

72

**EXPLORING COMPLEMENTARY STRATEGIES OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL  
MOBILITY: EDUCATION AND EMIGRATION OF HAITIANS  
1972-1985**

by Sandra Dupuy-Newhard

B.A. History  
Boston College, 1982

J.D. Northeastern University School of Law 1988

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements of the Degree of

Master in City Planning

at the

Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
June 1997

© 1997 Sandra Dupuy-Newhard. All rights reserved

The author hereby grants MIT permission to reproduce and to distribute publicly paper and  
electronic copies of this thesis in whole or in part.

Signature by Author \_\_\_\_\_

*[Handwritten signature]*

Certified by \_\_\_\_\_

*[Handwritten signature]*

Alice Amsden, Ellen Swallow Richards Professor  
of Political Economy, DUSP Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by \_\_\_\_\_

*[Handwritten signature]*  
Mark Schuster, Associate Professor  
Chairman of MCP Program

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE  
OF TECHNOLOGY

JUN 25 1997

Rotat

LIBRARIES

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I would like to thank my husband, Timothy Newhard and daughter Alessandra for their unwavering support and help. This thesis would not have been possible without them. I would also like to acknowledge the support given me by my parents Richard and Diliah Sasso and my uncle Jean Wiener. Their willingness to listen and share their knowledge of Haiti with me proved invaluable.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### ABSTRACT

### CHAPTER 1

1.1	Introduction.....	1
1.2	Problem to be Studied.....	4
1.3	Major Research Question.....	5
1.4	Purpose of the Study.....	6
1.5	Methodology.....	7
1.6	Economic and Social Overview of Haiti 1973-1985.....	9
1.7	Review of the Literature.....	10

### CHAPTER 2

2.1	Introduction.....	17
2.2	The Structure of Education in Haiti.....	17
2.3	Education and the Haitian State.....	20
2.4	The Evolution of Primary School Enrollment Rates 1973-1985.....	24
2.5	Characteristics of the Rise in the Primary School Enrollment Rate.....	26

### CHAPTER 3

3.1	Introduction.....	28
3.2	Education and Emigration of Haitians to the United States.....	30

3.3	Haitian Immigrants in the US 1980-1985.....	32
I.	“Survey of the Adaptation Process of Cuban (Mariel) and Haitian Refugees in South Florida”.....	34
II.	“The Impact of Immigration Status on the Social and Economic Needs of Undocumented Immigrants in Boston Area”.....	41
III.	“ Patterns of Adaptation of Haitian Immigrants of the 1970s in New..... ..45                      York City”	
3.4	Conclusion.....	46

## ABSTRACT

Primary school enrollment rates in many of the world's developing countries are substantially lower than the rates observed in industrializing and developed countries. In recent years the World Bank, multilateral aid agencies and donor countries have been vocal advocates of universal primary education (as opposed to higher education) because of the high social and private rates of return to primary education in developing countries. They have targeted their lending and/or assistance to increasing access to schooling of the school age population in low-income countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Despite such efforts the majority of the world's low-income countries lag behind the developed and industrializing countries of Europe, North America and East Asia in primary school enrollment and completion rates. One country's gross and net primary school enrollment rates however stand out among low-income countries, that country is Haiti. Between 1958-83 the number of primary school enrollments rose by 239%. The gross and net primary school enrollment rates increased by 10% respectively between 1972-1982. Much of the rise in aggregate demand for education has been met by private schools. An estimated 59% of students in primary school in 1982/1983 were enrolled in private schools.

What are the reasons for the unprecedented rise in the gross primary school enrollments in Haiti since 1973? For purposes of this thesis, what variable(s) account(s) for the increase in the gross primary school enrollment rate between 1973-1985? A number of factors have been identified in the literature, but none has been presented as dispositive of the question. This thesis explored the hypothesis that the rise in gross primary school enrollment rates in Haiti is related to the increased legal and illegal emigration of Haitians to the United States since 1972. Because of the absence of survey information as to the reason(s) for the increase investment in education by Haitian households during the study period, data was culled from a number of primary and secondary sources. Based thereon the findings indicate that the educational attainment level of Haitian immigrants to the United States after 1980, is higher than that of the general population in Haiti.

