

UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES
CENTRE FOR GENDER & DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
Regional Co-ordinating Unit

Gender Differentials at the Secondary and Tertiary Levels
of the Educational System in the Anglophone Caribbean

SPECIALIST STUDY

*DROPOUT FROM EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN
THREE CARICOM COUNTRIES*



Funded by
The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
Caribbean Office

Prepared by
Monica M. Brown, Ph.D.
March 2006

UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research study and this final report could not have been completed without the encouragement, advice, support, and assistance received from many sources. I wish to express sincere appreciation to everyone involved, but in particular to the following persons:

- the leaders of teams (Country Focal Points) for the organization and administration of the project in the respective countries;
- all the members of the Country Teams (See page 5) for their diligence in conducting interviews at the various sites;
- the participants who agreed to be interviewed and freely shared their personal stories;
- the staff of institutions in which several of the dropouts had enrolled to improve their vocational skills or levels of academic attainment;
- Dr. Earl Brown for data processing and data analysis services — the outputs received facilitated the development of the many tables in the report;
- Althia Curtis for coding of the interview schedules and data entry to facilitate computer processing.
- Beverley Butler, for her usual proficient help with document preparation.

Kingston, Jamaica
October 2005

Monica M. Brown

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	iv
I. Background.....	1
Research Phases.....	1
II. Government Agreement.....	1
III. The Drop-Out Study	2
IV. Review of Literature.....	2
V. Research Design.....	4
A. Research Objectives.....	4
B. Data Collection.....	4
C. Primary Data.....	5
D. Sampling.....	5
E. Research Teams.....	5
VI. Research Findings.....	6
A. Belize.....	6
B. Guyana.....	12
C. Trinidad and Tobago.....	20
VII. Conclusions	28
VIII. Recommendations	29
References.....	30

LIST OF TABLES

1	Country Teams.....	5
2	Respondents' Drop-Out History — Belize.....	7
3	No. of Siblings & Household Size — Belize	8
4	Parents'/Guardians' Occupations — Belize	9
5	Study Habits, Interpersonal Relationships & Participation in Extra-Curricula Activities — Belize.....	10
6	Personal Conduct While Attending Public School — Belize	10
7	Community Member Most Admired — Belize	12
8	Respondents' Drop-Out History — Guyana.....	14
9	No. of Siblings, Household Size & Control — Guyana	15
10	Parents'/Guardians' Occupation & Highest Level of Educational Attainment — Guyana.....	16
11	Study Habits, Interpersonal Relationships & Participation in Extra-Curricula Activities — Guyana	18
12	Personal Conduct While Attending Public School — Guyana	18
13	Community Member Most Admired — Guyana	19
14	Respondents' Drop-Out History — Trinidad & Tobago	21
15	No. of Siblings, Household Size & Control — Trinidad & Tobago	22
16	Parents'/Guardians' Occupation & Highest Level of Educational Attainment — Trinidad & Tobago	24
17	Study Habits, Interpersonal Relationships & Participation in Extra-Curricula Activities — Trinidad & Tobago	25
18	Personal Conduct While Attending Public School — Trinidad & Tobago	26
19	Community Member Most Admired — Trinidad & Tobago	27

I. BACKGROUND

Despite the existence of individual research initiatives, which focus on various issues with regard to the impact of gender on education, no extensive regional research program has been undertaken to provide a regional analysis of the problem, which could guide policy formation and optimise education in ways appropriate to both sexes.

In an attempt to address these gaps, the *Gender Differentials at the Secondary and Tertiary Levels of the Educational System in the Anglophone Caribbean Project* is the first comprehensive research program of its magnitude (in excess of USD 200,000 and examining six territories: Barbados, Belize, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Kitts & Nevis and Trinidad & Tobago) ever undertaken. The research attempts to provide regional analysis of male-female advantage/disadvantage at the secondary and tertiary levels of education systems in the region, by examining the socialisation influences and demographic factors that may contribute to gender imbalances. The examination is related to certain key indicators, namely: enrolment, participation and achievement, and attrition in the system.

The research was conceptualised in three phases as detailed below:

PHASE I (Funded by CCGEP, OECS & Barbados)	PHASE II (Funded by regional CCGEP)	PHASE III (Funded by the CDB)
• Preparation of comprehensive annotated bibliography of international and regional sources on gender issues in education • Establishment of a comparative database on defined quantitative indicators including an analysis of data sets.	Specialist Studies: 1. Attrition and drop-out 2. Demographic and associated socio-economic and other factors; 3. Alternative pathways to tertiary education; 4. Outputs of education system versus outcomes for individuals.	• Major in-depth study of - <i>inter alia</i> - the social, economic and cultural factors impinging on educational enrolment and performance at the secondary and tertiary levels of Caribbean education systems.

II. GOVERNMENT AGREEMENT

Pursuant to the charge made by the CARICOM Heads of Government to the regional academic community to complete the “necessary research,” the *Gender Differentials at the Secondary and Tertiary Levels of Education in the Anglophone Caribbean Project* has consistently received government support at the regional level, through the acceptance of presentations made to the Ministers of Education (October 2004) and Ministers with responsibility for Gender Affairs (April 2005) of CARICOM Member States, at meetings of the Council of Social and Human Development (COHSOD) At the October meeting, the Project Director - Professor Barbara Bailey – invited both comment and commitment from the Ministers of Education and Chief Educational Officers to a presentation, outlining the scope, sequence and importance of the Research initiative. It was unanimously agreed that the research was critical at this time to the region, and all

Ministers and Officers present gave assurance of dedicating resources to ensure that the research process was facilitated. UNESCO's recognition of the importance of the project is evidenced in their financial committed to phase two of the Dropout Study - a component of the project.

III. THE DROPOUT STUDY

The **Drop-Out Study**, based in the Attrition and Dropout Component of Phase II, focuses on **five countries** – Jamaica, Barbados, Belize, Guyana and Trinidad & Tobago – and specifically examines:

1. Demographic issues as they relate to the composition of the school population under review, and the relationship of these factors to participation, performance and attrition.
2. Sex differences in attrition and the factors accounting for this.

This second segment of the Drop-Out Study was funded by UNESCO and focuses on three of the five countries; namely, Belize, Guyana, and Trinidad & Tobago. Information from Jamaica and Barbados was gathered and analysed, with funding from CIDA-Canada/Caribbean Gender Equality Programme (CCGEP); Barbados and the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), and a report has already been prepared. The parameters of this UNESCO-funded study, are informed by the Jamaica and Barbados exercise.

