

**EDUCATION FOR ALL IN THE CARIBBEAN: ASSESSMENT 2000
MONOGRAPH SERIES 16**

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**EDUCATION AND ITS IMPACT ON POVERTY
EQUITY OR EXCLUSION**

**Asha Kambon
and
Lancelot Busby**

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FOREWORD

Education for All in the Caribbean: Assessment 2000 is a remarkable output, which is the culmination of intensive collaborative efforts between the countries of the Caribbean sub-region, the Regional Advisory Technical Group and the EFA Forum Secretariat, and relevant agencies and institutions.

The Country Reports, Monograph Series, and Case Studies highlight and pinpoint, in an extremely effective manner, some of the issues and concerns that drive education policy and action in the Caribbean. At the same time, the documentation presents a balanced and informed overview of the rich and varied educational and cultural experience of the sub-region; a knowledge which is critical to the understanding of the unfolding social and economic developments.

UNESCO is pleased to have been associated with this endeavour, particularly through our regional office in Kingston, Jamaica which, as co-ordinator of the Regional Advisory Group for the Caribbean Sub-region, was integrally involved in every aspect of the exercise. We look forward to continued collaboration with the Caribbean on activities of a mutually rewarding nature as the consequences and implications of the EFA Assessment become manifest.

Colin Power
Deputy Director-General for Education
UNESCO

SERIES INTRODUCTION

At Jomtien in 1990, member states of the United Nations adopted the *Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs* and created the International Consultative Forum on Education for All (EFA Forum). One decade later, the EFA Forum embarked on an assessment of this initiative, intended to assist member states in examining their education provisions to inform the formulation of policy. Once the Caribbean EFA Regional Advisory Group had embarked seriously on the assessment, it was quickly realised that it would be difficult to capture, in any one place, an assessment of all that had transpired in education in the Caribbean during the period 1990-1999. Moreover, the technical guidelines constrained assessors to specifics within quantitative and qualitative frames. However, because it was felt that education in the Caribbean is too dynamic to be circumscribed, the idea of a more wide-ranging monograph series was conceived.

Researchers, education practitioners, and other stakeholders in education were invited to contribute to the series. Our expectations were that the response would be quite moderate, given the short time-frame within which we had to work. Instead, we were overwhelmed by the response, both in terms of the number of enthusiastic contributors and the range of topics represented.

Caribbean governments and peoples have invested in the *hardware* for education--buildings, furniture, equipment; in the *software*, in terms of parent support and counselling services; and they have attended to *inputs* like books and other teaching/learning resources. They have wrestled with ways to evaluate, having gone through rounds of different national examinations, and modifications of ways to assess both primary and secondary education.

But, as the efforts to complete the country reports show, it has been more difficult to assess the impacts, if we take the eventual aim of education as improving the quality of life--we have had mixed successes. That the sub-region has maintained relative peace despite its violent past and contemporary upheavals may be cited as a measure of success; that the environment is threatened in several ways may be one of the indicators of how chequered the success has been.

Writers in the monograph/case study series have been able to document, in descriptive and analytic modes, some of the attempts, and to capture several of the impacts. That this series of monographs on Education for All in the Caribbean has been written, edited, and published in nine months (from first call for papers to issue of the published titles) is itself an indication of the impact of education, in terms of human capability and capacity.

It reflects, too, the interest in education of a number of stakeholders without whom the series would not have been possible. Firstly, the work of the writers is acknowledged. All worked willingly, hard, well, and, in most cases, without material reward. The sterling contribution of the editor, who identified writers and stayed with them to the end of the process, is also recognised, as is the work of the printer, who came through on time despite the severe time constraints. The financial contribution of the following agencies also made the EFA assessment process and the publication of the monograph/case study series possible: Caribbean Development Bank (CDB), Commonwealth of Learning (COL), Department for International Development (DFID), International Labour Organization (ILO), Sub-Regional Headquarters for the Caribbean of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (UNECLAC), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill; the World Bank, and the UN country teams based in Barbados, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago.

We invite you to peruse individual titles or the entire series as, together, we assess Caribbean progress in education to date, and determine strategies to correct imbalances and sustain positive impacts, as we move towards and through the first decade of the new millennium

Claudia Harvey
UNESCO Representative and Coordinator, Regional Technical Advisory Group (RTAG)
EFA in the Caribbean: Assessment 2000

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CDCC	Caribbean Development Cooperation Committee
CEE	Common Entrance Examination
CXC	Caribbean Examinations Council
EFA	Education for All
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HPI	Human Poverty Index
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
PAHO	Pan American Health Organization
PDI	Poverty Development Index
PHCI	Poverty Head Count Index
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USA	United States of America
WSSD	World Summit for Social Development

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ABSTRACT

This monograph examines the poor and their relationship with the education system in the Caribbean, through an analysis of data from recently conducted poverty assessments in selected Caribbean countries. It posits that education is one of the single most vital elements in combating poverty and that it is a right. The monograph suggests that there is genuine belief in schooling and that it will lead to better opportunities and an improved standard of living. Parents, rich or poor, expect that the education system will provide their children with the basic skills to either continue with their education or pursue a livelihood which will enable them to enjoy a decent standard of living. It reports that some 38% of the population in the Caribbean is classified as poor, and that this poverty acts as a constraining factor to access to education and to the quality of education that is received. The generally low performance level of the education system exacerbates the state of poverty. It is concluded, therefore, that the education system is failing one group of children more than others--those that are poor--and thus denying them the opportunity to become contributing members of the society and to achieve the goal of sustainable human development. It is suggested that what is needed is a rescue plan for the education system which will transform it into a catalyst for genuine social equity. If not, the existing stratification between rich and poor may reinforce, rather than correct, income inequalities and perpetuate the cycle of poverty.

Section 1

The Right to Education

Introduction

This monograph examines the poor and their relationship with the education system in the Caribbean, through an analysis of data from recently conducted poverty assessments in selected Caribbean countries. The folk belief in the Caribbean is that schooling will lead to better opportunities and an improved standard of living. The Mighty Sparrow, a leading calypsonian, captured that belief in a calypso when he said:

Children go to school and learn well
Otherwise later on in life you go catch real hell
Without an education in your head
Your whole life will be pure misery
You're better off dead
For there is simply no room
in this whole wide world
For an uneducated little boy or girl
Don't allow idle companion to lead you astray
To earn tomorrow you got to learn today¹

Parents, rich or poor, expect that the education system will provide their children with the basic skills to either continue with their education or to pursue a livelihood which will enable them to enjoy a decent standard of living. The monograph suggests that the education system is failing one group of children--those that are poor--thus denying them the opportunity to become contributing members of the society and to achieve the goal of sustainable human development.

Education as a Central Component of Human Development

Human development has been defined as the process of enlarging people's choices while raising the level of well-being. Some of those choices are: (a) to be able to lead a long and healthy life, (b) to be educated, and (c) to enjoy a decent standard of living (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 1997). An interconnectivity exists between these three dimensions, as success in one area is increasingly co-dependent on the other areas (UNDP, 1997). Without an education, people cannot work productively, care for their health, sustain and protect themselves and their families, or live culturally enriched lives (Greene, 1996).

Education is not a luxury but a right. The right to education is proclaimed in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948): Article 26.1 states that, "Everyone has the right to education....," and Article 26.2 states that, "Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality...." It is reiterated in Article 28.1 of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989), which states that, "States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity....," and in Article 29.1(a) in which States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to, "The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential."

The 1990 World Conference on Education for All (EFA), held in Jomtien, Thailand, called for universal quality education, with a particular focus on the world's poorest citizens. Jomtien marked the emergence of an international consensus that education is the single most vital element in combating poverty (UNICEF, 1999). After almost two decades in which human development had taken a back seat to structural adjustment and globalization, there seems to be a renewed interest in investing in human and social capital. There is an emerging view among leading economists, including those at the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, that privatization alone cannot assure long-term economic growth; equally essential are human capital (a nation's health, education, and nutrition) and social capital (shared values, culture, and strong civil society). Since the early 1990s, the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (UNECLAC) has been arguing that there is a strong interdependence between growth and equity, and that these two objectives have to be advanced simultaneously rather than sequentially (UNECLAC, 1992, p. 15). There has also been a call for generating pro-poor growth by reducing inequalities and enhancing human capabilities through education and ensuring poor people's access to education (UNDP, 1999).

Economies in the region, marked by their smallness and openness, are facing the challenges of achieving growth and reducing inequities. Governments in the Caribbean have embarked, in the main, on trade liberalization, financial deregulation, and privatization policies in order to achieve economic growth. However, the underdevelopment of human resources in the region could become a constraint to growth and perpetuate inequalities and the cycle of poverty within families, communities, and nations (Wu, 1995).

Indeed, inequalities only partially reflect personal characteristics and family choice. More importantly they are shaped by the environment in which people live (Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), 1999). Globalization, as part of that economic environment, is posing new challenges and opportunities for governments to grapple with inequalities and poverty reduction. Many are struggling to link into global markets, attract foreign investment, and take advantage of the advances in information and telecommunications technology. During the last decade, the region, as part of the globalizing process, experienced the erosion of trade preferences once secured through Lomé and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the opening of previously protected domestic markets to international competition (Haque, 1999). To achieve gains from the globalizing process, however, requires the building of human skills and capacity for the knowledge-based economy, thus avoiding the risks of marginalization and vulnerability (UNDP, 1999). Such vulnerability can result in higher risks of unemployment, labour market instability, low wages, and poor working conditions. Box 1 highlights the widening gap which is already a feature of the knowledge-based economy.

Box 1. The Knowledge Economy
The widening global gap between the haves and the have-nots and the knows and the know-nots.

National Internet surveys conducted in 1998 and 1999 revealed that:

1. **Income buys access** - The average South African user had an income seven times the national average, and 90% of users in Latin America came from upper-income groups. More than 30% of users in the United Kingdom had salaries above \$60,000.
2. **Education is the ticket to the network of high society** - Globally, 30% of users have at least one university degree; in the UK it is 50%, in China almost 60%, in Mexico 67%, and in Ireland almost 70%.
3. **Men dominate** - Women accounted for 38% of users in the US, 25% in Brazil, 7% in China, and a mere 4% in the Arab States.
4. **Men and youth dominate** - Women make up just 17% of the Internet users in Japan, only 7% in China. Most users in China and the UK are under 30.
5. **Ethnicity counts** - In the United States, the difference in use by ethnic groups widened between 1995 and 1998. Disparity exists even among students in the United States. More than 80% attending elite private college used the Internet, compared with just over 40% attending public institutions, where African American students are more likely to enrol.

Source: UNDP. Human Development Report, 1999.

Section 2

Poverty in the Caribbean

Poverty Defined

Poverty has been defined as a state in which income, resources, and assets, usually of a material nature, but sometimes of a cultural nature, are lacking. In absolute terms, it refers to a state in which the individual lacks that which is necessary for subsistence. In relative terms, poverty refers to the individual's or group's lack of resources when compared with that of other members of the society (UNDP, 1997).

Poverty is shaped not only by income, but also by access. It has various manifestations, including hunger and malnutrition, ill health, and lack of access to education and other basic services. It is also manifested in increased morbidity and mortality from illness, homelessness and inadequate housing, unsafe environments, and social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterized by a lack of participation in decision-making and in civil, social, and cultural life (UNDP, 1999).