## LIST OF TABLES

- Table 1.1 A A Comparison of Gross Primary Enrollment Rates Of Selected Low-Income Countries, 1985.
- Table 1.1 B Primary Enrollment Rates of Caribbean Countries: 1900-1987
- Table 1.1 C Proportion of Population Having No Schooling: 1980 Census
- Table 1.1 D Numbers of Public and Private Schools By Year 1973/74-1985
- Table 1.1 E Structure of Employment in Haiti 1983
- Table 2.3 A Number of Enrollments In Public and Private Schools 1973-1983
- Table 2.3 B Promotion, Repetition and Dropout Rates 1981-1982
- Table 2.3 C Cohort Success Rate of 1000 Primary School Children
- Table 2.4 A Gross Primary School Enrollment Rate
- Table 2.5 A Primary School Students According to Age, Grade and Gender
- Table 2.5 B Proportion of Overage Students in Primary Schools 1994
- Table 3.2 A Comparison of Education Attainment Level and Median Age of a Sample of Haitian Immigrants to the United States, with Education Attainment Level of All Immigrants to US pre-1980.
- Table 3.3 A Education Attainment Level of a Sample of Haitian Immigrants in South Florida 1984
- Table 3.3 B Gender Distribution of a Sample of Haitian Immigrants in South Florida 1984
- Table 3.3 C General Characteristics of a Sample of Haitian Immigrants in South Florida 1984
- Table 3.3 D Employment Status of a Sample of Haitian Immigrants in South Florida 1984
- Table 3.3 E Income of a Sample Haitian Immigrants in Boston Area

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allman, James 1982 "Haitian Migration: 30 Years Assessed" in Migration Today, Vol. X, No.1 (1982).

Bennell, Paul (1996) "Rates of Return to Education: Does the Conventional Pattern Prevail in sub-Saharan Africa?" in World Development, Vol. 24 No.1, pp. 183-199

Benavot, Aaron and Riddle, Phyllis 1988 "The Expansion of Primary Education, 1870-1940: Trends and Issues" in Sociology of Education, Vol. 61 (July): 191-210.

Dorgan, Charity ed. 1995 Gale Country & World Rankings Reporter (Gale Research, Inc.)

Easton, Peter and Fass, Simon 1989 "Monetary Consumption Benefits and the Demand for Primary Schooling in Haiti", in Comparative Education Review, pp. 176-193.

Economic Intelligence Unit 1995-1996 "Country Profile: Dominican Republic, Haiti, Puerto Rico", (Economic Intelligence Unit)

Fass, Simon 1988 Political Economy in Haiti, (Transaction Books, New Brunswick)

Fondation Haitienne de L'Enseignement Prive "Annuaire Statistique des Ecoles Primaires Privees" (August 1994).

Fouron, George Eugene 1985 "Patterns of Adaptation of Haitian Immigrants of the 1970s in New York City" (Ph.D diss. , Columbia University).

Grasmuck, Sherri, Spring 1984 "Migration within the Periphery: Haitian Labor in the Dominican Sugar and Coffee Industries" in International Migration Review, Vol. 16, No.2 pp.365-377.

Improving the Efficiency of Educational Systems Consortium, the Ministry of National Education of the Republic of Haiti, and the United States Agency for International Development, 1987 Haiti: Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment.

Loecher, Uli 1990 Primary Education in a Predatory State: Private School Take Over Haiti eds. Cantave, Alix and Clark, Veve A. (Haitian Studies Association Proceedings Second Annual Conference June 15-16 1990).

Plan National D'Education 1994 Education, Democratie et Development Economique et Social en Haiti.

- Table 3.3 F Characteristics of a Sample of Haitian Immigrants in Boston Area
- Table 3.3 G Mean Age of a Sample of Haitian Immigrants in Boston Area
- Table 3.4 A Education Attainment Level of Haitian Immigrants in US 1972-1990
- Table 3.4 B Response of a Sample of Haitian Immigrants to Query: "What do you like most in America?"

### **LIST OF GRAPHS**

- Graph 1 Percentage Growth in Enrollments By Regiona and Level of Education 1980-1990
- Graph 2 Percent Private School and Percent Public Expenditure on Education as Proportion of Gross Domestic Product
- Graph 3 Education Budget Allocation



Portes and Rumbaut 1990 Immigrant America: A Portrait, University of California Press, Berkley.

Portes A, and Stepick A 1993 City on the Edge: Miami, University of California Press, Berkley.

Psacharopoulos, G 1973 Returns to Education, Jossey/Bass, San Francisco.

Stepick, A and Portes, A (1986) "Flight into Despair: A profile of Recent Haitian Refugees in South Florida", International Migration Review, Vol. 20, No.2 Summer; pp. 329-349.

World Bank, 1995 Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Review, World Bank Publication, Washington, D.C.

United Nations Education, Cultural, and Scientific Organization Statistical Yearbook 1984; 1995; and 1996. United Nations

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 1985 The Least Developed Countries, United Nations.

U.S Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census 1980 Statistical Abstract of the United States.

U.S Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1990 1990 Census of Population The Foreign-Born Population in the United States .

U.S Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census 1996 Statistical Abstract of the United States 1996.

Research Triangle Institute, 1995 The Academy for Educational Development, Educat S.A. Diagnostic Technique du Systeme Educatif Haitien (Rapport de Synthese).

Research Triangle Institute, 1996 Haiti's Local Democracy: An Assessment of the Status Quo and Prospects for Sustainable Local Self-Governance, Vol. I.