IV. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Many students drop out of the secondary level of the school system before completion of the final year, and this is a problem faced in many countries — developed, developing or under-developed. More research attention has been paid in metropolitan countries to determining the causes of secondary school dropout and appropriate preventative measures, although dropping-out from the primary level is likely to have a more deleterious effect.

The greater focus on secondary level dropouts is no doubt due to the accepted tenet of educational philosophy that it is important to extend education for as long as possible within the developmental period from age 14 to age 18. "The more time adolescents have to gain educational experience during the teenage years, the better prepared they will be to face life's challenges" (Battin-Pearson *et al*, 2000). Battin-Pearson *et al* maintain that identifying the predictors of high school drop-out is a crucial task for researchers, because understanding the causes and processes of dropping out can help guide the creation of effective approaches to preventing the problem. They also assert that "it is critical to study early dropout as a possible distinct and unique pathway affecting later adult outcomes." Moreover, Claus & Quimper (1991) and Schwartz (1995) found that for

those students who entered high school, 10th Grade was the year of greatest risk for dropping out.

At least five different theories have been developed to explain the process of dropping out of school. Though each attempts to offer a unique set of affective influences or processes, the interrelationship of certain key variables becomes apparent overall.

Academic Mediation Theory

Poor academic achievement, typically assessed with standardised achievement tests or grade point average (GPA), has consistently been one of the strongest predictors of dropping out of school when the poor performance is associated with other variables such as anti-social affiliations, personal deviance, family socialisation and structural strains (Garnier *et al*, 1997; Janosz *et al*, 1997). Low academic achievement can also mediate the association between low school bonding and ultimately dropping out of school.

General Deviance Theory

General deviance or specific aspects of deviant behaviour have direct effects on high school dropout. For instance, Garnier *et al* (1997) found that teen drug use directly predicted dropout. Pregnancy has also been a predictor, although differences in family background were also found to affect the likelihood of the mother eventually completing secondary school. In addition, early sexual activity has been shown to affect academic failure. Teenagers who are not doing well in school and have lower educational aspirations are more likely to have sex during adolescence than those faring better in school (National Research Council, 1987).

Deviant Affiliation Theory

Research has concluded that dropouts tend to have more deviant friends who also show potential for dropping out (Cairns *et al*, 1989; Fagan & Pabon, 1990), but the mechanism of the influence of these deviant peers on the decision to leave school has not been widely investigated. It is theorised, however, that deviant affiliations have a direct effect on high school dropout over and above the mediating influence of low academic achievement.

Poor Family Socialisation Theory

Families provide many of the chief foundations and experiences for later life, including academic achievement and success in school. Early influences include divorce, family stress (Garnier *et al*, 1997), parental behavioural control and acceptance (e.g., Steinberg *et al*, 1989) and, most, importantly, the parents' own educational levels (Ellickson *et al*, 1998; Janosz & LeBlanc, 1996). Therefore, low parent expectations and low parent education would have direct effects on school dropout over and above the mediating influence of low academic achievement.

Structural Strain Theory

Studies focusing on demographic factors, have indicated that dropouts are more likely to be boys than girls and are more likely to be from families of low socio-economic status (e.g., Rumberger, 1987; 1983). The overriding hypothesis is that the structural strain factors of gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status will have a direct effect on school dropout over and above the mediating influence of low academic achievement.

Tesseneer and Tesseneer (1958) have noted, however, that the study of the dropout phenomenon and its causes is difficult because “the same [environmental] factors may influence different pupils in different ways and even affect the same pupil in different ways at different times (p. 143). Hanoz, Le Blanc, Boulerice and Tremblay (2000) also found that while an empirical typology could be useful as a predictive tool with regard to the impact of social risk factors, differential drop-out prevention strategies should be adopted for different personality profiles (e.g., the Quiet, Disengaged, Low-Achiever, Maladjusted).

As far as the Caribbean is concerned, Miller (1998) and others maintain that on average the pattern is that boys start their schooling later, attend school more irregularly, repeat more grades, drop out earlier, have lower completion rates and achieve less than girls while in school.

V. RESEARCH DESIGN

A. Research Objectives

The research was designed to determine, in Belize, Guyana and Trinidad & Tobago:

1. The rate, by sex, of dropout from the education system
2. Other demographic factors, in addition to sex, which contribute to attrition at the primary and secondary levels of the education system
3. The influence of home and school related factors on the rates of attrition in the education system

B. Data Collection

Although it was originally intended that data collection would be two-tiered, comprising both the use of primary and secondary data, that proved impossible in the short run ~~as~~ and only the primary data were collected. It is hoped that secondary data will be supplied by participants attending the first scheduled meeting of key stakeholders.

C. Primary Data

During this phase of the research, interviews were conducted using questionnaires, which were designed for the first segment of the Drop-Out Study to collect data pertinent to the research objectives as stated above. In the context of this research a drop out is defined as *any person who exits the formal education system at a particular level, without completing the programme designed for that level.*

D. Sampling

A purposive sampling method was used, with a focus on Opportunistic and Snowball sampling techniques.

E. Research Teams

Field Work was implemented during December 2004 through three Country Teams, each of which was led by a Country Focal Point responsible for the organisation and administration of the Project in that country. The following Table lists the members of each of the Teams (the respective Focal Points appear in bold):

TABLE 1
Country Teams

BELIZE		GUYANA		TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	
Adon	Arzu	Sheama	Daniels-Holder	Rosalie	Barclay
Abigail	Mc Kay	Marlon	Mentore	Melvin	Julien
Sharrette	Mc Kay	Lavern	Pinto	Arden	Mc Clean
Nelma	Mortis	Lana	Ross	Jeanette	Morris
Leslie	Nisbet	Fiona	Wills	Cecillia	Peters
				Ravi	Lutchman

VI. RESEARCH FINDINGS

A. BELIZE

Interviews in Belize were conducted at three educational institutions with 31 respondents (16 males, 15 females). The respondents were randomly selected from among those students who had previously ‘dropped out’ from other schools for various reasons. At the time of the interviews, the respondents ranged in age from 13 years to 34 years, and all expressed the view that educational qualifications were important in securing worthwhile employment and in achieving personal independence. This was borne out by the fact that, in most cases, the intervening period between their ‘drop out’ and resumption of educational activities had not exceeded one year.