The flip side of poverty is deprivation. To exist in a state of poverty means that opportunities and choices most basic to human development have been denied (UNDP, 1999). Inherent in this definition is the notion that poverty is not only based on individual actions, but can be circumscribed by the actions of the state, which include ensuring the availability of clean water, schools, and health facilities. In other words, poverty reflects important elements of the economic environment in which people live.

Poverty is a multidimensional problem with origins in both the national and international domains (United Nations, 1995). Poverty can be structural--based on societal patterns of order, economic or social--such as the loss of preferential markets by banana producers in the Eastern Caribbean (Nii Addy, 1999), or evidenced in extreme cases, as by the caste system in India², enslavement in the Caribbean and North America, or apartheid in South Africa. Poverty can also be of a seasonal nature, in which normally self-sufficient individuals are made incapable of meeting their basic needs (Girvan, 1997). As well, poverty can occur as a result of environmental disasters such as hurricanes, as experienced recently in the Caribbean and neighbouring Venezuela, and volcanic eruptions, as experienced in Montserrat.

Because poverty is a complex phenomenon affecting so many aspects of the human condition, selecting the most appropriate tool for measurement and measuring its extent is a challenging process. There is the absolute versus the relative approach to poverty measurement; the multidimensional versus the unidimensional approach and; more recently, the sustainable livelihood approach.

In the absolute versus the relative approach, a poverty line is used which seeks to define a minimum or basic level below which an individual or household is deemed to be poor. This is generally specified by an income or a basket of subsistence of goods and services. The relative approach refers to social and economic inequality, and is measured by the deviation from social and economic norms represented by mean income. Relative inequality measures indicate the degree of inequality in income distributions and include the Lorenz curves and the Gini coefficient.

The unidimensional approach to the measurement of poverty is usually based on one fundamental dimension, generally income or consumption. In the Caribbean, due to the difficulty in obtaining accurate income data, there has been a reliance on expenditure or consumption as a

proxy for income. A multidimensional approach refers to the use of several basic indices such as the Human Poverty Index (HPI), which is based on composite indices of three variables: longevity, knowledge, and a decent living standard.

The sustainable development approach measures the assets which people utilize in order to achieve a sustainable livelihood. These assets are defined as natural resources (land, water, flora, and fauna), the social dimension (family, networks, and participation), and the physical infrastructure (roads, bridges, schools, clinics, and markets) (Neri & Menke, 1999, p. 15).

The State of the Art in the Region

The assessment of poverty in the region has utilized, at different times and in different places, all or some of the approaches described above.

At the opening of the 1990s, a review of poverty assessment studies, undertaken at a UNECLAC conference held in Port of Spain, Trinidad, in 1993, revealed that very few studies had been undertaken in the region, and that those that had been conducted lacked comparability due to differing methodologies. By the close of the decade, however, the region had amassed a robust set of data from which to analyze the situation of the poor in the region and on which to inform policy. Box 2 provides an overview of the studies undertaken during the 1990s.

Extent of Poverty in the Caribbean Sub-Region

A country's economic performance can have significant influence on the choices individuals make about education--both the level that is considered acceptable and the type of education that is relevant and appropriate. In the final analysis, it is the economic performance and the changing structure of the economy that shapes the quantum of resources available to finance education and training, the job opportunities that are created, and the returns on investment in education (World Bank, 1993).

Countries in the Caribbean have been undergoing major economic and social reforms, which began in the 1980s and continued into the 1990s. This represented an attempt to manage growing fiscal and balance of payments deficits and mounting external debts. The economic reforms included: trade reforms, liberalization of exchange rates, freezing the wages of public employees, reducing employment in the public sector, and reducing government transfers to public enterprises, including public utilities. In addition, there has been an acceleration of activities to establish the Caribbean single market and economy. All these actions have resulted in a mixed economic performance which is illustrated by Figure 1.

Box 2. Countries with Household and Income Surveys, 1994-1999

- Country poverty assessments for Belize (1995), St. Lucia (1995), St. Vincent and the Grenadines (1995) and, Grenada (1999);
- Living standard measurement surveys for Guyana (1994) and Trinidad and Tobago (1993/94) sponsored by the World Bank;
- A survey of living conditions for Jamaica (1989-97) by the Planning Agency of Jamaica;
- The survey of social and income inequality in Barbados, sponsored by the IDB;
- The survey of poverty in the Dominican Republic, Fundacion Economica y Desarrollo, Inc (1994);
- Food security and living standards survey in Haiti, conducted by the USAID, 1995; and
- Poverty assessment in Suriname (1999), sponsored by the UNDP

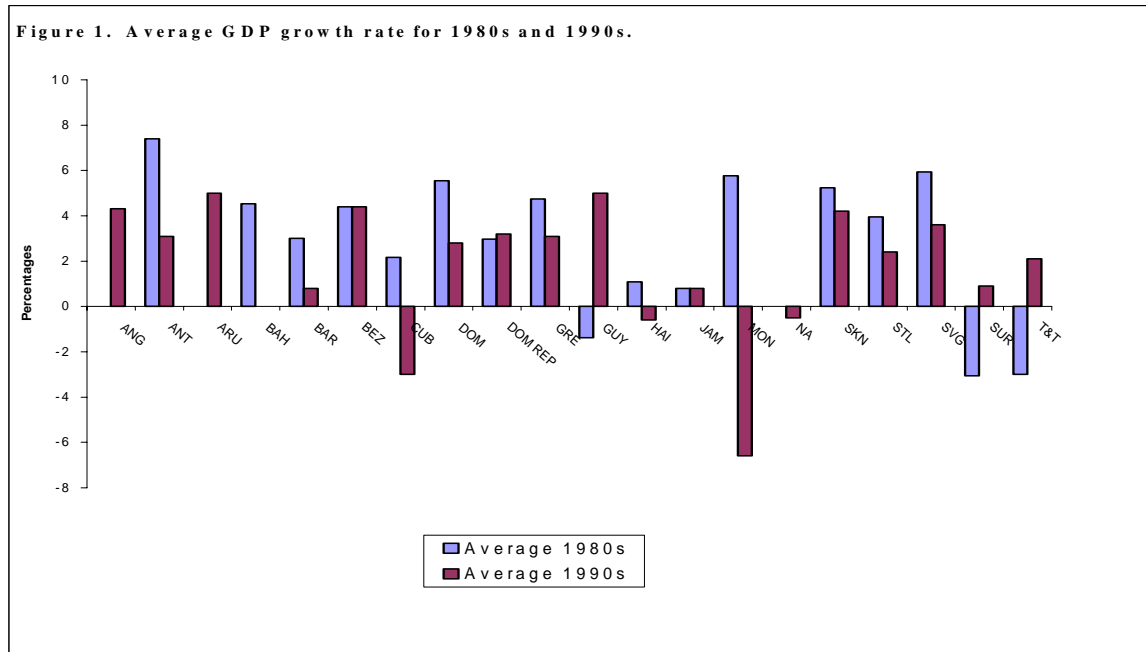
Source: Greene, 1996; UNDP; UNECLAC.

Box 3. Macroeconomic Performance

In the 1990s, the economic performance of Caribbean countries varied a great deal. Countries such as Haiti, Cuba, Montserrat, and the Netherlands Antilles experienced negative average growth rates. Also, growth in the OECS countries and Belize slowed somewhat compared to the 1980s. On the other hand, there was a resumption of growth in the economies of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Guyana which had contracted in the 1980s. Fiscal deficits, inflation rates, and external debt burden were generally moderate in the sub-region, except for Guyana, Jamaica, and Suriname.

Source: UNECLAC. *Caribbean Economic and Social Performance in the 1990s*, 1999.

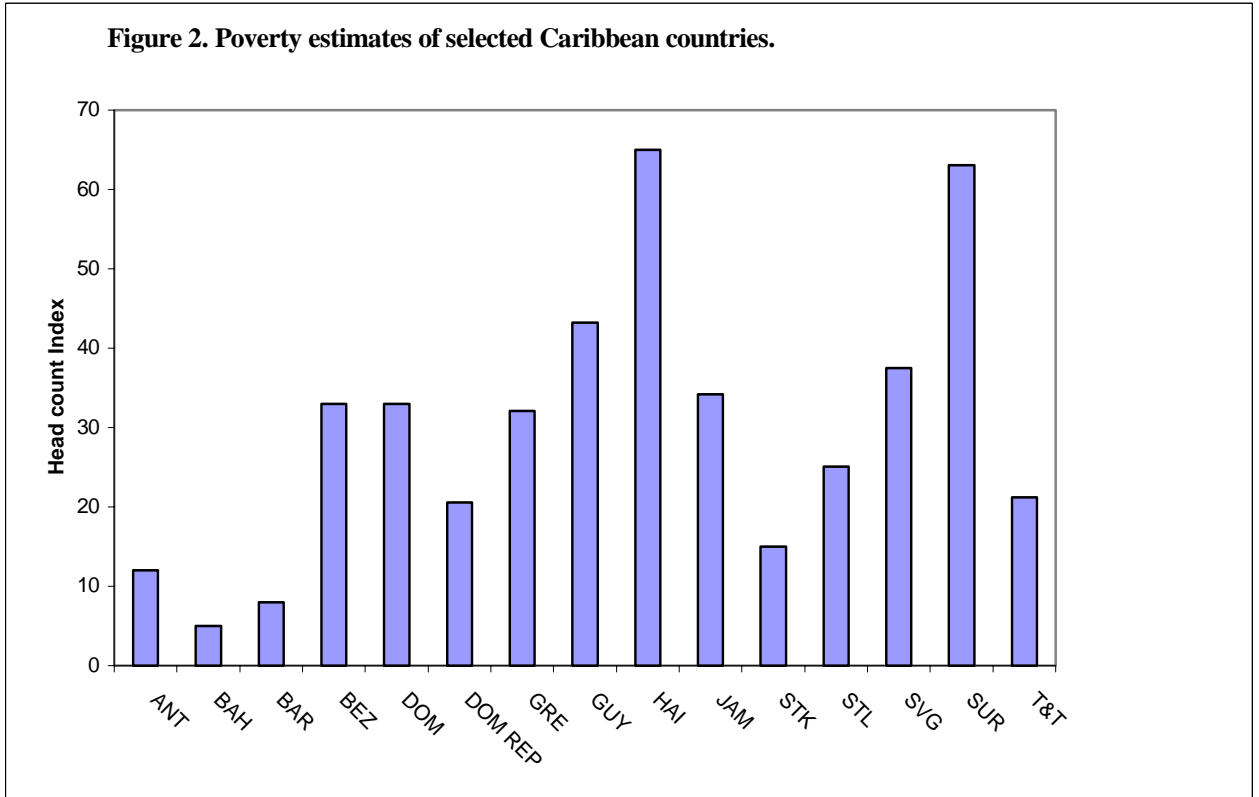
The economic performance of countries in the sub-region is not only dependent on the economic structures which have been inherited and which have undergone some changes, it is also affected by the vulnerability of the sub-region to exposure to natural disasters, sometimes of a seasonal nature³.



How the differing economic performance of countries in the sub-region has impacted on the poor is the work of ongoing research and analysis. However, there is little disagreement that, over the last decade, many of the fiscal measures have affected the poor more adversely than the non-poor (UNICEF, 1998).