Stepick, Alex 1987 "The Haitian Exodous: Flight from Terror and Poverty", in (Ed.) Levine, Barry B The Caribbean Exodous. Praeger Publishers.

Straubhaar, Thomas 1984 "The Causes of International Labor Migrations-A Demand-Determined Approach" in International Migration Review, Vol. XX, No.4 pp. 835-847.

Trouillot, 1990 State Against Nation , Monthly Press.

World Bank, Trends in Developing Economies: Social Indicators of Development 1995.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

Primary school enrollment rates in many of the world's developing countries are substantially lower than the rates observed in industrializing and developed countries. In recent years the World Bank, multilateral aid agencies and donor countries have been vocal advocates of universal primary education because of the high social and private rates of return to primary education in developing countries. (World Bank 1995). They have targeted their lending and/or assistance to increasing access of the school age population in low-income countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Despite such efforts the majority of the world's low-income countries lag behind the developed and industrializing countries of Europe, North America and East Asia in primary school enrollments. (See Graph 1).

One country's gross and net primary school enrollment rates, however, stand out among low-income countries, that country is Haiti. Between 1958 and 1983 the number of primary school enrollments increased by 239%.<sup>1</sup> The growth in student enrollments between increased by 60% between 1973 and 1983.<sup>2</sup> Haiti's gross primary school enrollment rate was 97% in 1985, and the net primary school enrollment rate was 55%.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Improving the Efficiency of Educational Systems Consortium, et al. 1987. Haiti: Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment p. 5-3.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted however only 47% of children 6-12 years old were enrolled in school, indicating a high proportion of overage children among those enrolled.

<sup>3</sup> UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1995; Table 3.2.

The observed increase in the gross primary school enrollment rate exceeded the rate of increase of the general population<sup>4</sup>. In a 1987 study of the education sector, the authors of the study noted:

The high demand for education was confirmed during this sector assessment, when visits to schools yielded additional evidence on the strong competition for places in primary school throughout the country.

Ten years later a similar observation was made by another team of foreign consultants:

In every commune covered in this assessment education was consistently rated as the community's first problem and its first priority for public action..<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to Haiti's increasing primary school enrollment rate, are the indices for countries with comparable per capita GNP such as the Central African Republic, Benin, and Ghana. Ghana's gross primary school enrollment rate was 21 percentage points lower than Haiti's in 1985. While the gross enrollment rates for Benin and the Central African Republic, two countries with higher per capita GNP than Haiti in 1985, were respectively 29 and 22 percentage points lower than Haiti's in that year. (See Table 1.1 A ). One writer has observed that Haiti's primary school enrollment rate is comparable to that of middle-income countries. (Fass 1995).

In addition to its comparatively high primary school enrollment rate for a low-income country, Haiti's high aggregate demand for education, measured as a proportion of children enrolled in school, is an anomaly in Haitian education history. (Miller 19;

---

<sup>4</sup> Loecher, Uli, " Primary Education in a Predatory State: Private School Take Over in Haiti", in Haitian Studies Association Proceedings, Second Annual Conference June 1990.

<sup>5</sup> Associates in Rural Development, Inc. 1996 Haiti's Local Democracy: An assessment of the Status Quo and Prospects for Sustainable Local Self-Governance. Vol. I, pp.1-105, p.78.

Benavot and Riddle 1988). During the first half of this century aggregate demand for education in Haiti was weak when compared with the primary school enrollment rate of other Caribbean countries. In 1940, Haiti's primary school enrollment rate stood at 12%, the same rate indicated in 1920. (See Table 1.1B Primary School Enrollment Rates of Caribbean Countries; and Table 1.1C Proportion of Population Having No Schooling). Haiti's gross primary school enrollment rate has trailed that of her Caribbean neighbors by at least 20 percentage points this century. For the first time in Haiti's history the country's gross primary school enrollment rate of 50% in 1965. The available data indicates that the gross primary school enrollment rate declined to 49% in 1970, only to increase to 59% in 1973. Between 1973-1985 Haiti's gross primary school enrollment rate increased by 38%. Much of the increase was absorbed by the country's growing private school system. According to one report 59% percent of children enrolled in primary school in 1983, were enrolled in private schools. Table 1.1D indicates the growth in the number of private schools in the country between 1973-1983. The number of private schools increased by over 45% during the decade, while the stock of public schools increased by only 11.6%. (Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment 1987, hereinafter "IIES").

What are the reasons for the unprecedented rise in the gross primary school enrollment rate in Haiti between 1972-1985? What variable(s) account(s) for the increase in the gross primary school enrollment rate between 1972-1985? A number of factors have been suggested, but none has been determined to be dispositive of the question. One

possible explanation identified in the literature is the increase likelihood that Haitians with a primary school education during the 1970s and 1980s, were more likely to qualify for legal emigration to the United States, and/or a primary school education increases the ability of illegal migrants to secure minimum wage jobs once in the United States. (Easton and Fass 1989). The purpose of this thesis is to explore the relationship between the rise in primary school enrollment rates in Haiti between 1973-1985, and Haitian emigration to the United States during this period.