The ‘drop out’ history of the sample group is collated in Table 1 below. Analysis of the responses elicited by the relevant Interview Schedule questions indicates that:

- Three males or approximately 10% of all respondents had dropped out during the primary school stage, but marginally more females than males (15 *cf.* 13) had interrupted their secondary education.
- most respondents (64.5%) had exited prematurely from schools located in urban areas;
- “poor marks/learning problems” and “insufficient teacher help” were cited by 41.9% (9 males and 3 females) as their reason for dropping out;
- other drop-out reasons reported were “financial/family problems” (29.0%); “suspended and decided not to return to that school” or “expelled” (19.4%), “peer problems” (9.7%);
- those who had to drop out because of family/financial problems had most difficulty in finding money for expenses such as school books/fees, uniforms, bus fares or lunch money, with purchasing school books being the problem most often mentioned;
- five of the six individuals, who had left school earlier because of suspension or expulsion, said they were gainfully employed and, presumably, were not continuing their education on a full-time basis.

TABLE 2
Respondents' Drop-Out History — Belize
(*n* = 31)

	Drop-Out School Type		Exit Form/Grade	Age at Drop-Out	Drop-out Reason	Present Occupation
	<i>Pmy</i>	<i>Sec.</i>				
Males	3	13	Form 4 (1)	19	Financial problems (1)	Helping priest
			Form 1 (2)	16 & 18	Suspended & didn't return (1) Expelled "unfairly" (1)	Construction Hotel work
			Form 2 (6)	12-16	Financial problems (1) Poor marks (5)	Student (6)
			Form 1 (4)	12-15	Expelled (1) Peer problems (2) Not enough teacher help (1)	Picture framing Construction Student (2)
			Standard 5 (1)	13	Poor marks/learning (1)	Student
			Standard 4 (2)	8 & 13	Learning problems (2)	Student (2)
Females		15	Form 3 (1)	18	Financial problems	Secretary ¹
			Form 2 (3)	14-17	Poor marks Peer problems Family problems	Student (2) Domestic Work
			Form 1 (3)	14 & 17	Expelled - bad temper (1) Suspended & didn't return (1) Financial problems	Police Officer ¹ <i>not specified</i> Student
			Form 3 (2)	14 (2)	Expelled	Hotel worker ¹
				12-16	Poor marks	Student ²
			Form 2 (5)		Financial problems (3) Illness/ financial problems (1)	Hair Braiding ¹ Student (4)
			Form 1 (1)	15	Learning problems (1) Insufficient teacher help	Student
	3	28				

(i) Home/Family Environment

Information gleaned about **home/parental factors** revealed, *inter alia*, that:

¹ Also part-time student.

² Also part-time Housekeeper.

- with only five (5) exceptions, all respondents were living with one or both parents when they dropped out of school;
- eighteen respondents (58.1%) reported living at that time in households headed by females [male household heads equalled 5 (16.1%), and there were 8 households (25.8%) in which both parents were perceived as having been jointly in charge];
- at the interview date, 25 respondents (80.7%) were still living with a parent or other blood relative;
- although the average number of siblings per respondent was 6.8, the actual number of siblings per person ranged from 1 in two cases (3.2%) to between 10 and 16 in seven instances (22.6%);
- the average number of persons living in each household was 6.9 although the number of persons per household varied between 3 and 13 persons, since siblings did not always live together in the same household:

TABLE 3
No. of Siblings & Household Size — Belize

# Siblings	Frequency	# Persons in respondent's household	Frequency
1	2	3	4
2	4	4	4
3	3	5	4
4	3	6	2
5	1	7	2
6	3	8	3
7	2	9	9
8	3	11	1
9	3	12	1
10	2	13	1
11	1		
13	1		
15	1		
16	2		

No relationship could be established between respondents' birth order among their siblings and their school drop-out outcome, as there was no consistent pattern of birth order positions within the sample.

As far as the highest level of education attained by their parents/guardians was concerned, most had only attended primary level schools. In addition, one respondent reported that the custodial parent had obtained no formal schooling; nine reported parental education at the secondary level; and three indicated tertiary level education.

Consequently, parents had been engaged, for the most part, in semi-skilled work and that occupational information is summarised below in Table 4.

TABLE 4
Parents'/Guardians' Occupations — Belize

Occupation	Frequency³
Teacher	1
Nurse	1
NEMO employee (Civil Servant?)	1
Secretary	1
Soldier	2
Police Officer	1
Farmer/Fisherman	5
Pastry maker/Baker/Cook	4
Shell Jewellery maker/seller	1
Mechanic	1
Truant Officer	1
Child Care Worker/Babysitter	2
Hairdresser	1
Factory Worker	3
Truck/Taxi Drivers/Courier Delivery Person	3
Construction Worker	1
Security Guard	1
Waitress	1
Janitor/Cleaner	2
Household Helper	2
Housewife	4
TOTAL:	39

All respondents said that their parents or guardians had encouraged them to do well in school and to stay in school, and all were able to give specific examples of the type of encouragement they had received. However, ten persons (32.2%) said their parents/guardians had not been involved with PTA activities, and six (19.4%) said that their parents/guardians had been unable to give them help with homework.

(ii) School Experience

With the exception of two persons, all respondents said they had attended school regularly. Their responses regarding study habits, relationships with peers and teachers, and personal conduct before drop-out occurred are summarised in Tables 5 and 6 below.

³ Frequency total exceeds number of respondents because some respondents stated occupation of both their parents.

TABLE 5
Study Habits, Interpersonal Relationships & Participation in
Extra-Curricular Activities — Belize
(n= 31)

	Never/ None	Often/ Many	Sometimes/ A few
Worked on homework assignments until completion (no matter how long that took)?	2	14	15
Used private time to do extra school work even though not told to do so?	9	3	19
*Liked your teachers?	1	17	10 (+1 “liked 1 Teacher only”)
Had friends among schoolmates?	1	15	13 (+2 “had 1 friend only”)
	No	Yes	
Participated in extra-curricular school activities?	5	26	
Got selected/elected to leadership position by teachers or classmates?	17	14	

*Response missing for 2 persons.