Of a population of some 35.1 million, based on 1990 census data, the World Bank reported in 1996 that approximately 38% of the population, or more than 7 million people, could be classified as poor (25% if Haiti is excluded) (Baker, 1996). Figure 2 illustrates the head count measure, which represents the proportion of the population whose income falls below the poverty line. A comparative look at selected countries in the region indicates that poverty in the region ranges from a low of 5% in the Bahamas to a high of 65% in Haiti: 8 of the 15 countries listed have over 30% of their population estimated as poor. Only in the Bahamas, Barbados, Antigua and Barbuda, and St. Kitts and Nevis does 15% or less of the population fall below the poverty line.

Figure 2. Poverty estimates of selected Caribbean countries.



Despite the undesirable levels of poverty estimated through the head count measure, when the region is compared to other regions of the world using other indices, a less deprived picture of the region is presented.

The Human Development Index (HDI), one such measure, has been constructed since 1990 to measure average achievements in basic human development in one composite index. The basic dimensions of the HDI are longevity, knowledge, and a decent standard of living. When the HDI is examined for selected UNECLAC/Caribbean Development Cooperation Committee (CDCC) countries (see Table 1), it is noted that the Caribbean has three countries ranked among the high human development countries--those with a score of 0.800 and above; 12 ranked among the medium human development countries--those ranked between 0.500 and 0.799; and only one ranked among the low human development countries--those below 0.500. It is unfortunate that the rankings from the period 1990 to 1997 cannot be used to ascertain whether a country has made improvements in its human development. This is not possible because different data sets have been used to calculate the values for each year. But, certainly, it is a useful tool to see how countries rank against each other over the period. Policy makers are advised not to become too complacent as a result of the region's fairly good rankings in the HDI, since the index may mask existing inequities within the country. This could result in the development of policies that do not address those most in need.

Table 1. Human Development Index by Selected UNECLAC/CDCC Countries

Country	1990		1992		1994		1995		1997	
	value	rank	value	rank	value	rank	value	rank	value	rank
Antigua and Barbuda	.785	60	.840	55	.892	29	.895	29	.828	38
Bahamas	.875	32	.894	26	.894	28	.893	32	.851	31
Barbados	.928	20	.900	20	.907	25	.909	24	.857	29
Belize	.689	82	.883	29	.806	63	.807	63	.732	83
Cuba	.711	75	.769	72	.723	86	.729	85	.765	58
Dominica	.819	51	.776	69	.873	41	.879	41	.776	53
Dominican Republic	.586	97	.705	96	.718	87	.720	88	.726	88
Grenada	.787	59	.786	67	.843	54	.851	51	.777	52
Guyana	.541	105	.622	105	.649	104	.670	100	.701	99
Haiti	.275	137	.362	148	.338	156	.340	159	.430	152
Jamaica	.736	69	.721	88	.736	83	.735	84	.734	82
St. Kitts/Nevis	.697	79	.873	37	.853	49	.854	50	.781	51
St. Lucia	.720	72	.732	84	.838	56	.839	58	.737	81
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	.709	76	.761	79	.836	57	.845	55	.744	75
Suriname	.751	65	.762	77	.792	66	.796	65	.757	64
Trinidad & Tobago	.877	31	.872	39	.880	40	.880	40	.797	46

Source: UNDP. Human Development Report 1993, 1994, 1997, 1998, & 1999.

Another measure of well-being is the HPI, which is a multidimensional measure of poverty that brings together, in one composite index, the deprivation that occurs in four basic dimensions of life--longevity, knowledge, economic provisioning, and social inclusion. The UNDP has prepared two such indices--one for developing countries and one for developed countries, using different indicators to measure the same dimensions. In the HPI (for developing countries), the Caribbean has three of the five countries ranked at the top--Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, and Cuba (the other two countries in the grouping being Uruguay and Costa Rica).

In Table 2, Barbados has the highest rank in the HPI constructed for developing countries, despite the fact that it does not have the highest Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita in the region (see Table 3). This clearly demonstrates that the link between economic prosperity and human development is neither automatic nor obvious (UNDP, 1999). Conversely, Guyana has a higher rank than Jamaica even though it has a lower GDP per capita income, suggesting that it has been better at converting economic wealth into human development (UNDP, 1999). Using the HPI values as a measure, as in Table 4, suggests that for five of the countries in the region, poverty affects less than 15% of their population, but for Haiti it affects almost 50% of the population.

Table 2. Human Poverty Index for Developing Countries by Selected UNECLAC/CDCC Countries

Country	HDR 1997		HDR 1999	
	value	rank	value	rank
Barbados			2.6	1
Cuba	5.1	2	4.7	5
Dominican Republic	18.3	20	17.7	26
Guyana			10.2	11
Haiti	46.2	61	46.1	74
Jamaica	12.1	12	13.6	17
Trinidad & Tobago	4.1	1	3.5	2

Source: UNDP. Human Development Report 1997, 1999

Table 3. GDP Per Capita for Selected CDCC Countries, 1990-1995

Country	GDP Per Capita (1990 dollars)					
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Bahamas	12,291	11,596	11,169	11,211	11,113	11,059
Barbados	6,657	6,459	6,130	6,213	6,457	6,580
Trinidad & Tobago	4,259	4,347	4,236	4,127	4,267	4,369
Belize	2,122	2,127	2,231	2,261	2,243	2,264
Suriname	824	847	891	806	765	817
Dominican Republic	833	821	870	878	901	927
Jamaica	1,633	1,626	1,639	1,646	1,641	1,637
Guyana	471	515	566	635	686	722
Haiti	314	298	249	238	223	229

Source: UNDP. Human Development Report, 1999.

It must be remembered that the differences observed between the HPI and the Poverty Head Count Index (PHCI) are based on the fact that the HPI takes into account schooling and life expectancy, whereas the head count index is based on a poverty line measure.

The Face of Poverty

Regardless of what measure is used, there is agreement that the profile of the poor in the sub-region includes the following groups: the elderly, children, the disabled, small-scale farmers, unskilled workers, the indigenous population and, in some countries, female-headed households and the underemployed and unemployed, many of whom are school leavers who have few skills with which to enter the labour market (UNICEF, 1998, p. 15).

Two elements converge to improve the status of those persons living in poverty. These are the creation of employment opportunities and the preparation of these groups for participation in the labour force. Being poor should place affected groups in a position for more urgent attention regarding education, enrolment, and levels of education attained. At the very least, they should not be disadvantaged, either by the education system or the economic environment, if they are to receive the necessary preparation for participation in the labour force, at an income level which affords them a decent standard of living.

Section 3 examines available data to assess to what extent the education system favours those who are most in need.

Section 3

Access and Quality of Education in the Region: Poor vs the Rich

Inequity in education is reflected in unequal access to different levels of education, as well as to schools of different quality. (Wu, 1995, p. 30)

Education and Access

Caribbean countries, when compared with other developing countries, have made significant progress in the education sector. Structures from pre-school to post-graduate level have been established. There is equal access to primary school without discrimination based on gender, class, race, or religion, and most indicators of education place the majority of Caribbean countries well above the average for all countries at similar levels of economic development. Overall, literacy rates are high (see Table A3 in Statistical Annex). Governments in the region have shown a strong commitment to human resource development, as evidenced in the relatively high HDI ranking of most countries in the sub-region (see Table 1).

In the English-speaking countries, a larger share of national income is allocated to education than in any other region of the developing world, averaging around 5.5%, compared to 3.4% for Latin America and 4.2% for Africa (IADB, 1999).

While education's share has remained virtually the same, real expenditure on education in many countries has fallen due to inflation, fluctuations in the value of some countries' currency, and increasing enrolment levels.

Table 4. Education Expenditure in Selected CDCC Countries, 1993-1996

Country	Public Education Expenditure			
	1993-1996			
	as a % of total Govt. Exp.	Primary & Secondary as a % of all levels	Higher as a % of all levels	as a % of GNP
Bahamas	13.2	...	...	...
Barbados	19.0	...	...	7.2
Belize	19.5	87.9	6.9	5.0
Cuba	12.6	57.3	14.9	
Dominican Republic	13.4	62.0	13.0	2.0
Guyana	10.0	71.3	7.7	4.9
Jamaica	12.9	65.5	22.4	7.5
St. Kitts & Nevis	8.8	75.7	11.4	3.8
St. Lucia	22.2	69.1	12.5	9.8
Suriname		75.2	7.6	...
Trinidad & Tobago	11.6	80.0	...	4.4

Note:... - data not available.

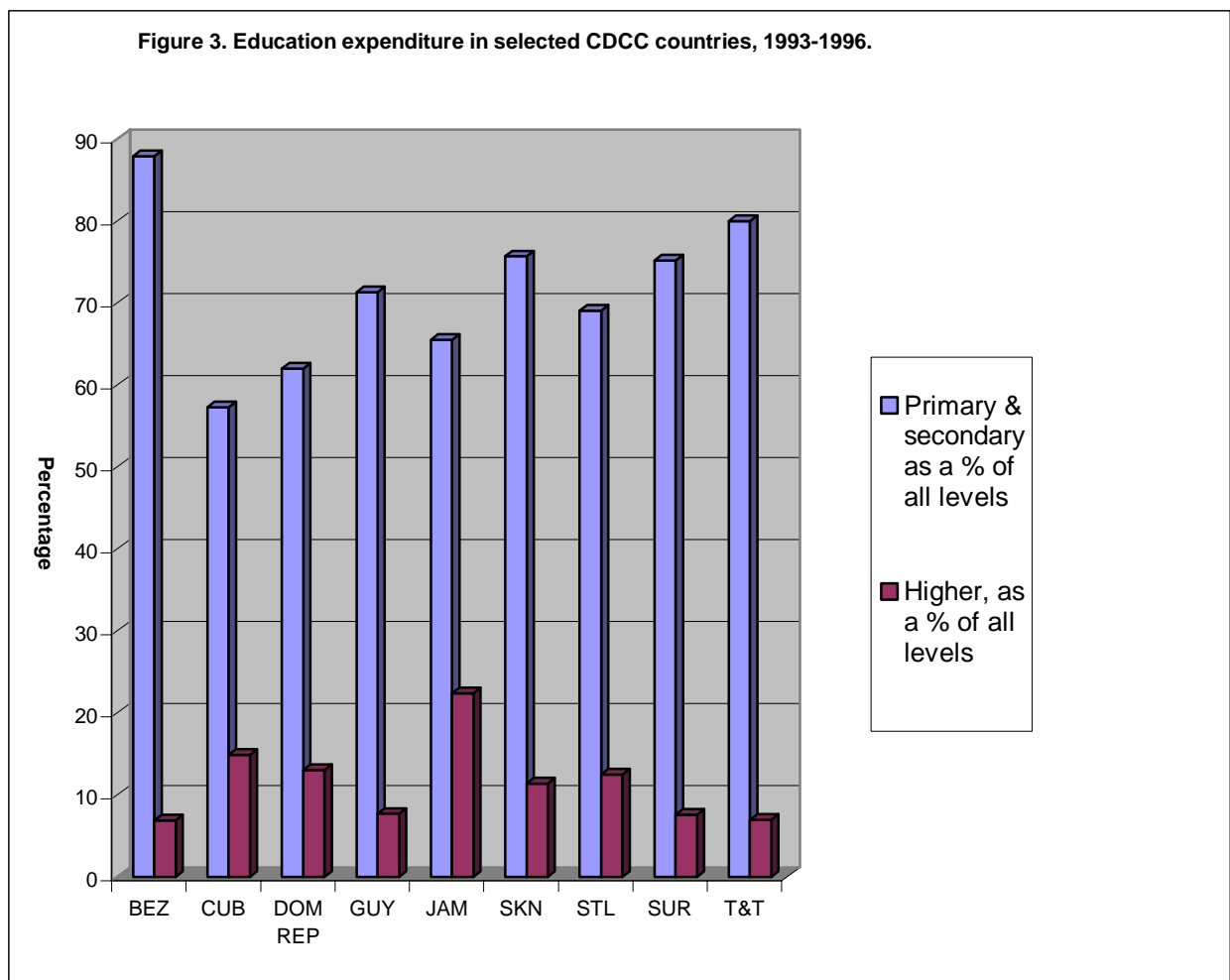
Source: UNDP. Human Development Report, 1999.

