and London: Teachers College Press.

Currie, Janice (1974). "Stratification in Uganda: Schooling and Elite Recruitment." Greylands Educational Journal, 9, 26-47.

Daniere, A. (1979). "External Assistance to Primary and Community Education in Haiti." Port-au-Prince: USAID Mission.

Département de l'Education Nationale (1984). "Annuaire Statistique 1982-1983," No. 6. Port-au-Prince: DEN.

Département de l'Education Nationale (1983). "Repertoire des Publications." Port-au-Prince: DEN.

Dewey, John (1899). The School and Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Douglas, J. W. B. (1964). The Home and the School. London: MacGibbon and Kee.

Economic and Social Data Services Division (1981). "Indicators of Education in AID-Assisted Countries." Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development.

Epps, Edgar (1969). "Negro Academic Motivation and Performance: An Overview." Journal of Social Issues, 25, Summer, 5-13.

Erickson, Erik H. (1963). Childhood and Society. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc.

Fantini, Mario D. (1983). "Changing Concepts of Education: From School System to Educational System" in Schoeny, Donna Hager and Decker, Larry E. (Eds.) Community, Educational and Social Impact Perspectives. Charlottesville, Virginia: Mid-Atlantic Center for Community Education, University of Virginia, 32.

Fass, S. (1980). "The Economics of Survival: A Study of Poverty and Planning in Haiti." Washington, DC: USAID.

Foreign Area Studies of the American University (1973). Area Handbook For Haiti. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

Foster, Philip (1977). "Education and Social Differentiation in Less Developed Countries." Comparative Education Review, 21, 211-29.

Freire, Paulo (1970). Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: The Seabury Press.

Gartner, Alan, Kohler, Mary and Riessman, Frank (1971). Children Teaching Children. New York: Harper and Row.

Getzels, J. W. (1978). "The Communities of Education." Teacher's College Record, 79(4), 659-82.

Gill, Dhara S. (1977). "Education for the Rural Youth--Some Problems of Determining Learning Needs." Paris: UNESCO Press.

Goodlad, John I. (1984). A Place Called School. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Gosden, P. H. (1969). How They Were Taught: An Anthology of Contemporary Accounts of Learning and Teaching in England, 1800-1850. New York: Barnes and Noble.

Gould, W. T. S. (1972). "Patterns of Lower School Enrollment in Uganda." East African Geographical Review, 10, 10.

Grant, J. P. (1984). The State of the World's Children 1984. New York: UNICEF.

Handlin, Oscar (1973). The Uprooted. (Second Edition) Boston: Little, Brown.

Hansen, W. L. (1971). "Patterns of Rates of Returns to Investment in Education: Some International Comparisons." Education and Distribution of Income, 12. Paris: OECD.

Hareven, Tamara (1975). "Family Time and Industrial Time: Family and Work in a Planned Corporation Town 1900-1924." Journal of Urban History, 1, 365-89.

Havelock, R. G. (1964). "Planning for Innovation Through Dissemination and Utilization of Knowledge." Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Herskovits, Melville J. (1971). Life in a Haitian Valley. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc.

Heyneman, Stephen P. and Loxley, W. A. (1983). "Distribution of Primary School Quality Within High and Low Income Countries." Comparative Education Review, 27(1), 108-18.

Heyneman, Stephen P. (1983). "Education During a Period of Austerity: Uganda, 1971--1981." Comparative Education Review, 27, 403-13.

Heyneman, Stephen P. and Loxley, William A. (1982). "Influences on Academic Achievement Across High and Low Income Countries: A Re-analysis of IEA Data." Sociology of Education, 55, 13-21.

Heyneman, Stephen P. and Jamison, Dean, T. (1980). "Student Learning in Uganda: Textbook Availability and Other Factors." Comparative Education Review, 24, 206-20.

Heyneman, Stephen P. (1979). "Planning and Equality of Educational Opportunity Between Regions." Paris: UNESCO/International Institute for Education Planning.

Heyneman, Stephen P. (1976). "A Bright Note on the Relationship Between Socio-economic Status and Test Performance Among Ugandan Primary School Children." Comparative Education Review.

Heyneman, Stephen P. (1976). "Influences on Academic Achievement: A Comparison of Results from Uganda and More Industrialized Societies." Sociology of Education, 49, 200-11.

Heyneman, Stephen P. (1975). "Influences on Academic Achievement in Uganda: A 'Coleman Report' From a Non-industrialized Society." Chicago: University of Chicago, Dissertation.

Hobbs, Nicholas (1978). "Families, Schools and Communities: An Ecosystem for Children." Teacher's College Record, 79(4).

Hobbs, Nicholas (1975). The Futures of Children. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Husen, Torsten (1979). "An International Research Venture in Retrospect: The IEA Surveys." Comparative Education Review, 23, 371-85.