TABLE 6
Personal Conduct While Attending Public School — Belize

	Never	Once	Sometimes	Often
Drank beer/rum/other liquor?	24	2	5	-
Used illegal drugs including marijuana?	27	3	1	-
**Picked a fight?	10	6	11	3
Threw stones, etc., at cars/people	26	-	5	-
Carried weapons to school?	27	2	2	-
Took property of others w/o permission?	27	2	2	-
Purposely damaged belongings of others?	26	2	3	-

** Response missing for 1 person.

As the numbers set out in Tables 5 and 6 indicate:

- the majority of those interviewed had worked “often” or “sometimes” for as long as it took to complete homework assignments, and sometimes spent private time to do extra, unassigned work;

- most had liked many, or at least a few, of their teachers, although one person had liked only one teacher and another individual had not liked any of them;
- most said they had many friends among their schoolmates, but 13 (41.9%) only had a few friends and two persons reported having had only one friend;
- almost 84% of the respondents had participated in extra-curricular activities, with most naming one or more Sports as the activity in which they had been involved — Drama, Creative Arts, and Choir/Festival singing also had attracted one or two participants;
- seventeen persons (54.8%) had never been selected for a leadership role by their teachers or classmates, but 45.2% had been chosen for such roles;
- a large majority had never engaged in most anti-social behaviour while in school, but the aggregate percentage (64.5%) for those admitting to picking a fight “often”, “sometimes” or at least “once” may indicate a connection between aggressive behaviour and the likelihood of dropping out of school.

(iii) Values

Every person interviewed thought it was important for young people to get a good education. The reasons they gave for this view were mainly from an economic perspective, and centred on the contribution a good education could make to personal advancement (e.g., to get a good job, improve one’s standard of living, become independent). A few individuals did mention other things such as “educating others”, “being better ability to train one’s children”, “setting a good example in the society”.

A summary of the responses to the interviewer’s request that they name the person in their community whom they most admired, and that they state the reason(s) for their choice, is shown in Table 7 below. It is clear, from the selection reasons given, that respondents admire persons who are successful achievers, as well as those who encourage, support, and treat them with love and respect.

TABLE 7
Community Member Most Admired — Belize

Person Selected	Frequency	Reason Given
#1 Cyclist	2	Popular, achiever, everybody looks up to him.
Aunt	1	Shares her experience and gives good advice.
Brother	1	He has money and is successful.
Female Friend	2	Her personality and attractive appearance; supportive - helps with school and money problems.
Hon. Dean Barrow (politician)	1	Good role model for students
Husband	1	Very supportive and encourages training.
Male Teacher	1	Nice person, supportive
Mother	9	Works hard for achievement; gives problem-solving help & makes me happy; works hard to provide for the family; treats me with respect - good role model; a true friend; good values & constant source of help; supportive, helpful; she treats me well.
Neighbour	1	He's good at his job (radio announcer).
Older Brother	1	Has own job, own house and a wife.
Pastor	2	An important person, supportive and gives good advice; encourages me to complete [my] training and graduate.
School Counsellor	1	She won a scholarship and gave me good advice.
Sister	1	Kind and loving.
Spanish Teacher	1	Always makes me feel special.
Teacher	1	Shares experiences for me to learn from.
Uncle	3	Self-made, self-employed; works hard and makes sacrifice to become someone; gives encouragement.
No one	1	-
No response recorded	1	-
TOTAL:	31	

B. Guyana

A total of 30 persons (14 males, 16 females) were interviewed at three sites where former school 'drop outs' could easily be found; namely, at a market in a major town and at two vocational training centres.

At the interview date, respondents ranged in age from 15-26 years and at the point of their untimely exit from school their ages ranged from 12 to 18 years. Eighteen of the thirty respondents were pursuing vocational training and were all under 20 years of age.

The other 12 respondents were aged 20 years or older and were, for the most part, self-employed.

Table 8 (page 14) summarises basic information on the type of school they attended, the stage at which they exited the formal public education system, the reasons they gave for dropping-out, and their present occupations.

It can be seen from Table 8 that:

- A small but equal, number of male and female students dropped out at the primary level — usually in the second or third year of their courses of study but, overall, more girls dropped out than boys (13 cf.11);
- most respondents (80.0%) had left during the secondary education stage with the greatest number leaving from Forms 3 or 4;
- premature exit was attributed by 36.7% of the sample to problems associated with their families' difficult socio-economic circumstances;
- the majority of those who were not furthering their education were engaged in unskilled or low-skilled employment.

(i) Home/Family Environment

Twenty-six members of the sample group (86.7%) were living at the home of one or both of their birth parents when they dropped out of school. Three of the other four had lived with blood relatives, and the fourth, a male, said he had lived “as a help” with a female stranger whom he met in Georgetown⁴. At the interview date, 29 (96.7%) were still living with parents or other relatives including, in two cases, their own spouses and children.

The number of persons living in households where the drop-out students had resided ranged from a low of 3 in two instances to highs of 17 in two cases and 22 in another. The average number of persons per household, however, was 7.6. In the majority of cases (66.7%), the adult perceived as being in charge was female, even in some of the cases where both parents were resident in the same household.

⁴ This individual also said that he now lives by himself in a stand at the market where he earns his living as a labourer.

TABLE 8
Respondents' Drop-Out History — Guyana
(n= 30)

	Drop-Out School Type		Exit Form/ Grade	Age at Drop-Out	Drop-out Reason	Present Occupation
	<i>Pmy</i>	<i>Sec.</i>				
Males	3	11	S-Form 5 (3)	16-17	Not enough teacher help (2) Learning problems (1)	Construc. Student Aircraft Cleaner
			S-Form 4 (6)	14-15	Subjs. of interest not offered (1) Bored (1) Wanted to learn a trade (2) Family/financial problems (2)	Students (5) –Architecture Eng. Auto Mechanic, Welding, Craft, Refrig. & A/C Mason
			S-Form 2 (1)		Expelled	Voc. Student
			S-Form 1 (1)		Wanted own money	Market Vendor
			P-Form 4 (1) P-Form 3 (1) P-Form 2 (1)		Family problems Family problems Too many rules	Market Labourer Businessman Masonry Student
Females	3	13	S-Form 4 (6)	15-18	Poor marks (3) Pregnancy (1) Financial problems (1) Bored (1)	Voc. Students (3) Selling bottles Shop Assistant Business Student
			S-Form 3 (3)	14-16	Poor Marks (1) Expelled [fighting] (1) Not enough teacher help ⁵ (1)	Sales Clerk Craft Student Voc. Student
			S-Form 2 (1)	13	Influence of bad company (1)	Voc. Student
			S-Form 1 (3)	14 14-16	Family/financial problems (2) Influence of bad company (1)	Market Vendor Craft Student
			P-Form 3 (3)	14-16	Poor marks (1) Family/financial problems (2)	Business Student Market Vendors (2)
	6	24				

Respondents had an average of 5.2 siblings, although each of three persons reported as many as 11, 14 and 20 siblings, respectively. An examination of their birth order *vis-à-vis* their siblings reveals that in 30.0% of the cases the respondent was the eldest child in the family:

⁵ The full explanation given by this respondent is noteworthy: “The teachers were young like me and never paid attention to the students. I was not doing well and just decided to come out of the school.”