There are, however, some variations in government expenditure across the region as can be seen in Table 4. The data suggest that the expenditure as a percentage of Gross National Product

(GNP) for St. Lucia, Jamaica, and Barbados is significantly higher than the average for the region, while Trinidad and Tobago, St. Kitts and Nevis, and the Dominican Republic spend significantly less. Trinidad and Tobago, despite its high per capita income and level of development, allocated a 4.4% of GNP to education.

St. Lucia has the highest proportion of expenditure on education to total government expenditure--22.2%--among selected UNECLAC/CDCC countries for the 1993-1996 period. This is followed closely by Belize and Barbados, which spent 19.5% and 19.0% on education to total government expenditure, respectively. Trinidad and Tobago and St. Kitts and Nevis had the lowest percentage for that period. Barbados, with one of the highest proportions of total government expenditure on education, also had the highest-ranking HDI and Poverty Development Index (PDI) among Caribbean countries.

Expenditure to primary and secondary education in selected CDCC countries as a percentage of expenditure on all levels was significantly higher, as Figure 3 illustrates, and had an average of 71.5%, while the average expenditure on higher education as a percentage of all levels was approximately 12%. Population projections for the region suggest that there will be a tapering-off of primary and secondary school age population between 2000 and 2010, and continuing into the future (see Table A4 in the Statistical Annex). This would enable current levels of expenditure to be applied to improve the quality of education offered at the primary and secondary levels, even if expenditure levels remain the same.



Source: UNDP. *Human Development Report, 1999*, p. 15.

Government expenditure is not the only expenditure on education. Studies suggest that private expenditures incurred by individuals to attend government schools exceed government outlays in all types of primary and secondary schools, and in selected kinds of tertiary education (World Bank, 1993, p. viii). Invariably, the vast majority of these expenditures represent outlays for education-related items, particularly textbooks, writing materials, transportation, lunches, and school uniforms (UNICEF, 1998).

This relatively high expenditure on education in the Caribbean has resulted in nearly universal access to primary and secondary schools. Enrolment ratios for primary school, defined as first level in Table 5, except for Haiti, where enrolment ratios are low, exceed 95% for most countries in the Caribbean.

Table 5. Enrolment in Selected CDCC Countries

Levels of Education by Year	COUNTRIES								
	USA	Bahamas	Belize	Cuba	Dom. Rep	Guyana	Haiti	Jamaica	Trinidad & Tobago
Pre-Primary									
1990	63		24	101	-	69	41	84	9
1993/94	68	8	27	89	20	85	-	-	-
1995	70	10	-	94	-	84	-	-	-
First Level									
1990	102	101	112	98	-	98	56	108	95
1993/94	102	94	121	100	103	94	-	111	96
1995	102	100	-	105	-	95	-	110	96
Second Level									
1990	93	93	41	89	-	83	22	64	79
1993/94	97	90	49	75	41	76	-	-	74
1995	97	86	-	80	-	75	-	-	72
Third Level									
1990	75	-	-	21	-	6	-	6	7
1993/94	81	-	-	14	-	9	-	-	8
1995	81	-	-	13	-	10	-	8	8

Source: UNESCO Yearbook, 1998.

Pre-primary school enrolment ratios are highest in Cuba, Guyana, and Jamaica and lowest in Belize and Trinidad and Tobago. There is an increasing demand for day care as well as pre-school places, fueled by the large number of single-parent, female-headed families (including unmarried teenage mothers), and the increasing numbers of women participating in the labour force. Data on female headship in the Caribbean indicate that the proportion of female-headed households ranges from a low of 20% in Suriname to a high of 43.9% in St. Kitts and Nevis (see Table A5 in the Statistical Annex).

The one gap which has been identified by UNICEF in the region is the coverage at the primary level for children with special needs, particularly those physically challenged or with learning disabilities. Enrolment ratios in secondary schools, except for Belize and Haiti, were fairly comparable to the United States of America (USA) in 1990, but have fallen steadily, except in Belize, according to Table 5.

Recent data, from a Poverty Assessment Survey conducted in St. Lucia (Kairi Consultants, 1995), point to what may be a disturbing trend in the region, that of the poorest students showing a lower enrolment ratio in secondary schools than students from the richest quintile (see Table 6).

Table 6. Distribution of Persons of Secondary School Age Enrolled in Secondary Schools by Quintiles (St. Lucia)

Per Capita Consumption Quintiles	Percentage Enrolled
Poorest	45.8
II	52.0
III	62.3
IV	70.7
V	78.8
Total	61.1

Source: Kairi Consultants. *Main Report – Poverty Assessment Study, St. Lucia, 1995.*

In Table 6, the higher the consumption quintile, the higher the percentage of persons of secondary age enrolled in secondary school. Those persons in quintile V exceeded those in the poorest quintile by 33%.

Transition rates to tertiary and university education are much lower than would be expected given relatively high primary and secondary enrolment ratios. In comparison to Cuba, which has a government policy directed at increased levels of tertiary enrolments, and the USA, the English-speaking Caribbean has low levels of tertiary level enrolment rates. These enrolments, as well, seem to be conditioned by levels of poverty or wealth. The data from St. Vincent and the Grenadines suggest that persons in the richest quintile are six and a half times more likely to complete post secondary education than students from the poorest quintile (see Table 7)

Table 7. Highest Educational Level attained by Youth by Quintile (St. Vincent and the Grenadines)

Highest Level Attained	Per Capita Consumption Quintiles					
	Poorest	II	III	IV	Richest	Total
Primary	64.1	49.3	73.2	56.2	23.9	53.6
Secondary	34.6	46.3	23.9	37.0	64.8	41.1
Post-Secondary	1.3	3.0	2.8	5.5	8.5	4.2
Other	-	1.5	-	1.4	2.8	1.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Kairi Consultants. *Main Report – Poverty Assessment Study, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, 1996.*

This data may also support the theory that Caribbean children from the poorest households also obtain lower quality education, even when they attain levels of schooling similar to those from higher income groups.

Education and Quality

High access levels do not necessarily translate into high quality of schooling. There is a perception that the quality of schooling provided to the majority of primary and secondary school students in the region is poor. If results of Common Entrance Examinations (CEEs) in the area of reading, writing, and numeracy are used as indicators of achievement in the primary school system, and pass rates at Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) examinations are used at the secondary level, then such results suggest low levels throughout the region (World Bank, 1993).

Table 8. Common Entrance Examinations: Entries and Awards 1995/96 – 1996/97 (Jamaica)

Type of School	1995/96				1996/97			
	No. of Entrants	% of Total	No. Selected	No. Selected as a % of Entrants	No. of Entrants	% of Total	No. Selected	No. Selected as a % of Entrants
Primary and all age	48,245	91.1	12,201	25.0	47,898	91.5	13,287	27.7
Private preparatory	4,705	8.9	2,813	59.8	4,441	8.5	2,921	65.8
Total	52,950	100.0	15,014	28.3	52,339	100.0	16,208	31.0

Source: Planning Institute of Jamaica. *Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica, 1997*.

But not all schools or students receive poor quality education. Data from the *Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica, 1997* point to the different results in the CEE from two different types of schools in the country. Students at the primary and all age schools who, by far, accounted for the largest number of entrants to the exam, had the smallest proportion of entrants selected, while, for the same period, the children from the private preparatory schools had proportionally twice as many entrants selected.

At the secondary school level, it is agreed that achievement levels are generally low, as measured by CXC passes. But, once again, there is variance between schools of different quality. Data from a tracer study, conducted among secondary school graduates in Jamaica by Dr. Dennis A. V. Brown (1994), indicated that there is significant variance in the CXC results between school types in Jamaica. Only 1.1% of the students attending the New Secondary schools received Grade I in the CXC examinations, while 10.8% of the students in the traditional schools received Grade I (p. 42).

Table 9. Percentage Distribution of CXC Results by School Type (Jamaica)

CXC Grade	School -Type				
	Traditional	Technical	Comprehensive	New Secondary	Technical/Vocational
Grade I	10.8	5.9	4.2	1.1	5.0
Grade II	36.5	26.9	19.1	9.1	20.8
Grade III	30.7	34.8	32.6	24.2	26.7
Other	22.0	32.4	44.1	65.6	47.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Brown, D. A. V. *Reassessing and Rationalising Resources for Greater Results.....*, 1994.

It has been suggested that in the absence of clear data linking educational performance at secondary level with poverty status, the performance of students at the respective types of schools provide some indication (Greene, 1996, p. 24). Data from Trinidad and Tobago, from the analysis of the *Survey of Living Conditions 1992*, support the view that there is a growing disparity in the quality of education received by the richest and the poorest.

Box 4. Analysis of the Survey of Living Conditions Data for Trinidad and Tobago, 1992

- While students from all expenditure quintiles attended primary school, the representation of children from low income families was progressively reduced as the level of education increased;
- University was clearly a venue for the wealthy: enrolment by students from the fifth quintile was four times that by youth in the fourth quintile, compared with zero enrolment of youths in the first to the third quintiles;
- Transportation and lack of textbooks were problems for low income children, particularly rural children;
- 64% of students in the lowest quintile walked to school, compared with 21% in the fifth quintile who walked;

- Over 30% of the students in the first quintile did not have textbooks, compared with less than 10% among the fifth quintile;
- In the Common Entrance Examination, 44% and 55% of Standard five students in government primary schools scored below the minimal acceptable levels in mathematics and English, respectively, compared with 37% and 49% of students in assisted primary schools, and 12% and 13% in private primary schools;
- Students in government schools performed the worst, and those in private schools, the best;
- Government schools tend to cater for poorer students, and since students are selected for different types of secondary schools according to their CEE scores, poor students who attend public primary school have fewer opportunities for post-compulsory education or are tracked to secondary schools;
- Students from lower income families are concentrated in junior secondary, senior comprehensive, and composite schools;
- By contrast, students from the upper and middle classes have the highest concentration in 7-year traditional schools, 5-year traditional schools, and Sixth Form Colleges, far above their share in the total student population in secondary school.

Source: Wu, K. B. Trinidad and Tobago: The Financing of Education, 1995.