## **1.2 PROBLEM TO BE STUDIED**

Since 1973 an increasing number of Haitian households with school age children, have invested scarce resources in schooling their children. Fifty-nine percent of children enrolled in school in 1982/1983, were enrolled in private schools. These schools require payment (i.e. enrollment fees, tuition, books and materials, report cards), as opposed to public schools. The reason(s) for Haiti's comparatively high gross primary school enrollment rate has not been fully explored in the literature. Academics, and foreign consultants, have commented on this anomaly but few have set out to test hypotheses on the subject. (Cf. Easton and Fass 1989; Fass 1988). Simon Fass has suggested that the rise in primary school enrollment rates in Haiti may be attributed to a number of factors, one of which is the increase likelihood of emigration to the United States of persons with some years of formal education. According to Fass

Emigration effects at the primary level are far from negligible...Although most emigrants through the early 1970s were high school graduates or better, the scale and composition of the movement changed radically thereafter. A greater proportion of those with no more than a primary education began to head for destinations, principally the United States,

where savings that could be extracted from minimum-wage work were considerably higher than average earnings in Haiti...Primary education played a gatekeeping function for emigration because it was generally a minimum requirement to pass consulate screening for visa applications and, for those emigrating illegally, was helpful in securing employment and resisting involuntary repatriation. (p.187).

Professor Fass does not present data in support of his assertion of a relationship between emigration and the rise in primary school enrollment rates since 1973. This thesis explores the hypothesis attributed to Fass (1989), that the increase in primary school enrollment rates since 1972, is related to increases in the number of Haitians emigrating to the United States. Data will be presented on the variable of interest, the educational attainment level of Haitian immigrants to the United States between 1973-1985. The basic hypothesis is that irrespective of immigration status in the United States (legal or undocumented), Haitian immigrants who entered the United States between 1973-1985, who were/are between the ages of 18-60, possess more years of formal education than their counterparts in Haiti. And it is suggested that through informal networks of Haitians who have successfully emigrated to the United States, and those still in Haiti, information regarding the requirements for successful emigration to the United States has been transmitted and based thereon families have decided to invest in education in lieu of other investments.

### **1.3 MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION**

Why are Haitian households with school age children investing their scarce resources in primary school education in an economy of extreme poverty, with a high opportunity

costs to capital and a relatively low rate of return on investments to education in the formal labor market?

#### **1.4 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

Haiti's population is young, an estimated 35-40% of the population is school age. It is expected that the demand for education will remain strong into the next century. The Haitian Government, with financial and technical assistance from multilateral aid agencies, the World Bank, and donor countries, has been engaged during the past three years in a major effort to assess the present and future needs of the education sector. A number of studies have been undertaken to evaluate the sector's available resources, the quality of education, and administration of education and schools throughout the country. The culmination of this effort will be a national education plan. In my review of the literature I found that although many presume to know and understand the reasons why Haitian households invest scarce household income on schooling their children, none have tested these hypotheses empirically. Although this thesis does not remedy this deficiency, the purpose is to present data on the rising enrollment of children in Haiti between 1973 and 1985, and the educational attainment level of Haitian legal and illegal immigrants to the United States between 1973-1985. And suggest areas for further research.

If we assume that household decisions to invest in primary education is based on the expectation of higher lifetime earnings for those with some years of schooling, than in an economy with a high demand for educated or skilled labor, such investments are justified.



(Psacharopoulos 1973; Cf Bennell 1996). But the formal economy in Haiti cannot absorb its increasing labor force. According to one study the average (private) rate of return to primary education in Haiti in 1987 was lower than the average for all developing countries, 27% vs. 29%. (IIES 1987). The average total rate of return to education in Haiti in 1987, was 12% as compared to that of comparable economies, with a 29% average total rate of return to education. UNICEF (1996), has noted that the demand for education in Haiti is so strong that families will forgo consumption of food and water to ensure that they can meet school costs for their children. In a country described by the World Bank as "...the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere. [with] [s]ocial indicators [that] are alarming...", understanding why this population is willing to forgo the consumption of food and/or water to enroll their children in school suggest that they are either acting irrationally or they perceive benefits to education not fully understood by policy makers. (Easton and Fass 1989).