No. of Children (incl. Respondent)	Respondents' Birth Position	Frequency
1 - 9	1st	9
3 - 7	2nd	5
3 - 7	3rd	4
5 - 8	4th	5
5 - 15	5th	4
12	6th	1
7 & 21	7th	2

Table 9, which follows, sets out summary data on the number of siblings per respondent, as well as household size and control before their drop-out from school.

TABLE 9
No. of Siblings, Household Size & Control — Guyana

# Siblings	Frequency	# Persons in Household	Frequency	Sex of Household Head	Frequency		
0	2	3	2	F	20		
1	1	4	3	M	3		
2	2	5	3	Both	7		
3	4	6	7				
4	6	7	5				
5	5	8	4				
6	4	9	2				
7	2	11	1				
8	1	17	2				
11	1	22	1				
14	1						
20	1						

The persons interviewed were asked to state the highest level of educational attainment and occupation of their parents or guardians, as the case might have been while they were in the formal school system. Their responses are collated in Table 10 below.

Respondents were unable to state the educational level of 35% of their parents/guardians. Based on the information obtained, however, it appears that only 5 (12.5%) parents/guardians had no more than a primary education. One parent/guardian was unemployed and is included in the “Don’t Know” count for level of education. A significant percentage (35%) had apparently attended secondary level schools, but it is unclear whether they had successfully completed that phase of their education. The data also reveal that two parents/guardians had attained a tertiary level education. If the

information for these two individuals is correct, it should be noted that one was working as a Security Guard and the other was a ‘stay-at-home’ housewife.

TABLE 10
Parents’/Guardians’ Occupation & Highest Level of
Educational Attainment — Guyana

Occupation	Frequency*	Educational Level	Frequency*
Bottle seller	1	Primary	5
Bush mining	1	Secondary (trad.)	14
Businessperson	4	Secondary (Voc.)	5
Carpenter	1	Tertiary	2
Cattle Farmer	1	Don’t Know	14
Church Caretaker	1		
Clerk (Civil Service)	1		
Contractor	1		
Domestic Helper	2		
Draughtswoman	1		
Fishery worker	1		
Fitter Mechanic	1		
Gambler	1		
Gold Fields worker	1		
Housewife	4		
Knitter	1		
Lawn Tennis Coach	1		
Office Maid	1		
Restaurant Manager	1		
Restaurant Supervisor	1		
Retired Police Officer	1		
Seamstress	1		
Security Guard	6		
Vendor (Cosmetics)	1		
Vendor (Market)	3		
Unemployed	1		

*Count relates to information given with respect to one or more than one parent/guardian and total may equate, therefore, with the number of respondents.

Four persons (13.3%) said their parents/guardians had not given them any encouragement to do well in school and stay in school:

- “They called me out of school many times to help with chores.” *[This individual, now a 24-year old Market Labourer, still cannot read or write.]*
- “She get me to stay home and help her sell or look after my brother.”

- “They did not have the time to pay strict attention and had other family members to attend to.” (GY12)
- “I never was given the courage to go on.” (GY18)

Up to the date of the interview only one of the four had pursued further studies, and that individual had enrolled in a Vocational Training Centre and was being trained to be a mason.

Nineteen (63.3%) persons said they had received help from their parents/guardians with homework, and 23 (76.7%) said that their parents/guardians had been involved in PTA activities.

(ii) School Experience

Seven (23.3%) individuals had not attended school regularly and gave the following reasons:

- “My mother became ill.”
- “Unknowing to parents, I often stayed at home.”
- “I had to look after my baby sister.”
- “Financial problems.”
- “I had to help them mind their cattle.”
- “I was left to do whatever they wanted me to do.”
- “She kept me home to sell.”

Further, as indicated by the numbers set out in Tables 11 and 12 below:

- a third of the sample never used private time to do extra schoolwork;
- approximately 50% liked many of their teachers and had many friends among their classmates, although one individual did not like any of teachers and someone else had made only one friend;
- a large majority (80%) had participated in at least one extra-curricular activity, with some type of Sports being the most popular choice;
- thirteen persons (43.3%) had been selected to perform leadership roles in their classes;.
- most respondents had not engaged in any of the particular anti-social behaviours on which the research design focused;
- A little over a third (36.7%) had “picked a fight” one or more times, however, and 30% had purposely damaged the belongings of others.

TABLE 11
Study Habits, Interpersonal Relationships & Participation in
Extra-Curricular Activities — Guyana
(n= 30)

	Never/ None	Often/ Many	Sometimes/ A few
Worked on homework assignments until completion (no matter how long that took)?	2	13	15
Used private time to do extra school work even though not told to do so?	12	8	10
Liked your teachers?	1	16	11 (+ 2 liked 1 teacher only)
*Had friends among schoolmates?		15	13 (+ 1 liked 1 teacher only)
	No	Yes	
Participated in extra-curricular school activities?	6	24	
*Got selected/elected to leadership position by teachers or classmates?	16	13	

**Response missing for 1 person.*

TABLE 12
Personal Conduct While Attending Public School — Guyana
(n= 30)

	Never	Once	Sometimes	Often
Drank beer/rum/other liquor?	22	2	5	1
Used illegal drugs including marijuana?	27	2	1	-
Picked a fight?	19	2	7	2
Threw stones, etc., at cars/people	28	-	2	-
Carried weapons to school?	27	2	-	1
Took property of others w/o permission?	26	1	1	2
Purposely damaged belongings of others?	21	5	4	-

(iii) Values

In spite of having dropped out of school, all respondents expressed the view that it was important for young people to get a good education and it is, therefore, not surprising that so many were trying to get further training. The following statements were typical of the consensus on the importance of a good education:

“You can get a better job. It can carry you far.”

“You will be able to teach your children.”