Gender Inequality

There may be another qualitative inequality in the education system which is emerging in the region, and this relates to gender. Most of the discourse on gender inequality in education has focused on that of male marginalization and the fact that girls are out-performing boys at different levels of the education system. This discourse, though presented as a qualitative issue, has stayed in the domain of quantitative analysis, regarding access, enrolment rates by sex, and pass rates by sex.

Gender experts in the region have suggested that, when examined from a qualitative perspective, the results may be quite different. Data indicate that although females have a slight quantitative advantage over males in the education systems in the Caribbean, qualitatively, they may be at a disadvantage. These disadvantages arise out of subject tracking in which young girls are tracked into the soft sciences, or the low end of technical/vocational training, or the arts and humanities at the university level (see Tables A6a, A6b, and A6c in the Statistical Annex). Such tracking ultimately impacts on income earning possibilities. This will be further explored in the next section of the document.

Section 4

Impact of Education on Poverty

Return on Education

The impact of education on poverty can be assessed by an examination of how education enables people to have a decent standard of living and make optimal use of the assets and resources at their disposal to achieve a sustainable level of human development. In assessing the current returns to education provided by Caribbean society, it is important to ascertain, as well, if they are sufficient and adequate to motivate persons to continue from one level of education to another in order to best prepare for the demands of the labour market.

There is agreement that basic education offers individuals low-income returns. However, it is argued that the social returns to basic education are high, particularly in relation to improvements in the population's health conditions, creativity, and productivity (Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), 1997, p.11). There is, also, additional justification for ensuring that all individuals have access to at least basic education, as it provides a basis for further education and further benefits.

Employment

People, generally, expect that if they receive some level of education it will result in them being able to secure employment. Data from Table 10 clearly indicate that, in the four countries for which data are available, unemployment for both sexes is lowest for persons with the highest education and highest for persons with the least education. The data also point to the fact that, at each level of attainment--primary, secondary, and tertiary, women have a higher rate of unemployment than men who have achieved the same level of education. This is so for each country.

Table 10. Unemployment Rates by Level of Educational Attainment in Selected Caribbean Countries in 1997

	Female Rate	Male Rate
Trinidad and Tobago		
Primary and less	22.3	11.0
Secondary	20.6	13.5
Tertiary	2.3	1.0
Belize		
Primary and less	24.0	9.2
Secondary	20.0	9.2
Tertiary	5.8	5.2
Barbados		
Primary and less	16.7	10.4
Secondary	20.6	12.9
Tertiary	8.2	7.3

Bahamas		
Primary and less	19.6	9.2
Secondary	15.6	9.8
Tertiary	5.3	3.4

Source: International Labour Organization. *Globalization and Employment in the Caribbean*. Port of Spain, August 1999.

The data for the four countries reinforce the notion that people with education are usually employed, as against people with little education who may find some difficulty finding employment. It should be noted that there is not much differentiation in unemployment levels between educational attainment of “primary and less” and “secondary” levels. Returns on secondary education in the region are typically lower than those at the university level, and are not much higher than returns on primary education.

One study suggests that this may be one of the emerging impacts of globalization on low levels of education being observed in Latin America and the Caribbean (IDB, 1999). The thinking is that as China and other countries with low labour costs move into world trade, and as technological advances demand substantially higher skills, the demand for labour with low levels of education--primary or secondary--will decrease and so too will the returns to education at those levels.

Income

It is expected that people with the highest levels of education will tend to receive the highest incomes. Data from the Poverty Assessment Study, conducted by Kairi Consultants Ltd. in the Eastern Caribbean island of St. Lucia (1995), support this thesis, as Table 11 indicates that persons in the richest quintile achieved the highest level of examinations passed while persons in the poorest quintile achieved the lowest examinations passed.

Table 11. Highest Examination Passed by Heads of Households by Quintiles (St. Lucia)

	Poorest	II	III	IV	Richest	Total	
						%	n
None	58.6	52.8	42.2	45.0	31.5	45.7	246
School Leaving	36.4	40.7	45.9	33.3	27.0	36.6	197
CXC Basic	1.0		0.9	1.8	1.8	1.1	6
CXC General	2.0	5.6	1.8	10.8	13.5	6.9	37
A'Levels			0.9	0.9	0.9	0.6	3
Diploma	1.0		4.6	6.3	9.0	4.3	23
Degree			0.9		10.8	2.4	13
Other	1.0	0.9	2.8	1.8	5.4	2.4	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	538

Source: Kairi Consultants Ltd. *Poverty Assessment Study, St. Lucia, 1995*.

The data may suggest, as well, that some differential in income levels exists between those persons holding the CXC Basic and the CXC General Proficiency certificates. It is clear, however, that since education is positively associated with productivity and earnings, differences in educational attainment and achievement will lead to differential employment prospects and future lifetime earnings.

However, data from a review of labour market trends in Trinidad and Tobago (Brown, 1999) reveal an unequal wage structure based on gender. In the review, as is illustrated in Table 12, only in the lowest wage scale of less than \$1,000, and in select categories within that scale, did women earn more income than men. In all other scales, including the highest scale of \$5,000 and more, in

no single category did women receive equal or more wages than men. This lends support to the findings of gender experts that, across the region, women are disproportionately segregated in the low wage sector and earn less. It becomes clear that a number of factors affects each individual's labour income differences, among which are educational level and gender.

Table 12. Income Group by Type of Worker by Sex

1996 - '000 of workers									
of which									
	All Types	Paid Employee	Govt. Public/ Statutory Board	Govt. State Enterprise	Non-Govt.	Employer	Own Account Worker	Unpaid Worker	Learner/ Apprentice
All Income Groups	444.2	334.2	103.4	24.4	206.3	18.0	76.3	10.1	5.3
Male	282.5	207.3	63.4	20.4	123.4	14.2	53.6	3.2	4.1
Female	161.7	126.9	40.0	4.0	82.9	3.8	22.7	6.9	1.2
Less than \$1,000	131.5	76.3	5.3	0.7	70.4	1.7	39.0	10.1	4.4
Male	68.5	36.7	2.3	0.5	23.9	1.2	23.9	3.2	3.3
Female	63.0	39.6	3.0	0.2	46.5	0.5	15.1	6.9	1.1
\$1,000 - <\$3,000	200.9	163.9	57.3	12.8	94	8.3	28.0	0	0.4
Male	142.8	113.6	38.2	11.1	64.5	6.3	22.3	0	0.4
Female	58.1	50.3	19.1	1.7	29.5	2.0	5.7	0	0
\$3,000 - <\$5,000	56.4	50.5	26.4	6.5	17.5	3.6	2.0	0	0
Male	34.7	29.7	13.8	5.2	10.6	3.0	1.8	0	0
Female	21.7	20.8	12.6	1.3	6.9	0.6	0.2	0	0
\$5,000 and over	21.1	16.8	4.8	3.3	8.7	3.2	1.1	0	0
Male	15.7	12.1	3.5	2.9	5.7	2.6	1.0		
Female	5.4	4.7	1.3	0.4	3.0	0.6	0.1	0	0
Not Stated	34.3	26.7	9.7	1.2	15.8	1.2	6.0	0	0.3
Male	20.9	15.2	5.6	0.9	8.7	0.9	4.5	0	0.3
Female	13.4	11.5	4.1	0.3	7.1	0.3	1.5	0	0
Average Income	\$1,700	\$1,900	\$2,700	\$3,000	\$1,500	\$2,600	\$800	\$-	\$400
Male	\$2,000	\$2,100	\$2,500	\$3,000	\$1,700	\$3,100	\$1,200	\$-	\$500
Female	\$1,700	\$1,900	\$2,700	\$3,000	\$1,500	\$2,600	\$800	\$-	\$400
Median Income	\$1,200	\$1,500	\$2,500	\$2,900	\$1,000	\$2,200	\$700	\$100	\$400
Male	\$1,600	\$1,800	\$2,300	\$2,500	\$1,200	\$2,500	\$1,000	\$100	\$400
Female	\$1,200	\$1,500	\$2,500	\$2,900	\$1,000	\$2,200	\$700	\$100	\$400

Source: Brown, D. A. V. *A Review of Labour Market Trends and Development in Trinidad and Tobago: 1986-1996, 1999.*

All over the world, higher wages are paid to workers who are more skilled or occupy management and administrative positions than to workers having little education, who are normally placed in manual production jobs. Data from St. Lucia, as seen in Table 13, confirm that assumption, as the persons in the richest quintile are in the legislator/manager and professional categories, while people in the poorest quintile predominate in the elementary, machine operator, and craft categories.

Table 13. Occupation of Heads of Households by Quintiles (St. Lucia)

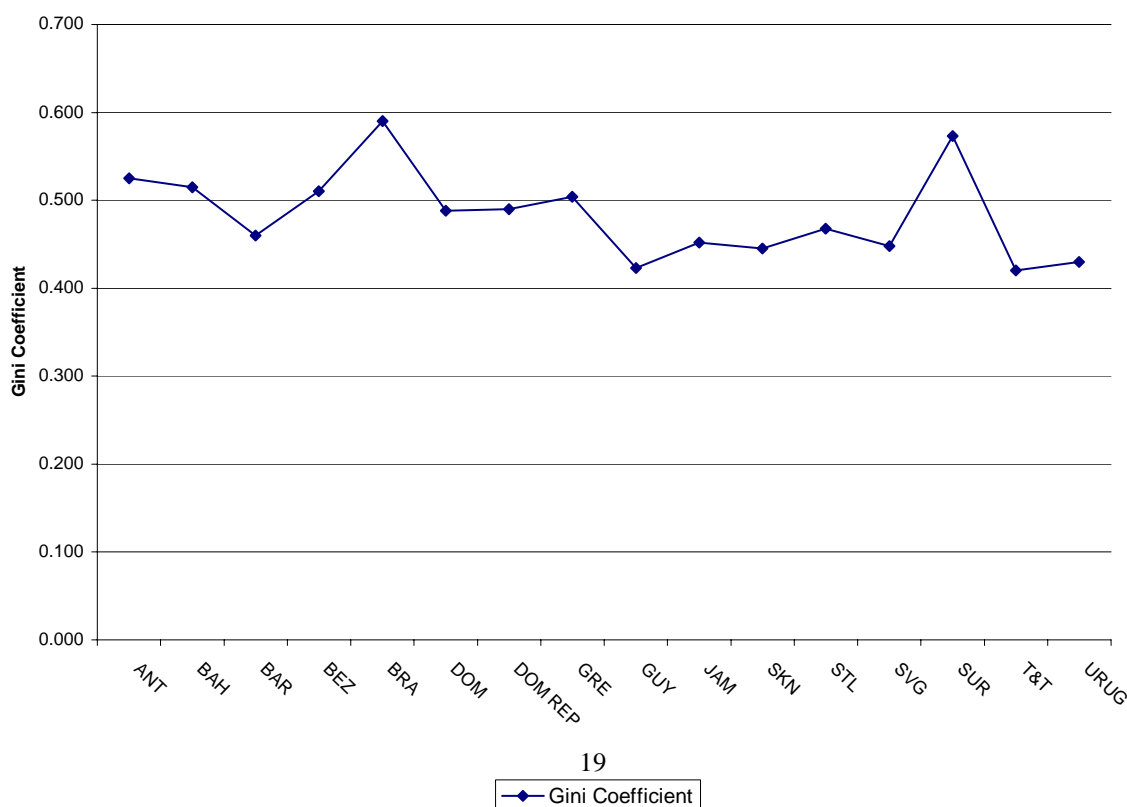
	Poorest	II	III	IV	Richest	Total
						%
Legislator/Manager	2.9	1.5	7.1	12.1	17.0	8.9
Professional		1.5	2.4	5.5	17.0	5.9
Technical	2.9		2.4	1.1	2.1	1.7
Clerical	2.9	4.4	7.1	5.5	6.4	5.4
Services/Sales	16.2	22.1	17.9	17.6	10.6	16.5
Skilled Agricultural	17.6	25.0	23.8	22.0	10.6	19.5
Craft	19.1	22.1	16.7	13.2	12.8	16.3
Machine Operator	10.3	8.8	9.5	12.1	7.4	9.6
Elementary	27.9	14.7	13.1	11.0	16.0	16.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
	68	68	84	91	94	405

Source: Kairi Consultants Ltd. *Poverty Assessment Study, St. Lucia, 1995.*

Globalization and the introduction of new labour-saving technologies have widened these wage and income gaps in both industrial and developing countries. Trends in income disparity in the region suggest that the effects of globalization are already widening income gaps in the region⁴.