Illich, I. (1971). De-Schooling Society. New York: Harper and Row.

Institut Haïtien de Statistique et d'Information (1984). "Resultats Anticipes du Récencement Général." Port-au-Prince: Ministere du Plan.

Institut Pedagogique Nationale (1982). "La Reforme Educative." Port-au-Prince: DEN.

Irish, Donald P. (1970). "Sibling Interaction: A Neglected Aspect in Family Life Research" in Ross, J. and Shleman, E. (Eds.) Perspectives in Marriage and the Family. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Jencks, Christopher (1972). Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effects of Family and Schools in America. New York: Basic Books.

Jules, Henry (1972). "A Cross-Cultural Outline of Education" in On Education. New York: Vintage Books.

Jules, Henry (1972). On Education. New York: Vintage Books.

Kahl, Joseph A. (1966). The Measurement of Modernism: A Study of Values in Brazil and Mexico. Austin and London: University of Texas Press.

Kandel, I. L. (1961). "Comparative Education and Underdeveloped Countries." Comparative Education Review, 4(3), 130-35.

Kanter, Rosabeth (1977). Work and Family in the United States: A Critical Review and Agenda for Research and Policy. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Kifer, Edward (1977). "A Cross-Cultural Study of The Impact of Home Environment Variables on Academic Assessment and Affective Traits." New York City: Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association.

Kiras, Fassil G., Mushkin, Selma J., and Billings, Bradley B. (1975). "Educational Outcome Measurement in Developing Countries." Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University, Public Services Laboratory.

Kohler, M. C. (1985). "Youth Serving Agencies as Educators" in the National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook, 84, pt. 1, 159-82.

Kozol, Jonathan (1980). Prisoners of Silence: Breaking the Bonds of Adult Illiteracy in the United States. New York: Contiuum.

Laguerre, M. S. (1979). Schooling in Haiti. New York: Institute for Urban and Minority Education, Columbia University.

Leavis, M. (1975). Friendship and Peer Relations. New York: Wiley.

Leichter, Hope (Ed.) (1979). Families and Communities as Educators. New York: Teacher's College Press.

Leichter, Hope (Ed.) (1974). The Family as Educator. New York: Teacher's College Press.

Levine, Robert A. (1978). "Western Schools in Non-Western Societies: Psychosocial Impact and Cultural Response." Teacher's College Record, 79(4), 749-55.

Levinger, B. (1983). "School Feeding Programs in Less Developed Countries: An Analysis of Actual and Potential Impact." Washington, DC: USAID.

Levy, David M. (1937). Studies of Sibling Rivalry. New York: The American Orthopsychiatric Association.

Lewis, L. J. (1970). "Getting Good Teachers in Developing Countries." International Review of Education, 16(4), 393-405.

Leyburn, James G. (1966). The Haitian People. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Lightfoot, Sara L. (1978). Worlds Apart: Relationships Between Families and Schools. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Lindenberg, M. (1982). "Human Resources Needs in the Private Sector: A Preliminary Assessment of Training Needs and Resource in the Assembly Industries in Haiti." Port-au-Prince: USAID Mission.

Lippitt, Peggy (1969). "Children Can Teach Other Children." The Instructor, 9, May.

Lippitt, Peggy, and Lippitt, Ronald (1973). "Cross-Age Helpers" in Education for Affective Achievement. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Lippitt, Peggy, and Lippitt, Ronald (1968). "Cross-Age Helpers," NEA Journal, 57(3), 24-26.

Lundahl, Mats (1983). The Haitian Economy. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc.

Lundahl, Mats (1979). Peasants and Poverty: A Study of Haiti. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc.

Manley, M. K. (1963). "Mental Ability in Jamaica: An Examination of the Performance of Children in the Jamaican Common Entrance Examination." Social and Economic Studies, 12, (March), 51-72.

McCracken, Robert (et. al.) (1965). "Individualizing Reading With Pupil-Teachers." Education, 86(3), 174-6.

McGee, Charles S., Kauffman, James M., and Nussen, Judith L. (1977). "Children as Therapeutic Change Agents: Reinforcement Intervention Paradigms." Review of Educational Research, 47(3), 451-77.

McIntire, Ronald G. (1976). "The Development of a Conceptual Model for Selection of Optional Educational Programs in an Elementary School." Los Angeles: University of California, Doctoral Dissertation.

McLuhan, Marshall (1964). Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Mead, Margaret (1970). Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap. Garden City, New York: Natural History Press/Doubleday.

Mead, Margaret (1930). Growing Up in New Guinea. New York: Morrow.

Medlin, W. K. (1983). "A Model for Planning Rural Education Development: Synthesis of Experiences in Non-Industrial Societies." Convergence, 16(2), 30-41.