“Unlike men, uneducated females can only do low-paying jobs. She is taken advantage of, and this can lead to pregnancy just to survive.”

TABLE 13
Community Member Most Admired — Guyana

Person(s) Chosen	Frequency	Reason for Choice
Aunt	2	Teacher & Univ. graduate who got her schooling first and then got married. Everyone in the community respects her. She is bright and a good person for me to confide in.
Children/parents	1	They treat me with respect.
Cousin	1	He’s good with the computer.
Father & sister	1	Always willing to help
Fiancé	1	He’s a quiet, progressive person...
Friend	3	She has nice ways and attitude. I like her and she has nice ways. He encourages me to stay in school and complete my subjects. He helps me with schoolwork and assignments.
Mark Benschop (now in prison)	1	I hear how he speaks and how people talk good about him.
Mother	2	Intelligent, peaceful, understanding. How she talks to us in a mannerly way and dresses/behaves on the road as a big person [should].
Mother’s friend	1	Straightforward, disciplined.
Neighbour	1	Takes me to paid welding work which helps to enhance the skill I am learning.
No one	11	Community members are aggressive & troublesome. I only admire the great Jehovah.
Pastor	1	Good attire; saved and with a bright future at the end of his work.
Uncle	2	He has good ways, is responsible & hard working.
Uncle-in-law	1	Shares experiences that I can learn from.
Younger sister	1	Very disciplined & doesn’t go out much.

Finally, each respondent was asked to name a person in their community that they admired. As the foregoing Table 13 shows, 11 (36.7%) named relatives, an equal number were unable to name anyone they admired, and eight (26.7%) named non-relatives including a prisoner in one case. From the reasons given by those who named admirable individuals, it was evident that many of them held in high esteem persons whom they deemed to be dignified, respectful, respected, intelligent, and knowledgeable.

C. TRINIDAD & TOBAGO

The Trinidad & Tobago cohort of this drop-out study consisted of 25 persons (15 males, 10 females) selected at random from among students at three remedial/continuing education centres. One was a residential facility, and another catered exclusively for adolescent teenage mothers.

When interviewed, the students included in the sample ranged in age from 9 to 18 years of age. Table 14, which follows indicates that:

- all drop-outs during the primary education stage were male (16%); and
- with the exception of one male student who reported “learning problems”, the main reason for dropping out of school was behavioural or family problems of one type or another.

The relatively high frequency of negative personal conduct (See also Table 18: “Personal Conduct While in School”) may not be representative, however, of drop-outs overall because of the small sample size and the particular sites from which the respondents were drawn.

TABLE 14
Respondents' Drop-Out History — Trinidad & Tobago
(n= 25)

	Drop-Out School Type		Exit Form/ Grade	Age at Drop-Out	Drop-out Reason	Present Occupation
Males	<i>Pmy</i>	<i>Sec.</i>				
	4	11 ¹	S-Form 5 (1)	18	Family problems ²	Resident Student @ Dropout Centre
			S-Form 4 (1)	15	Not sure why mother didn't send him back ³	YWCA Anger Mgmt Programme
			S-Form 3 (2)	14 14	Learning problems ⁴ Financial problems	Machine Operator Vocational Tr. (Woodwork)
			S-Form 2 (2)	13	Family problems ⁵	Resident @ Drop-out Centre (studying 4 CXC subjects)
				14	Peer problems (bullying)	Evening classes (Maths)
			S-Form 1 (1)	15	Gave trouble (fighting, extortion)	@ Dropout Centre (studying 3 academic subjs)
			S - form not recorded (1)	Missing	Fighting	YMCA Anger Mgt. Programme
			JLC Form 1(2)	Missing	Fighting	" "
			JLC: form missing (1)	Missing	Other problems (explanation missing)	@ Dropout Centre (recreational Sports)
			P -Std. 4 (1)			None
			P -Std. 3 (1)	15	Withdrawn from school by mother	Resident Student @ Drop-out Centre
			P -Std. 2 (1)	8	Family problems ⁶	Vocational Tr. ⁷
				11	Drug Use (Smoking)	
	Females	-	10 ⁸	S - Form 5 (2)	15 & 17	} Pregnancy
S - Form 4 (4)				16 (3) & 14		
S - Form 3 (1)				14		
JS - Form 3(2)				15 & 16		
JS - Form 1 (1)				14		
	4	21				

¹ Primary count for males includes one (1) student whose 'drop-out' school was recorded as "Junior School." Secondary school count includes three (3) whose 'drop-out' school was recorded as "Junior Life Centre".

²Misunderstanding with mother and strained relationship with stepfather.

³In response to another question, this respondent said he “had trouble in schools because of teachers. The environment did not motivate me.” In addition, he was the only respondent who said his school attendance was irregular.

⁴Was told he would not be able to cope with CXC.

⁵Tried to burn down stepfather’s house. He was incarcerated for a time.

⁶Parents migrated. Other siblings were sent to live with relatives but there was no room for this child.

⁷Literacy/numeracy skills, craft and sewing

⁸Secondary count for females includes four (4) students who dropped out from Senior Comprehensive schools and three (3) others who had exited Junior Secondary schools prematurely.

(i) Home/Family Environment

Before dropping out of school, 21 (84%) of the 25 respondents were evidently living at home. One (1) individual lived at her godmother’s home. Information recorded for three (3) other persons showed that they were living at the “Drop-Out Centre”, but it seems inexplicable that they would be living at that site before they had exited their regular school prematurely.

Frequency information concerning the number of siblings, household size and locus of household control is provided in Table 15 below.

TABLE 15
No. of Siblings, Household Size & Control — Trinidad & Tobago

# Siblings	Frequency	# Persons in Household	Frequency	Sex of Household Head	Frequency
0	1	2	3	F	13
1	1	3	2	M	9
2	1	4	6	Both	2
3	3	5	4	Missing	1
4	6	6	4		
5	1	7	1		
6	3	8	3		
7	4	9	1		
9	1	Missing	1		
10	3				
Missing	1				

Thirteen (54.2%) respondents had lived in households headed by their mothers, 37.5% in households headed by males (father/stepfather - 7, brother - 2), and 8.3% in households headed by both a male and a female (godmother and her husband - 1, father and grandmother - 1)⁶.

⁶ This data was missing for one person, but that made no difference statistically.