The World Bank concludes that income distribution in Caribbean countries resembles that in other regions of the developing world, where the poorest 20% of the population receive less than 5% of national income. As a consequence, many people, including children, live in absolute poverty. It has been estimated that, during the 1990s, the wealthiest 10% of families in the Caribbean improved their position in relative and absolute terms, and received 15-20 times the income of the poorest 10% (UNICEF, 1998, p. 15). Figure 4⁵ illustrates the degree of income inequality among selected countries in the region. Despite what appears to be the favourable position of Guyana relative to other countries for which data are presented, it must be remembered that Guyana is one of the countries in the Caribbean with a high poverty head count.

Figure 4. Income distribution for selected Caribbean and Latin American countries.



Its position on Figure 4 may well be an indication of generally low-income levels. Barbados' position, on the other hand, may well indicate a positive degree of income distribution, in light of the fact that it has one of the lowest levels of poverty in the region and is ranked among those countries with a high human development. The data for Trinidad and Tobago are based on data from the early period of the 1990s, and may have undergone some changes during the latter part of the nineties. Data for Suriname indicate a position closest to Brazil, which has the highest Gini coefficient and the most unequal income distribution in Latin America.

Family and Education

A fundamental transfer of resources takes place within the family as differences in education are transmitted from one generation to the next through the family unit. One way in which that can be expressed is family support for the education of their children. Families in the higher income quintiles have greater purchasing power, allowing them to afford a better education for their children. Data from Table 14 indicate that, in St. Lucia, households in the highest quintile spend almost four times as much as households in the poorest quintile on lessons to improve the academic performance of their children.

Table 14. Annual Expenditure on Schooling by Quintiles (St. Lucia)

Selected School Items	Average Annual Expenditure (\$)				
	Household Quintiles				
	I	II	III	IV	V
School Books	245.43	345.34	373.17	350.94	250.89
School Uniform	119.93	111.50	142.62	166.57	125.14
School Fees	91.63	101.20	165.28	84.25	161.63
Examination Fees	14.83	12.90	37.53	32.05	31.17
Lessons	24.71	46.42	75.54	73.33	92.50
Total	496.53	617.36	794.14	707.14	661.33

Note. N=600.

Source: Kairi Consultants Ltd. *Poverty Assessment Study, St. Lucia*, 1995.

Investment in the education of girls has been defined as possibly having the highest return to investment available in the developing world. This is so as it has been found that girls' schooling not only reduces child mortality and improves the nutrition and general health of children, but also reduces population growth, since educated women tend to marry later and choose to have fewer children (UNICEF, 1999).

Family size is also clearly influenced by returns to income, as data from selected countries in the region show the poorest households as having the largest number of children, as indicated in Table 15. Family size, in turn, influences decisions about schooling of children and the quality of education they receive.

Box 5. Returns on Education to the Family.

- Parents with more education, income earning opportunities, and incomes opt for fewer children and dedicate more resources to invest in the education of those offspring.
- Children of working mothers actually attain higher educational levels than those of mothers who do not work.
- The total number of children in the household is another factor that influences educational attainment. Fifteen-year-old children in households with six or more children have an average of two years less education than children in households with one or even three children.

Source: IDB. *Facing up to Inequality in Latin America*, 1999.

Table 15. Size of Household by Quintile (Selected Countries)

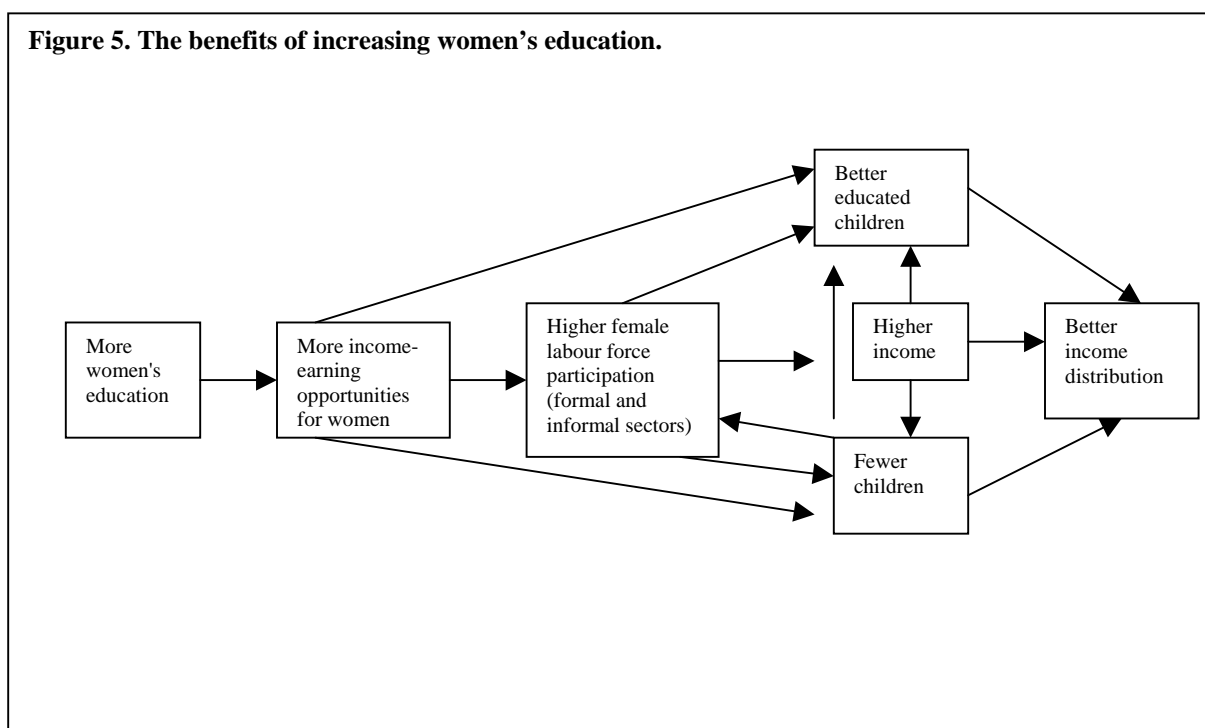
Average Household Size	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
St. Lucia	5.3	4.6	4.2	3.7	2.6	3.8
Belize	6.3	6	4.9	4.2	2.9	4.8
St Vincent and the Grenadines	5.3	4.8	4.8	3.6	3.0	4.1
Grenada	4.8	4.6	4.0	2.9	1.7	3.6
Turks and Caicos Islands	3.9	3.2	2.7	2.2	1.8	2.8

Source: Kairi Consultants Ltd. *Poverty Assessment Studies, Belize, 1996; Grenada, 1999; St. Lucia, 1995; St. Vincent and the Grenadines, 1995; Turks and Caicos, 1999.*

The World Summit for Social Development (WSSD) held in Copenhagen, 6-12 March, 1995, acknowledged the fundamental role of parents' education, particularly that of mothers, in facilitating the struggle against the cycle of poverty and school failure, promoting social integration, particularly that of marginal and underprivileged groups, and increasing productive employment.

Figure 5 illustrates the way in which enhanced education opportunities for women result in better income-earning opportunities, better-educated children, and less income inequality. Moreover, the diagram demonstrates a loop effect, whereby fewer children results in increased labour force participation of women, higher income, and better educated children.

A study on "Gender, Headship and Intra-household Resource Allocation in Jamaica" (Handa, 1994, p. 1539) supports this thesis. The study concluded that children of working female-headed households had higher school enrolment and lower labour force participation rates. Despite being poor, these households with working mothers had slightly lower teenage labour force



participation rates and higher enrolment rates than reported male-headed households. It was concluded that "any disadvantages caused by the reduction in time spent with children is more than offset by the gains from participating in the labour force" (Handa, 1994, p. 1539).

The quality and amount of education that can be provided for children are influenced by the amount of education that the parents themselves have received. UNICEF suggests that the

educational environment in which children grow can influence their interest in achieving high levels of education or affect such interest adversely. UNICEF goes on to suggest that, in the Caribbean, four in five children under 15 years of age live in households where the head has attended school only up to primary level (UNICEF, 1998). The data from a Kairi-conducted Poverty Assessment Study in Grenada (1998) support the thesis that the educational environment of children affects their educational achievement. Table A7 in the Statistical Annex shows that a higher percentage of students who had completed the GCE A levels, diplomas, and degrees had parents whose educational attainment went beyond the primary and secondary levels.

Section 5

Conclusion

... the seeds of tomorrow's income inequality are being sown today... (World Bank, 1995, p. 30)

A disturbing scenario is emerging from the foregoing discussion on the impact of poverty on education. Two distinct segments of society are becoming more apparent: one highly educated, the other relatively uneducated; one wealthy, the other poor.

A number of factors point to this trend. Among them is the difference in access to the education system between the rich and the poor. This is evidenced at the post-primary level by lower enrolment ratios among the poorest quintiles and higher enrolment ratios for the wealthiest quintiles; and by families in the poorest quintiles having the largest household size, which seems to impact negatively on high levels of educational attainment. In addition, children from the poorest quintiles seem to be least likely to advance to secondary and tertiary levels of education. Added to this, children from households where the parents had achieved a high level of education--found more often than not in the highest quintiles--were more likely to advance to post-primary levels and complete CXC, GCE O and A levels, and university degrees.

Another factor has to do with the quality of education. There is agreement that the quality of schooling provided to the majority of primary and secondary school students in the region is poor⁶. However, it is not poor for all; it is poor for those who have less. There is sufficient evidence that points to the variance between schools of different quality, and the fact that it is poor children who attend the schools that record the weakest results in national level examinations. Those parents in the richest quintiles are able to spend more on the education of their children while the poorest are able to spend less.

This rigid stratification of schools within the education system can act as a hindrance to social integration in the Caribbean. The region is already burdened with a social structure inherited from the period of enslavement and indentureship that is pyramidal in shape, with light skin colour and wealth converging at the top and black skin colour and poverty at the bottom⁷. Some three decades after independence, the region could find itself trapped in the same framework, with the attendant lack of cohesiveness and stability.