Middleton, John (1970). From Child to Adult: Studies in the Anthropology of Education. Garden City, New York: Natural History Press.

Millot, Benoit, and Easton, Peter A. (1985). "Economic and Fiscal Analysis" in Haiti: Education and Human Resources. Prepared by The Institute for International Research, Inc., for The Florida State University: Improving the Efficiency of Educational Systems (IEES) Project.

Milson, F. (1972). Youth in a Changing Society. London: Routledge and Kegon Paul.

Ministers du Plan (1982). "Main d'Oeuvre, Empoi et Ressources Humanes Evolution 1971--1981: Prévisions 1981-86-91." Port-au-Prince: PNUD/BIRD/BIT.

Moore, O. Ernest (1972). Haiti: Its Stagnant Society and Schackled Economy. Jerico, New York: Exposition Press, Inc.

Morgan, R. F., and Toy, T. B. (1970). "Learning by Teaching." The Psychological Record, (February), 159-69.

Murphree, Betty J. (1973). "Factors Influencing the Aspirations and Achievements of African Secondary School Pupils in Rhodesia." ASSA Sociology Southern Africa. Durban: University of Natal, Multi-Copy Centre, 129-157.

Mwaniki, Dinguri N. (1973). "Education and Socioeconomic Development in Kenya: A Study of the Distribution of Resources in Kenya." Stanford University.

Neelsen, J. (1975). "Education and Social Mobility." Comparative Education Review, 19(1), 129-43.

Nesman, Edgar (1981). Peasant Mobilization and Rural Development. Cambridge: Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc.

Nkinyangi, John A. (1982). "Access to Primary Education in Kenya: The Contradictions of Public Policy." Comparative Education Review, 199-217.

Nkinyangi, John A. (1980). "Socio-economic Determinants of Repetition and School Withdrawal at the Primary School Level and Their Implications for Educational Planning in Kenya." Stanford University, Ph.D. Dissertation.

O'Gorman, F. (1976). "Roles of Change Agents in Development." East Lansing: Nonformal Education Center, Michigan State University.

Olson, Jerry B. (1975). "Social Background and Its Influence on African Secondary School Performance: 1961--1968." San Francisco: Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, October.

Peaker, Gilbert F. (1971). "The Plowden Children, Four Years Later." London: National Foundation for Education Research in England and Wales.

Peil, Margaret (1974). "Secondary Education in Ghana: Private Enterprise and Social Selection." Sociology of Education, 399-418.

Petit-Frere, Serge (1980). "L'Education Haitienne en Question." Port-au-Prince: Les Editions Fardin.

Pierce, Truman M. (1947). "Controllable Community Characteristics Related to the Quality of Education." New York: Bureau of Publications, Teaching College, Columbia University, 54-55.

Pigozzi, Mary Joy (1985). "Primary Education" in Haiti: Education and Human Resources. Prepared by The Institute for International Research, Inc., for The Florida State University: Improving the Efficiency of Educational Systems (IEES) Project.

Plowden Report II (1967). "Children and Their Primary Schools: A Report of the Central Advisory Council for England." London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Pope, Alan and Jones, John (1974). "Home Background as a Determinant of Success in a Papua, New Guinea High School." Papua, New Guinea: Educational Research Unit, University of Papua.

Purves, Alan C. and Levine, Daniel U. (1975). "The Relation of School Achievement to Differences in the Backgrounds of Children." Educational Policy and International Assessment: Implications of the IEA Surveys of Educational Achievement. Berkeley: McCutchan.

Purves, Alan C. (1973). "Literature Education in Ten Countries: An Empirical Study." Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell.

Reimer, E. (1971). School is Dead: Alternatives in Education. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Richards, Howard. "The Parents and Children Experiment in Rural Chile." Eartham College. (Unpublished)

Rosenbaum, M. (1963). "Psychological Effects of the Child Raised by an Older Sibling." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 33, 515-520.

Rossi, Peter (1961). "Social Factors in Academic Achievement: A Brief Review." Education, Economy and Society. New York: The Free Press.

Rubin, V., and Schaedel, R. P. (Eds.) (1975). The Haitian Potential: Research and Resources in Haiti. New York: Teacher's College Press.

Scherer, M. (1984). "A Place Called School." Instructor, 93, January, 56-8.

Schiamberg, Lawrence (1973). Adolescent Alienation. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company.

Schiefelbein, Ernesto and Farrell, Joseph P. (1981). "Education and Occupational Attainment in Chile: The Effects of Educational Quality, Attainment and Achievement." Washington, D.C.: Education Department of the World Bank. (Mimeographed)

Schultz, T. (1963). The Economic Value of Education. New York: Columbia University Press.