## **1.5 METHODOLOGY**

My findings and conclusions are based on primary and secondary sources. Data is presented from the following sources: United States Bureau of Census; the United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service; The Annuaire Statistique des Ecoles Primaires Privees 1993-1994; Diagnostic Technique du Systeme Educatif Haitien 1995; Haiti: Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment: March 1987 (IIES 1987); The United Nations Economic Survey of Latin America :1979-1985; Haiti: Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment 1987; The Cost of Schooling: Overview of Findings From the Survey of Household Education Expenditure (January-

July 1991); works by experts on Haiti, and education in developing countries. Lastly, recourse was made to survey data by others. Specifically, I present the results of a survey conducted by Alejandro Portes, and Alex Stepick of 499 Haitian immigrants residing in South Florida in 1983-1984, who arrived in the United States after January 1980; as well as data culled from dissertations of doctoral candidates in anthropology and education; and telephone interviews with past and present experts who have worked/are working in the field of education in Haiti.

## 1.6 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL OVERVIEW OF HAITI: 1972-1985

Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. Per capita GNP is the lowest in the Western Hemisphere.<sup>6</sup> Between 1975-1984 the average annual rate of growth in per capita GNP was 0.7%. Income distribution is highly unequal, with less than one percent of the population holding approximately 45% of the country's wealth.<sup>7</sup>

One measure of a country's level of economic development is manufacturing's share of gross domestic product. In 1981 manufacturing accounted for 18% of GDP, in contrast agriculture accounted for 32% of GDP in 1981.(United Nations Trade and Commerce Conference 1985). Sixty-five percent of the population in 1983 earned their living from subsistence agriculture, another 15.2% worked in commerce, restaurants and hotels, while manufacturing accounted for no more than 6.4% of employment. (See Table 1.1E Structure of Employment in Haiti 1983). Haiti has few natural resources available for successful exploitation. Its forests, fisheries and agricultural land have been exhausted over the past century to meet the country's growing needs. If Haiti is to achieve economic growth in the next century it will have to rely on its human capital for much of that growth. However an overview of the country's social indicators for the period of this study as well as current data , provide little optimism for economic growth based on the quality of its human capital. The Haitian education sector is characterized by limited access, and poor quality schools. Although the primary school enrollment has been rising

---

<sup>6</sup> World Development Report 1979, (Oxford University Press) p.126.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 172.

since 1973, the proportion of children enrolled in school is the lowest in Latin America and the Caribbean.

In 1975, Haiti's adult literacy rate stood at 23%. The proportion of the population 25 years and older in 1982 with no schooling was 77%. The highest by far among the Caribbean countries. (See Table 1.1C). The average annual rate of growth of the labor force between 1970-1977 was 1.7%, and is expected to grow at a rate of 2.2% into the year 2000.<sup>8</sup> Given the current structure of the economy it is expected that many of these workers will have to live off of Haiti's already exhausted land.

Life expectancy in Haiti was the lowest in the region in 1977, at 51 years, a full 16 years less than that of Haiti's nearest neighbor the Dominican Republic.<sup>9</sup> Infant mortality in 1980, was 108 per 1000 live births, the second highest in Latin America, exceeded only by Bolivia on this indicator.<sup>10</sup> Average caloric intake per day per person in 1978-1980, was 1,882 calories, approximately 92% of the minimum daily requirement.<sup>11</sup> In 1976, only 14% of the population had access to drinking water. In light of these statistics, the question still remains what benefits to schooling did/do Haitian households perceive?

## 1.7 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There are few explanations in the literature for the rise in the country's primary school enrollment rate between 1973-1985. The most comprehensive discussion of the subject is

---

<sup>8</sup> World Development Report 1979, (Oxford University Press), p. 162.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p.126.

<sup>10</sup> World Bank 1995 Social Indicators of Development.

<sup>11</sup> According to the Economic Intelligence Unit, 1995-1996, Haiti had the lowest average caloric intake in the Americas in 1989, at 2,013 calories per day per person.

presented by Easton and Fass (1989), and Fass (1988; 1995). Relying on data from two small household surveys conducted by Fass in 1976, the authors conclude that for some of the poorest families in Haiti, there are monetary consumption benefits associated with sending their children to school that exceed the opportunity cost of capital in the informal credit market, and the opportunities afforded by successful emigration to the United States. According to Easton and Fass, the rate of return to capital in the formal credit markets of low-income countries is largely irrelevant to the majority of persons without access to these credit markets. Thus they argue, the prevailing rate in the formal credit market cannot provide the basis of an analysis of investment decisions by the poor in developing countries. More appropriate they claim are the informal credit markets, and correspondingly the prevailing interest rates in these markets for small loans of a few dollars. The authors estimate that the prevailing interest rate in the informal credit market at the time of their study, was between 200-300 percent, as compared to 12% in the formal credit market. Thus depending on the interest rate used, the decision by Haitian families to invest in primary schooling where the rate of return in lifetime earnings for those with a primary education, ranged between 25-71% (according to their estimates) was either very rational or totally irrational. Irrational, unless Haitian households believed that there were benefits to schooling that went beyond traditional cost-benefit analysis.