The discussion on the impact of education on poverty also points to a wage structure which is following the education patterns, with highest wages accruing to those who have attained the highest level of education, as it should be. The impact of globalization on the wage structure may well be negative unless educational achievements are increased, as all evidence points to a global labour market that is segmented between those who know and those who don't know. For the Caribbean to position itself within, and to benefit from, the high income earning end of the global economy, it has to substantially increase its enrolment ratios in tertiary education to match those of the East Asian Tigers and Latin America.

At the same time, there would seem to be a necessity for employment creation strategies targeted at women, coupled with the removal of wage discrimination at all levels. The reason for this being that employed women use their resources for their children's educational advancement and improved well-being. In addition, the data suggest that the children of working women attain higher levels of education and have lower labour force participation rates. This, of course, in no way diminishes the necessity for committed action to reduce the levels of unemployment among all groups, especially young men, across the region.

It would seem that one of the lessons that could be learnt from the foregoing discussion is that wealth alone is not enough, as countries with high per capita incomes did not achieve the highest level of human development. A committed policy towards growth and equity seems to be the key. This can be demonstrated in two ways: (a) through a macroeconomic policy framework that has employment creation as a central focus, and long-term development strategies that will push the economic structure of the economies into the knowledge-based segment of the global market; this should assure higher income levels generally; and (b) through the transformation of the current education product so that it truly develops persons to their fullest potential. Continuing education for today's young adults must, of necessity, be a part of the new education product, as it is necessary to transform the educational environment of today's children, *today*.

The window of opportunity which the demographics of the region seem to be presenting, regarding the low levels of primary and secondary school age children in the near future, should allow governments in the region an opportunity to improve the quality of education offered in the school system, without having to increase expenditure levels. This seems to be one action that can be taken to arrest the deteriorating situation in the education sector.

In the past, governments in the region have demonstrated a commitment to development goals based on social equity and, therefore, in keeping with those expressed goals, need to adopt a rescue plan for the education system. Nothing less would do to stop this engine of growing inequality and transform it into a catalyst for change and genuine social equity. If not, the stratification between rich and poor now found in the education system may reinforce, rather than correct, income inequalities and perpetuate the cycle of poverty.

Notes

1. The Mighty Sparrow (Slinger Francisco), *Education*, 1972.
2. In some Indian villages, the literacy rate for the highest caste was 90%, while that of the lowest caste was only 10% - UNDP, *Human Development Report, 1991*. New York: Oxford University Press.
3. In studies conducted by UNECLAC (1995), following the devastation in the Caribbean caused by Hurricane Luis and Marilyn, in 1995, it was concluded that for the island of St. Maarten Netherlands Antilles, the total amount of damages and losses caused by the disaster was estimated at US \$1,070 million. This total represented more than twice the amount of estimated gross domestic product for St. Maarten in 1994 (US \$465 million). For the island of Anguilla, the study indicated that the “total amount of damages and losses caused by the disaster is estimated at US \$55 million.” This estimate of damage was equivalent to nearly 94% of a year’s gross domestic product of the island. The Federation of St. Kitts and Nevis had been affected by two devastating hurricanes within a three-year period. Hurricane Luis, which hit in 1995, caused damage in the vicinity of US \$197 million. In September of 1998, the Federation was once again hit, this time by Hurricane Georges, which resulted in the loss of five lives and estimated damage totalling EC \$1.0 billion or US \$402.1 million, which was 2.2 times over the 1997 real GDP. The studies concluded that the main effects of the hurricanes were on the natural resources of the islands, on which their main activities are based: tourism, commerce, and agriculture, as well as on the social and physical infrastructure of their populations.
4. In “The Socioeconomic and Political Context” by Dr. Karl Theodore and Dr. Edward Green in *Health Conditions in the Caribbean*, it was reported that, in Trinidad and Tobago, households in the top quintile earned 40% of the income in 1988 and 50% in 1992. In Guyana, the highest quintile earned 43% of the income in both 1988 and 1993, while the lowest quintile slipped from earning 7.5% in 1988 to 5% in 1993.
5. Figure 4 illustrates the Gini coefficients as listed in Table A2 in the Statistical Annex. The Gini index measures how far real distribution is from a hypothetical reference point. If incomes were distributed in a fully equitable manner, each person in a society would receive the same share of income. This fully equitable position would be represented by zero. Complete concentration of income in a single person, or complete inequality, would be represented by one. In theory, the Gini coefficient can vary between zero and one. In practice, however, Gini coefficients of per capita income vary between 0.25 and 0.60. The document, *Facing up to Inequality in Latin America* indicates that inequality indices in Latin America, which are considered the highest among the regions of the world are, on average, 0.52, with a minimum of 0.43 for Uruguay (URUG) and a maximum of 0.59 for Brazil (BRA). Figure 4, then, helps us to understand the degree of inequality within Caribbean countries, provides a comparative view, and positions the Caribbean next to its Latin American neighbours.
6. UNICEF’s *The State of Eastern Caribbean Children 1998* concluded, from the seven national Situational Analyses conducted in the Eastern Caribbean, that the quality of education was less than satisfactory. The World Bank’s 1993 report on *Access, Quality and Efficiency in Education* reached the same conclusion for the region; that “the overall quality of schooling is poor as achievement levels are generally low as measured by the region’s most commonly used benchmark – pass rates at the CXC examination.
7. Dennis Pantin, in a study on *The Challenge of Youth Employment in the Caribbean – The Role of Youth Employment Training Programmes*, prepared for the ILO Caribbean Office in December

1996, makes the point that because of the legacy of prejudices and racial discrimination inherited from the experience of enslavement and indentureship, the social structures still possess inherent biases against people of African descent in particular, East Indian descent to a lesser extent, and those in the society of a darker hue in general.

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Statistical Annex

Table A1. Summary Table Macroeconomic Performance

	GDP Growth Rates		Inflation	External	Unemployment	Fiscal Deficit
	Average	Average	Rate	Debt % GDP	Rate	as a % of
	1980s	1990s	1997	1997	1997	GDP Average 1990s
Anguilla	...	4.3	0.60	13.1	...	-0.48
Antigua And Barbuda	7.4	3.1	...	46.3	7*	-2.43
Aruba	...	5.0	3.00	...	...	-0.80
Bahamas	4.53	...	0.50	9.2	15*	-2.10
Barbados	3.01	0.8	7.70	15.9	14.50	-2.17
Belize	4.39	4.4	1.00	44.8	12.70	-3.78
Cuba	2.16	-3.0	2.00	...	....	-0.89
Dominica	5.54	2.8	2.20	42.5	10*	-4.13
Dominican Republic	2.98	3.2	8.40	23.7	15.90	0.03
Grenada	4.74	3.1	0.80	33.6	16*	-3.56
Guyana	-1.39	5.0	4.10	242.8	11*	-12.28
Haiti	1.09	-0.6	16.20	39.5	...	-1.34
Jamaica	0.8	0.8	10.00	54.0	16.50	-0.76
Montserrat	5.76	-6.6	...	34.5	...	-1.75
Netherlands Antilles	...	-0.5	3.10	...	14.20	...
St. Kitts and Nevis	5.24	4.2	11.30	44.2	12*	-3.53
St. Lucia	3.95	2.4	11.30	13.6	16*	-0.96
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	5.94	3.6	0.80	35.3	20*	-2.37
Suriname	-3.07	0.9	16.3	...	10.00	...
Trinidad and Tobago	-3	2.1	3.70	26.9	15.00	-0.44

Source: UNECLAC, based on national data
Note. ... Data not available.
 * 1996 Unemployment data.

Table A2. Poverty Estimates of Selected Caribbean Countries

Country	Head Count Index	Gini Coefficient
Antigua and Barbuda	12.0	0.525
Bahamas	5.0	0.515
Barbados	8.0	0.460
Belize	33.0	0.510
Brazil		0.590
Dominica	33.0	0.488
Dominican Republic	20.6	0.490
Grenada	32.1	0.504
Guyana	43.2	0.423
Jamaica	34.2	0.452
St. Kitts & Nevis	15.0	0.445
St. Lucia	25.1	0.468
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	37.5	0.448
Suriname	63.1	0.573
Trinidad and Tobago	21.2	0.420

Source: UNECLAC, *Poverty Statistics*, Santiago Seminar, 7-9 May 1997; Kairi Consultants. *Poverty Assessment Report, Grenada, Vol. 1*, 1998.

Sources of figures: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, St. Kitts/Nevis poverty estimates from IDB as reported in E. Greene (1996), *Reducing Poverty in the Caribbean: Implications for Health and Education*, PAHO, Table 1.1.; Kairi Consultants, *Poverty Assessment Studies*, St. Lucia (1995), Belize (1996), St. Vincent and the Grenadines (1996), Grenada (1998); Fundacion Economia y Desarrollo, Inc. (1994), *Estabilizacion Apertura y Pobreza en Republicana Dominicana, 1986-1992*; Guyana (1993) HIES/LSMS as reported in J.L. Baker (1994), *Guyana: Strategies for Reducing Poverty*, Report No. 12861-GUA; Haiti (1987) Poverty Estimate reported in UNECLAC (1993), *Poverty Issues and Poverty Alleviation in the Caribbean: Working Paper*; Jamaica, Survey of Living Conditions (1992) estimates derived from: World Bank (1994), *Jamaica: A Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction, Country Economic Memorandum*; St. Lucia (1995) Calculations from Survey of Living Conditions, as reported in CDB (1995), *St. Lucia Poverty Assessment*; M. Neri & J. Menke (1999), *Poverty in Suriname: Assessment, Monitoring and Capital Enhancing Policies*; Trinidad and Tobago (1992), Survey of Living Conditions as reported in World Bank (1995), *Trinidad and Tobago: Poverty and Unemployment in an Oil Based Economy*, Report No. 14382-TR.

Table A3. Adult Literacy in Selected CDCC Countries

Country	Adult Literacy		
	1994	1995	1997
Antigua and Barbuda		95.0	95.0
Bahamas	98.1	98.2	95.8
Barbados	97.3	97.4	97.6
Belize	70.0	70.0	75.0
Cuba	95.4	95.7	95.9
Dominica		94.0	94.0
Dominican Republic	81.5	82.1	82.6
Grenada	98.0	98.0	96.0
Guyana	97.9	98.1	98.1
Jamaica	84.4	85.0	85.5
St. Kitts & Nevis	90.0	90.0	90.0
St. Lucia	82.0	82.0	82.0
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	82.0	82.0	82.0
Suriname	92.7	93.0	93.5
Trinidad & Tobago	97.9	97.9	97.8

Source: UNDP. Human Development Report 1997, 1998, 1999.