Shapiro, A. (1967). "Pupil-Teachers." Reading Teacher, 21, 128-29.

Shuluka, S. (1974). "Achievements of Indian Children in Mother Tongue (Hindi) and Science." Comparative Education Review, 18, 237-47.

Silvey, Jonathan (1972). "Long-Range Prediction of Educability and Its Determinants in East Africa" in Cronback, L. J. and Dernth, P. J. D. (Eds.) Mental Tests and Cultural Adaptation. Paris: Mouton Publishers.

Simmons, John (1980). The Education Dilemma: Policy Issues for Developing Countries in the 1980s. Oxford: Pergamon, 27-28.

Simmons, John and Alexander, Leigh (1978). "The Determinants of School Achievement in Developing Countries: A Review of the Research." Economic Development and Cultural Change, 26, 341-58.

Sinclair, Robert L. and Chory, Ward J. (1985). "Curriculum Connections: Combining Environments for Learning" in Education in School and Non-School Settings. Eighty-fourth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Smith, David H., and Inkeles, Alex (1968). "The O-M Scale: A Comparative Socio-Psychological Measure of Individual Modernity." Sociometry, 29, Dec., 353-77.

Smith, K. M. (1984). "The Home as Learning Center: The Family as Educator." Contemporary Education, 55(2), 81-84.

Stafford, Wesley K. (1984). "Understanding Poverty: Haiti--A Paradise Lost." Colorado Springs, CO: Compassion International, Inc. (Unpublished)

Stafford, Wesley K. (1981). "Youth as a Resource." (Unpublished)

Steif, William (1979). "Hopeless in Haiti" in Progressive, October, 34-40.

Stewart, M. (1976). "Parents and Siblings as Teachers" in Mash, E. J. Behavior Modification Approaches to Parenting. New York: Brunner/Mazel.

Stouffer,, R. G., and Groff, P. (1967). "Should You Use Pupil Teachers?" The Instructor, 77(1), August, 35.

Strom, Robert D. (1978). "Play and Peer Teaching." The Elementary School Journal, 79(2).

Stuart, John G. (1983). "Use These 13 Characteristics to Measure the Quality of a School." The American School Board Journal, 170, 27-28.

Sutton-Smith, Brian, and Rosenburg, B.G. (1970). The Sibling. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Swanson, Austin D. (1961). "Relations Between Community Size and School Quality." Research Bulletin, Institute of Administrative Research, 2, October.

Thomas, William J., and Znaniecki, Florian (1971). The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (1918-20). New York: Octagon Books.

Thorndike, Robert L. (1973). "Reading Comprehension in 15 Countries: An Empirical Study." Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell.

Udry, J. R. (1966). The Social Context of Marriage. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott.

UNESCO (1983). "Rapport de la Mission Inter-Disciplinaire de l'UNESCO en Haiti." Port-au-Prince, UNESCO.

UNESCO (1977). "Regional Seminar on Alternative Approaches to School Education at Primary Level." Bangkok: UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia.

UNESCO/UNICEF Cooperative Program (1980). "Training Children to Care for Young Siblings." Paris: UNESCO/UNICEF/PAM.

USAID (1981). "Indicators of Education in AID-Assisted Countries: Statistical Profile Series." Washington, D.C.: Economic and Social Data Services Division, USAID.

Vogel, Ezra F. and Bell, Norman W. (1968). "The Child as the Family Scapegoat" in A Modern Introduction to the Family. New York: Free Press, 412-27.

Wagner, Lilya (1980). "A Historical Base and Rationale for Peer Teaching." University of Florida, unpublished dissertation.

Walker, J. L. (1983). "Foreign Assistance and Haiti's Economic Development." Port-au-Prince: USAID Mission.

Ward, T. (N.D.) "Schooling as a Defective Approach to Education." Unpublished.

Wayne, W. C. (1956). "Tutoring Service: A Project for Future Business Teachers." The Journal of Business Education, 31, 330.

Weinstein, B., and Segal, A. (1984). Haiti--Political Failures, Cultural Successes. New York: Praeger.

Wiesler, H. (1978). La Scolarisation en Haiti. Port-au-Prince: Institut Haïtien de Statistique.

Williams, Peter (1976). The School Leaver in Developing Countries. London: NFER Publishing Company, Ltd.

Wise, Arthur E. (1967). Rich Schools, Poor Schools: The Promise of Equal Educational Opportunity. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wise, J. E. (1964). The History of Education. New York: Sheed and Ward.

Wolf, Richard (1964). "The Measurement of Environments." Cultural Differentials, 491-503.

Woofter, T. J. (1917). Teaching in Rural Schools. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

World Bank (1980). "Education: Sector Policy Paper." Washington, D.C.: World Bank.