Using data collected from a small sample of 233 families living in Port-au-Prince in 1976, the authors found that four of the poorest households earning \$4.85 per month per adult, (enough according to their calculations to finance 1500 calories and 30 grams of protein a day assume all went to food), sent their children to private schools. These

households expended 7.2% of average family income to send nearly all school-age members to school. According to the authors foster parents sponsorship programs, and school feeding programs make justify such investments. Foster parent sponsorship programs, which in 1989 went to only one-third of students attending PVO-sponsored schools, provided students, and the students' household with a kind of social safety net. Specifically, if a household had at least one child in school, all family members qualified for emergency assistance such as "medical service payments, medicines, short-term loans to reconstruct trade or manufacturing activities lost through theft or fire..." In addition, the students who qualified for sponsorship in the sample, also received a daily meal. Today such meal programs are ubiquitous in Haiti's private schools.(IIES 1987). According to the authors these incentives to schooling in the absence of comparable assistance from government, may well justify the costs of education to the poorest households, and by implication explain the rise in primary school enrollment rates.

As noted above Easton and Fass acknowledge the effects of emigration on household decisions to invest in education. But they discount the possibility that poor households with short time horizons would invest scarce resources on schooling their children with the hope that this would enable them to successfully emigrate to the United States.

Other explanations found in the literature for the rise in Haiti's gross primary school enrollment rate since 1973 are: a) the high proportion of school age children in the general population, estimated to be between 35-40% (UNICEF 1996); b) the emigration effects noted above, and discussed at length below (Fass 1988; 1989); c) the reduction in

farm size in the past twenty-five years, resulting in a reduction in demand for child labor (Fass 1995); c) social pressures (Fass 1995); and d) the opportunity afforded those with a few years of education to take advantage of the opportunity to open their own school. (IIES 1987).

### International Labor Migration

According to human capital theory, migration, whether internal or external, is one form of investment in human capital. It is feasible that Haitian households have chosen to use education and emigration as one strategy for economic and social mobility. International labor migration theory offers the “push-pull” model to explain why people migrate from one country to another. According to the model, the decision to emigrate is based on adverse economic opportunities/conditions in the home country, and an expectation of higher earnings in the receiving country. In other words the pull factors justify the decision to emigrate. The model presupposes perfect information by would be immigrants regarding the receiving country’s labor market, and other conditions. Portes and Rumbaut (1990), have pointed out that the model is based on erroneous assumptions regarding the characteristics of immigrants; the decision-making process involved before one emigrates; and that it fails to take into consideration the differences that exist between the sending nation-states, the size and direction of migrant flows, and among individuals in the same country or region. They propose as alternatives to the push-pull model, what they call the “Macrostructures of Labor Migration”, and the

“Microstructures of Labor Migration”. Both approaches suggest one possible explanation for the rise in Haitian migration to the United States since 1972.

According to the Macrostructures of Labor Migration approach, the flow of (illegal) labor from one country to another is a product of interventions in the economic and social structure of the sending country prior to the onset of emigration. Illustrative of this point according to the authors is the illegal migration of labor from Mexico, and the migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland during this century.

...the major Spanish-origin communities now established in the United States...[ were established by people from] countries[that] were each in its time, subjects of an expansionists pattern through which successive US governments sought to remold the country's periphery. This pattern of intervention undermined the framework of social and economic life constructed under Spanish rule and reoriented it toward North American institutions and culture. *The restructuring process preceded, not followed, the onset of massive labor migrations that gave rise to today's Hispanic communities.* (Portes 19?, p. 225).

Applying Portes' and Rumbaudt macrostructure of labor migration approach to the Haitian situation, the first observation is that although Haiti was occupied by the United States early in this century, this experience does not appear to have had an effect on the out migration of Haitians to the United States in the period after the occupation. In contrast the mass migration of the country's wealthier members to the United States in the 1960s, the ambiguous but no less real support the United States provided the Duvalier regime during the 1970s, and 1980s, as well as increases in tourism from the United States during the same period, may have contributed to the redirection of the economic, social and cultural focus of Haitian society from France, (or other countries) to



the United States. And led to the mass legal and illegal migration of Haitians in the 1970s, and 1980s.

The decision to emigrate in search of better economic opportunity is not made en masse, but rather is a complex and often costly decision made by an individual. But the decision is not made in a vacuum. According to the microstructures of labor migration approach, migrants in a family or community pass on knowledge regarding the receiving country to the younger members. “Networks connect individuals and groups distributed unevenly across space, maximizing their economic opportunities through multiple displacements.”<sup>12</sup>

An estimated 450,000 legal and illegal Haitian immigrants resided in the United States in 1980. Between 1980-1981, an estimated 600-1300 illegal Haitian immigrants arrived (via homemade boats) in southern Florida. According to one estimate there were 30,000 Haitians living in the Miami area in 1981. (Allman 1982). Some writers have observed that the Haitian immigrant community in the United States is a fractured community, lacking the cohesiveness of the Cuban community in Florida. <sup>13</sup> A survey conducted in Leogane, located in Haiti’s Western Department, however, suggest otherwise.