At the time of the interview, places of residence had already changed for several persons and were as follows:

Drop-out Centre	-	10
With Mother	-	9
With Father	-	4
With “siblings & her own baby” ⁷	-	1
With Grandmother	-	1

In terms of family/household size, respondents had an average of 5.29 siblings each and an average of five (5) persons lived in each household. Most were either the first, second or fifth child born. Birth order positions, *vis-à-vis* the number of children in each family, were as follows:

No. of Children (incl. Respondent)	Respondents’ Birth Position	Frequency
1 – 10	1st	5
3 – 8	2nd	5
5 – 7	3 rd	3
5	4 th	2
5 – 11	5 th	5
7 – 8	6 th	2
10	7 th	1
8 – 11	8 th	2

Responses concerning parental occupation and highest level of parents’/guardians’ education are tabulated in Table 16. That data show that:

- most parents had reportedly attended secondary school, notwithstanding that their level of achievement there is unknown;
- most parents were engaged in occupations that could be contextually regarded as being ‘middle-class’ positions⁸;
- seven (29.2%) of the respondents said they did not know their parents’ educational level.

In terms of parental support before school drop-out, all 25 respondents said that their parents/guardians had encouraged them, in practical ways, to do well in school and stay in school. Nineteen (76.0%) said that their parents/guardians had been able to help them with their homework and the parents/guardians of 18 (72%) had been involved in PTA activity.

⁷ Her mother runs the house but does not live there.

⁸ This is not surprising in view of the fact that only one respondent reported drop-out of school due to financial problems.

TABLE 16
Parents'/Guardians' Occupation & Highest Level of
Educational Attainment — Trinidad & Tobago

Occupation	Frequency*	Educational Level	Frequency*
Bakery Worker	2	Tertiary (Comm. College)	1
Building Contractor	1	Secondary	20
Building Maintenance	1	Primary	3
Caretaker	1	Don't know	7
Carpenter	1		
Civil Servant (URP)	1		
Cleaner	1		
Construction Worker	1		
Domestic Helper	2		
Estate Constable	2		
Fireman	1		
Gas Station Manager	1		
Housekeeper/Housewife	2		
Lab Technician	1		
Labourer	2		
Mason	1		
Mechanic	1		
Pastry Chef	1		
Pensioner	1		
Police Officer	1		
Restaurant Supervisor	1		
Road Sweeper	1		
Self-employed	1		
Sign Painter	1		
Supermarket Supervisor	1		
Warehouse Attendant	1		

*Count relates to information given with respect to one or more than one parent/guardian and does not equate, therefore, to the number of respondents.

(ii) School Experience

Only one individual said he had not attended school regularly. A majority (64%) claimed to have often worked on their homework assignments until completion (no matter how long that took), and 60% said they had sometimes used their private time to do extra, unassigned school work. Only one person had not liked any teacher and, while most said that they had had many friends among their schoolmates, two persons had been without friends and one individual had only one school friend during the pre-drop out period.

Eighty percent (80%) had participated in extra-curricular activity. For all of them, except one person who had chosen Drama that activity had been some type of Sports. As far as peer/teacher selection for a leadership role was concerned, 40% had been selected at one time or another, but 60% had never received such ego-building recognition.

TABLE 17
Study Habits, Interpersonal Relationships & Participation in
Extra-Curricular Activities — Trinidad & Tobago
(n= 25)

	Never/ None	Often/ Many	Sometimes/ A few
Worked on homework assignments until completion (no matter how long that took)?	-	16	9
Used private time to do extra school work even though not told to do so?	7	3	15
Liked your teachers?	2	11	11 + 1 = none
Had friends among schoolmates?	2	17	5 + 1 = one
	No	Yes	
Participated in extra-curricular school activities?	5	20	
Got selected/elected to leadership position by teachers or classmates?	15	10	

Despite the small size of the sample, a review of the responses related to personal conduct before drop-out reveals some issues of possible concern as, for example: 40% drank hard liquor “Sometimes”; 20% had used illegal drugs “Often”; 20 % had carried weapons to school at least once; and 48% admitted to having once, or more than once, taken the property of others without permission.

TABLE 18
Personal Conduct While Attending Public School — Trinidad & Tobago
(n = 25)

	Never	Once	Sometimes	Often
Drank beer/rum/other liquor?	14	-	10	1
*Used illegal drugs including marijuana?	17	1	1	5
**Picked a fight?	13	2	4	4
*Threw stones, etc., at cars/people	19	1	4	-
Carried weapons to school?	20	4	-	1
Took property of others w/o permission?	15	3	8	1
Purposely damaged belongings of others?	18	3	3	1

**Response missing for 1 person. ** Response missing for 2 persons.*

(iii) Values

All Trinidad & Tobago respondents held a similar view to their counterparts in Belize and Guyana that it was important for young people to get a good education. Their reasons for that assessment were also similar, since typical comments were:

“To be independent”

“To get a proper job.”

“Without education you are nothing in this life.”

Table 19 lists the community persons most admired, and the reasons for their selection.

It is noteworthy that unlike Belize, but like Guyana, only two persons chose their mothers as persons most admired and five (20%) persons said they admired no one. While three (3) of the latter sub-group did not articulate reasons for their position, two said they held community residents in disdain as role models because of what they saw as widespread use of illegal drugs, by young and old alike, within their communities.

A female respondent named herself for the accolade of “most admired”, and her reason says a great deal about her high self-worth and determination to achieve future success. From the comments of most of those who made a choice, it is clear that they value being treated with respect, and also admire persons who strive against odds to achieve worthwhile goals.

TABLE 19
Community Member Most Admired — Trinidad & Tobago

Person Selected	Frequency	Reason Given
Artist (deceased)	1	She treated everyone equal and she was a down-to-earth person.
Attendant at Centre	1	She makes time to listen and talk to me.
Aunt	1	Patient with children, and relates well to teenagers.
Entertainer (male)	1	Like how he 'gets on'. In a party he would liven it up.
Father	1	How he brings about himself to not study people in the community.
Female singer	1	She has talent and is making money by singing.
Friend (age-mate)	4	Encourages me to stop using obscene language. Always gives me things. Good person. We understand, motivate & help each other (2).
Mother	2	Only person that really loves me. She works hard.
Myself	1	I was pregnant at a young age but I am still pushing myself to become somebody.
Neighbour	1	She looks nice.
No one	5	The people in the community are not good role models — use illegal drugs, etc. The old and the young are drug abusers. [No reason = 3].
Nurse	1	Went back to school after having a baby and became a nurse.
Programme Co-ordinator	4	Can talk to him. He's helpful, and firm but friendly. He's there for me – always around. He trusts me and allows me to do things I was unable to do at my previous home. She reprimands me gently – doesn't scream at me.
Sr. Julien (Nun)	1	Selfless, helpful, gets things done.
TOTAL:	25	