Table A4. School Age Population Projections for Selected Countries

BAHAMAS

YEAR	6-11	12-14	15-17	18-23
1995	12.1	5.7	5.5	11.4
2000	12	5.5	5.4	10.2
2005	11.8	5.6	5.3	9.9
2010	11	5.5	5.4	10
2015	10.1	5.2	5.3	10.2
2020	9.2	4.8	4.9	9.9
2025	8.8	4.4	4.5	9.2
2030	8.7	4.2	4.2	8.5
2040	8.3	4.1	4.1	8
2050	7.8	3.9	3.9	7.9

BARBADOS

YEAR	6-11	12-14	15-17	18-23
1995	9.4	4.9	4.7	10.7
2000	8.8	4.5	4.7	9.2
2005	7.7	4.4	4.4	9.1
2010	7	3.7	4.1	8.6
2015	6.8	3.4	3.4	7.8
2020	6.7	3.4	3.3	6.8
2025	6.5	3.3	3.3	6.6
2030	6.3	3.2	3.3	6.6
2040	6.2	3.1	3.1	6.4
2050	6.2	3.2	3.2	6.4

BELIZE

YEAR	6-11	12-14	15-17	18-23
1995	16	7.6	7.4	12.7
2000	15.7	7.1	6.8	12.8
2005	15.1	7.2	6.6	12.1
2010	13.7	6.9	6.7	12.1
2015	12.2	6.4	6.4	12.4
2020	10.2	5.6	5.8	11.8
2025	9.7	4.6	5	10.7
2030	9.7	4.6	4.3	9.2
2040	8.8	4.5	4.5	8.6
2050	7.9	3.9	4	8.2

CUBA

YEAR	6-11	12-14	15-17	18-23
1995	9.3	4.1	4	10.9
2000	8.8	4.7	4.2	7.7
2005	7.7	4.2	4.6	8.3
2010	6.9	3.7	3.9	8.7
2015	6.5	3.3	3.5	7.6
2020	6.5	3.2	3.2	6.9
2025	6.4	3.2	3.2	6.4
2030	6.4	3.2	3.2	6.4
2040	6.2	3.2	3.2	6.5
2050	6.2	3.1	3.2	6.5

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

YEAR	6-11	12-14	15-17	18-23
1995	14	6.4	6.2	11.7
2000	13.3	6.5	6	11.2
2005	12.2	6.1	6	11.1
2010	11.3	5.7	5.7	11.1
2015	10.5	5.3	5.3	10.4
2020	9.9	5	4.9	9.7
2025	9.4	4.7	4.7	9.2
2030	8.9	4.5	4.5	8.8
2040	8.2	4.1	4.1	8.1
2050	7.8	3.9	3.9	7.6

GUYANA

YEAR	6-11	12-14	15-17	18-23
1995	12.8	6.4	5.5	12
2000	12.1	5.8	6.1	10.6
2005	11.3	5.8	5.5	11.2
2010	9.8	5.3	5.5	10.4
2015	9.3	4.6	4.8	10.2
2020	9.1	4.4	4.3	9.1
2025	8.9	4.4	4.3	8.3
2030	8.6	4.3	4.3	8.3
2040	7.9	4	4	8.2
2050	7.8	3.9	3.8	7.7

HAITI

YEAR	6-11	12-14	15-17	18-23
1995	17.8	7.6	6.8	11
2000	15.9	8.2	7.4	12.2
2005	14.5	7	7.5	13.4
2010	14.2	6.7	6.3	13.1
2015	13.8	6.5	6.2	11.5
2020	13.2	6.4	6.1	11.4
2025	12.4	6.1	6	11.3
2030	11.5	5.8	5.8	11.2
2040	9.9	5	5.1	10.2
2050	8.9	4.5	4.5	9.1

JAMAICA

YEAR	6-11	12-14	15-17	18-23
1995	13.1	6.4	6.2	11.8
2000	12.5	5.9	5.9	11.3
2005	11.7	5.8	5.5	10.8
2010	10.7	5.4	5.5	10.4
2015	9.8	5	5	10.2
2020	9.2	4.6	4.7	9.5
2025	8.8	4.3	4.4	8.9
2030	8.5	4.2	4.2	8.3
2040	8	4	4	7.9
2050	7.6	3.8	3.8	7.6

SURINAME

YEAR	6-11	12-14	15-17	18-23
1995	14.2	7.5	6.4	12.6
2000	12.3	6.7	7.3	12.3
2005	11.1	5.9	6.1	13.3
2010	10.2	5.2	5.4	11.4
2015	9.3	4.8	4.8	10.1
2020	9.1	4.4	4.5	9.2
2025	8.9	4.4	4.2	8.6
2030	8.3	4.3	4.3	8.2
2040	7.4	3.8	3.9	8
2050	7.1	3.6	3.6	7.2

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

YEAR	6-11	12-14	15-17	18-23
1995	13.1	6.9	6.2	10.9
2000	10.5	6.3	6.8	12.1
2005	8.3	4.9	5.6	12.7
2010	7.6	3.9	4.3	10.5
2015	7.9	3.6	3.6	8.2
2020	8	3.9	3.6	7
2025	7.5	3.9	3.9	7.2
2030	7	3.7	3.8	7.7
2040	6.7	3.3	3.3	7
2050	6.6	3.4	3.4	6.6

Source: United Nations. *World Population Prospects 1998 Revision, Volume I.*

Table A5. Proportion of Households and Unemployment Rates by Sex for UNECLAC/CDCC Member Countries

Country	Head of household by sex (1995)		Unemployment rate by sex (1996)	
	Proportion of males (%)	Proportion of females (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Anguilla	67.8	32.2	6.3 ^b	9.0 ^b
Antigua & Barbuda	58.5	41.5	6.4 ^a	5.6 ^a
Aruba	77.3	22.7	5.4 ^d	7.9 ^d
Bahamas	64.1	35.8	8.6	14.7
Barbados	56.5	43.5	12.4	18.9
Belize	78.0	22.0	11.7	18.6
Br. Virgin Islands	71.3	28.7	3.4 ^a	3.1 ^a
Cuba	72.0	28.0	...	...
Dominica	62.7	37.3	9.8 ^a	9.2 ^a
Dominican Republic	70.0	30.0	...	...
Grenada	57.3	42.7	14.6 ^a	12.7 ^a
Guyana	70.5	29.5	8.4 ^b	18.1 ^b
Haiti	61.3	38.7	...	...
Jamaica	58.0	42.0	9.9	23.0
Montserrat	60.0	40.0	...	...
Netherlands Antilles	66.0	34.0	10.4	18.1
Puerto Rico	72.0	28.0	...	...
St Kitts and Nevis	56.1	43.9	...	...
St. Lucia	59.6	40.4	13.8	19.3
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	60.5	39.5	18.4 ^a	22.1 ^a
Suriname	80.0	20.0	7.9	16.4
Trinidad and Tobago	73.5	26.5	13.2	21.0
U.S. Virgin Islands	67.0	33.0	...	...
Mean	66.0	33.9		
Low	56.1	20.0		
High	80.0	43.9		

Source: UNECLAC. *Poverty Eradication and Female-Headed Households (FHH) in the Caribbean*, 1996; International Labour Organization. *Digest of Caribbean Labour Statistics 1997*.

Table A6a. Female Percentage Enrolment at Primary and Secondary Levels for Selected Caribbean Countries

Country	Year	% Primary	% Secondary
Antigua & Barbuda	1991/92	49	50
Bahamas	1992/93	50	50
Barbados	1991/92	49	47
Belize	1994/95	48	52
Br. Virgin Islands	1994/95	48	51
Dominica	1994/95	50	54
Grenada	1992/93	49	54
Jamaica	1992/93	49	51
Montserrat	1993/94	46	49
St. Kitts & Nevis	1992/93	49	51
St. Lucia	1992/93	48	63
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	1993/94	49	55
Trinidad & Tobago	1993/94	49	50
Turks & Caicos Islands	1993/94	50	50

Source: Bailey, B. *Women's Education: The Caribbean Situation*, 1997.

Table A6b. Enrolment in 1994/95: Undergraduate and Graduate Programmes by Faculty & Sex

UNDERGRADUATE			
Faculty	Female	Male	F : M Ratio
Agriculture	147	140	1 : 1
Arts & General Studies	2054	554	3.7 : 1
Education	273	62	4.4 : 1
Engineering	152	622	1 : 4
Law	287	122	2.4 : 1
Medical Sciences	589	583	1 : 1
Natural Sciences	1255	1287	1 : 1
Social Sciences	2706	1351	2 : 1
Total	7463 (61.3%)	4721 (38.7/5)	1.6 : 1
GRADUATE			
Agriculture	51	56	1 : 1
Arts & General Studies	228	77	3 : 1
Education	204	60	3.4 : 1
Engineering	63	190	1 : 3
Law	16	14	1 : 1
Medical Sciences	112	108	1 : 1
Natural Sciences	173	166	1 : 1
Social Sciences	419	365	1.1 : 1
Total	1266 (54.9%)	1036 (46.1%)	1.2 : 1

Source: Bailey, B. *Women's Education: The Caribbean Situation*, 1997.

Table A6c. Distribution by Sex in Regional Entries for Technical & Vocational General Level CXC Exams

SUBJECT	MALE		FEMALE	
	#	RATIO%	#	RATIO%
Metals	774	96.99	24	3.01
Woods	1,451	96.22	57	3.78
Mech. Eng. Technology	457	94.42	27	5.58
Electricity/ Electronics	1007	92.47	82	7.53
Building Technology	460	91.45	43	8.55
Tech. Drawing	5,097	90.52	534	9.48
Art & Craft	407	44.77	502	55.23
Information Technology	179	44.75	221	55.25
P.O.B.	10,076	32.90	20,548	67.10
P.O.A.	7,265	30.67	16,421	69.33
Office Procedures	2,462	18.69	10,933	81.62
Typewriting	536	7.51	6,600	92.49
Food & Nutrition	313	7.21	4,026	92.78
Home Economics	134	5.83	2,164	94.17
Shorthand	15	3.14	462	96.86
Clothing & Textiles	42	2.85	1,430	97.15

Source: Bailey, B. *Women's Education: The Caribbean Situation*, 1997.

Table A7. Highest Examination Passed by Mother's and Father's Highest Education Attained

	None		Primary		Secondary		Post Secondary		University		Other		Don't Know		Total			
	Mom	Dad	Mom	Dad	Mom	Dad	Mom	Dad	Mom	Dad	Mom	Dad	Mom	Dad	Mom		Dad	
None	3.4	3.5	54.7	49.6	1.5	1.1	0.6	0.9	0.3	-	0.2	0.3	39.3	44.5	100	654	100	651
School Leaving	2.2	2.2	71.7	56.5	2.2	2.2	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	21.7	39.1	100	46	100	46
GCE O'Levels	1.1	1.1	68.5	55.1	1.1	5.6	-	-	-	1.1	-	-	29.2	37.1	100	89	100	89
GCE A'Levels	-	-	55.6	66.7	-	-	-	-	-	11.1	11.1	-	33.3	22.2	100	9	100	
Diploma	3.4	-	69.0	48.3	-	6.9	-	-	-	6.9	-	-	27.6	37.9	100	29	100	29
Degree	-	-	41.7	36.4	41.7	27.3	8.3	18.2	-	9.1	-	-	8.3	9.1	100	12	100	11
Other	-	-	55.0	45.0	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40.0	55.0	100	20	100	20
Total	2.9	2.9	57.4	50.4	2.1	2.1	0.7	0.9	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.2	36.4	42.8	100	859	100	855

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LIST OF COUNTRIES

Anguilla	Guyana
Antigua-Barbuda	Haiti
Aruba	Jamaica
The Bahamas	Montserrat
Barbados	The Netherlands Antilles
Belize	St. Kitts-Nevis
Bermuda	St. Lucia
The British Virgin Islands	St. Vincent and the Grenadines
The Cayman Islands	Suriname
Dominica	Trinidad and Tobago
Grenada	Turks and Caicos Islands