According to this survey of 124 households, three out of every four households claimed to have at least one close family member (parent, child, spouse, or sibling), as living “over there”, commonly understood to refer to Florida. The author observed that the

---

<sup>12</sup> Portes, Alejandro (1990).

<sup>13</sup> Portes, Alejandro (1990).

network between and among communities in Haiti and the United States remain strong through religious, cultural, and social institutions. (Richman 1990). According to her :

The [voodoo] gods and the ritual specialists...play crucial roles in perpetuating transnational ties between the two locations. Other factors include: 1) people from the village tend to remain together in the US and to form conjugal ties with fellow Haitians; 2) messengers of the migration travel regularly between these Florida cities and Haitian villages carrying money, gifts, and news...; 3) migrants repatriate their savings; fully three-fourths of the home community depends upon remittances; 4) migrants send funds to finance the construction of homes; 5) migrants return for visits and they establish conjugal unions with local spouses (who will remain there at least for the short term); 6) many of these emigrants have carried out or will engage in what has been termed “cyclical” “circular” or “recurrent” migration...; and 7) emigrants sponsor the voyages of other family members, whose, strategies and decision making in turn, argue guided by a transnational orientation. (pp. 68-69).

Assuming that information regarding the requirements for success in the United States is understood by this immigrant community to include the attainment of a certain level of education, it is not improbable that this information informed/informs household decisions to invest in education.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter I present background information on the education sector in Haiti, and I evaluate the state's role in education in the country. In part 2 of this chapter I present data on the evolution of the gross primary school enrollment rate for the period 1973-1985, and the characteristics of this change in enrollment rates. The latter part of this chapter will provide the context for the presentation and analysis of data on emigration and education presented in chapter 3.

### **2.2 THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION IN HAITI**

In this section I consider:

- The structure of primary education in Haiti;
- The characteristics of the public and private school subsectors; and
- The role of the Haitian state in the education sector.

#### **The Structure of Primary Education in Haiti**

In 1979, Haiti adopted the Organic Law, pursuant to which primary education in the nation's schools was to be organized. Prior to the adoption of this law, primary education in Haiti consisted of a 6 year cycle: Cours Préparatoire I and II, Cours Élémentaire I and

II, Cours Moyen I and II. Many children start school with the classe enfantine, a one year class designed to prepare children to enter primary school. <sup>14</sup> Under the traditional structure inherited from the old French education system, there is no automatic promotion to the next grade. Instruction is in French, although according to a 1987 sector assessment, many schools teach in Creole, the only language spoken by the majority. At the completion of the six years of primary education children who successfully pass the state examination are awarded the Certificat d'Etudes Primaries.

In contrast to the traditional education system is the structure of education under the 1979 Organic Law. The new structure, referred to as the Reforme Educative or Reforme for short, calls for 10 years of basic education broken into 3 cycles. The first cycle consists of 4 years of instruction and is designed so that children who successfully complete the cycle will have attained (it is hoped), permanent literacy. Children under the new structure begin school in the fall after their sixth birthday. There is automatic promotion to the next grade, but teacher evaluations determine promotion to the next level. Children are taught in the vernacular, Creole for the first cycle and French is taught as a second language. In the second cycle instruction is in French. Seventy-three percent of schools in 1984 were still operating under the traditional system. (IIES 1987 citing to UNESCO).

### The Public Schools

As indicated above, 59% of children enrolled in Haiti's schools in 1982/1983 were enrolled in private schools, while the other 41% were enrolled in public schools. The

---

<sup>14</sup> Children repeat this class multiple times.

Ministry of Education is responsible for overseeing both public and private education in Haiti. There are three types of public schools: Lay, Congregational, and Communal. Lay schools are managed and financed by the Ministry of Education. Congregational schools are managed by a Catholic order charged with organizing and directing school administration and instruction. Finally, congregational public schools are sponsored and financed by the geographic administrative units of government known as communes. (IIES 1987).

### Private Schools

In contrast to the public schools, there is greater diversity in the types of private schools in Haiti. There are Lay schools which are for profit institutions operated by individuals. The quality of instruction ranges from very good to very poor, depending on how much one is willing to pay to educate one's children. Many lay schools are located in urban areas where demand for schooling is high. Similar to the public schools, there are congregational schools in the private sector, but these are supported by fees and church support. Presbyterian schools are Catholic schools organized according to dioceses. Outside Church-Supported schools are started and operate by Protestant organizations. Financial support for these schools comes from local and foreign sources. Local Church-Supported schools are started and operated by local churches, and seem to have few resources. School fees if required tend to be minimal. Many of these schools are in the rural areas of the country. Lastly Community schools are schools organized, built, and funded by the community. Most community schools are located in remote rural areas.