VII. CONCLUSIONS

1. The lack of secondary data prevented adequate contextualising of the findings derived from primary data. Insufficient information was obtained on the schools from which these dropouts had left prematurely and no data were available to determine if these students represented a minority of those enrolled at the time when they did drop out of school.
2. In Belize and Trinidad & Tobago, a small number of males but no females dropped out at the primary level of the education system. A small but equal number of boys and girls dropped out at this level in Guyana. However, approximately 80% of that sample dropped out at the secondary level while for Belize and Trinidad and Tobago, it was 90% and 84% respectively.
3. In Belize and Guyana, the reasons for dropping out of school were primarily poor marks /learning problems or financial difficulties. In the case of Trinidad & Tobago, it was mainly difficult socio-economic circumstances and anti-social behaviour.
4. The majority of the dropouts lived in female-headed households with an average of 5-6 siblings. However, in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, a sizeable number (37%) lived in male-headed households.
5. The majority lived with parents or guardians, who were for the most part employed in skilled and low-skilled jobs with very few in professional or semi-professional positions.
6. Most participants stated that their parents or caregivers encouraged them to do well in school, but in a minority of cases, respondents indicated that their parents/caregivers had given them no encouragement.
7. The majority seemed positive about their past school experience and said they had attended school regularly and liked their teachers. A sizeable number had also participated in extra-curricular activities.
8. All respondents, in spite of having dropped out of school, said they valued education and thought it was important to get a good education. This, they felt, would enable them to be independent and get good jobs.
9. Most admired successful achievers in their community but, in the case of Trinidad & Tobago, a minority cited family members as the persons they most admired. One respondent in Guyana even admired a prisoner, because “I hear how he speaks and how people talk good about him”.

Overall, the findings from this investigation show the relevance of almost all of the theories cited in the literature review — learning difficulties and poor academic achievement, general deviance, structural strain factors of gender and socio-economic status and to some extent family socialisation.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. To facilitate meaningful comparative research into the dropout phenomenon within CARICOM countries, there should be mutual agreement on the manner in which schools/institutions record that data and the frequency with which they must present information in a specified format to the respective Ministries of Education.
2. Schools' programmes at the primary and secondary levels of the education system should incorporate behaviour management and conflict resolution as integral parts of their curricula.
3. Special attention should be given to students who are underachieving and appropriate remedial programmes implemented by teachers trained to deliver such instruction.
4. As suggested by Hanoz *et al* (*op. cit*) differential dropout prevention strategies should be adopted for different personality profiles.
5. To address the financial problems cited by students in all three countries, there should be a cost-sharing scheme managed by the respective Ministries of Education, whereby:
 - a) parents in need can be given assistance;
 - b) schools are enabled to provide breakfast/lunch programmes and books to assist needy students.⁹
6. The institution of work-study programmes which could be accessed by upper secondary and tertiary level students could help to alleviate the financial problems and also create a sense of responsibility in students.
7. CARICOM countries which do not presently have provisions for compulsory secondary education and effective systems to prevent truancy, should consider the implementation and effective maintenance of such policies.

⁹ Breakfast, lunch and books are already provided at primary and secondary levels in Trinidad and Tobago. One reviewer expressed the view that financial difficulties experienced may be more the result of a value system that craves "expensive sneakers as opposed to having food."

8. At a later date when standardised comparable data are available, further investigation of the dropout phenomenon in CARICOM countries should be undertaken on a larger scale to include ethnicity as a factor and to establish whether there are gender dominant patterns of dropout at the various levels of the education system.

REFERENCES

- Battin-Pearson, S. *et al* (2000). Predictors of early high school dropout: A test of five theories. *J. of Educ. Psychology* 2000, vol. 92, no. 3, pp. 568-582.
- Cairns, R.B., Cairns, B.D. & Neckerman, H.J. (1989). Early school dropout: Configurations and determinants. *Child Development*, 60, pp. 1437-1452.
- Claus, R.N. & Quimper, B.E. (1991). *Dropout Study 1990-1991*. Lansing, MI: Saginaw Public School, Department of Evaluation Services.
- Ellickson, P.L., Bui, K., Bell, R.M., & McGuigan, K. (1998). Does early drug use increase the risk of dropping out of high school? *J. of Drug Issues*, 28, pp. 357-380.
- Fagan, J. & Pabon, E. (1990). Contributions of delinquency and substance use to school dropout among inner-city youth. *Youth & Society*, 21, pp. 306-354.
- Garnier, H.E., Stein, J.A. & Jacobs, J.K. (1997). The process of dropping out of high school: A 19-year perspective. *American Educational Research Journal*, 34, pp. 395-419.
- Hayes, C.D. (ed.) (1987). *Risking the future: Adolescent sexuality, pregnancy and childbearing* (Vol. 1). Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences-National Research council. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 280 281).
- Janosz, M. & LeBlanc, M. (1996, November). *The heterogeneity of school dropouts and the links with drug use and delinquency*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Chicago.
- Janosz, M. & LeBlanc, M., Boulerice, B., & Tremblay, R.E. (1997). Disentangling the weight of school dropout predictors: A test on two longitudinal samples. *J. of Youth & Adolescence*, 26, pp. 733-762.
- Janosz, M. & LeBlanc, M., Boulerice, B., & Tremblay, R.E. (2000). Predicting different types of school dropouts: A typological approach with two longitudinal samples. *J. of Educational Psychology*, v. 92, n.1, pp. 171-190.
- Miler, Errol. Developing a model of intervention to retain boys in school. *[unpublished paper]*

Rumberger, R.W. 1983). Dropping out of high school: The influence of race, sex and family background. *American Educational Research Journal*, 20, pp. 199-220.

Rumberger, R.W. 1987). High school dropouts: A review of issues and evidence. *Review of Educational Research*, 57, pp. 101-121.

Schwartz, W. (1995). *School dropouts: New information about an old problem*. Washington, DC: Office of Educational Research and Improvement.

Steinberg, L., Elmen, J.D., & Mounts, N.S. (1989). Authoritative parenting, psychosocial maturity, and academic success among adolescents. *Child Development*, 60, pp. 1424-1436.