## **2.3 EDUCATION AND THE HAITIAN STATE**

The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports is the government body charged with the formulation and implementation of the country's education policies and programs. A state's commitment to education is commonly understood to be reflected in the proportion of its national budget allocated to the sector, and the quality of state oversight of the sector. In this section I consider the state's role in meeting the rising demand for education during the study period. Specifically I present data on the growth in the number of public and private schools in Haiti between 1973-1983. And I summarize the available data, and evaluations on the efficacy of the state to set and enforce standards in the areas of curriculum development, teacher certification, and school inspection and the quality of education in the country generally.

Since 1981, the Haitian government has reportedly allocated an average of 14% of the state's budget to education. (Loecher 1990). Because public expenditures do not exceed 10% of GDP, the share of GDP allocated to education in Haiti was limited to 1.0-1.8%, during the study period. (See Graph 2). As a result of the state's low level of investment in schools an active private sector evolved in response to the demand for education.

Table 1.1D indicates that during the period 1973 to 1982, the number of public primary schools in Haiti increased from 891 to 995, or by 11.6%. In contrast, the private school system expanded over the decade by 45.4%. The rise in the number of enrollments is indicated in Table 2.3A. The increase in the number of private schools in Haiti during this period, without a comparable increase in the number of public schools has had

negative consequences in terms of limiting access to only those able to pay for education, or imposed undue burdens on the poorest members of the society and has compromised the quality of education in Haiti.

Data on school costs for the period of this study were not available, but information on household expenditures on schooling was recently compiled by Research Triangle Institute (1995). According to the results of a survey of 700 households with students, conducted in 1991, the average household expenditure on direct schooling costs was 1756 gourdes. The average urban household with students spent 2,854 gourdes, while its counterpart in the country's rural areas spent 1323 gourdes on direct schooling costs.<sup>15</sup> Assuming an exchange rate of 14 gourdes to \$1 US dollar, Haitian households spent on average \$US 125.00 to send their children to school in 1991. Household expenditures on school was an estimated 12.2% of GDP in 1994, versus an estimated 2.2% of GDP expended by the state. (Research Triangle Institute et al. 1995).

It bears recalling that according to the World Bank per capita GNP in Haiti in 1991 was \$320. Thus Haitian households were spending 39% of annual household income on education in 1991. Because state expenditures both in terms of the proportionate share of GDP allocated to the sector, and how the education budget is allocated, has remained the same for the last forty years, it is fair to assume that Haitian households were spending proportionately higher levels of GDP on educating their children than was the Haitian state during the period of this study.

---

<sup>15</sup> Direct schooling costs for purposes of the survey were registration fees, tuition, textbooks, school bags, shoes, uniforms, writing materials, report cards, and canteen costs.

Another measure of the state's commitment to education is its demonstrated efficacy in setting policy, and implementing programs that assure a certain level of instructional quality. The Haitian state's failure to meet the rising demand for education has resulted in an education sector dominated by private schools, a substantial number of which provide substandard instruction. (IIES 1987). Although other factors affect a child's school performance, notably in Haiti's case malnutrition and poor health, the high drop out and repetition rates indicate that the education sector is highly inefficient.

The Haitian state has historically failed to set and enforce standards for all schools operating in the country, as well as monitor/inspect schools, and certify teachers. The result has been an education sector dominated by private schools to be owned/operated by persons with little more than a primary school education, and employ persons with comparable qualifications. Limited information for the period of this study regarding the state's oversight of the sector was available to me but a 1996 study noted:

Given the prevalence of private education in Haiti, the principle role of these State inspectors is certification of teachers and schools, and inspection to assure basic compliance with curriculum and instructional standards. Private school administrators in two communes reported that they had received no visits from inspectors in the last three years. In every locality we were advised that inspectors were engaged in private classes for fees in order to get by financially. Some inspectors had positions in the private schools they were supposed to audit for the Ministry. (Associates in Rural Development 1996).

Similar to many developing countries, the Haitian state is the single largest employer in the country. As indicated in Graph 3, state expenditure on education is disproportionately allocated towards staff salaries. Employment in the state bureaucracy has been a means of assuring political stability. One's competence to perform the job is irrelevant to the



decision to employ or not employ an incumbent. The Haitian state was/is by definition a predatory state. The impact of its predation on the education sector during the 1970s and 1980s, has been succinctly characterized by Loecher (1990):

...the public school system in Haiti is run by individuals whose personal interest does not lie in expanding and improving that public system but rather in improving their own working conditions within that system...Stagnating enrollments are combined with great budget increases. Salaries have more than doubled in real terms and very lucrative positions have been provided, including titles, jeeps and offices, for the few dozen specialists whose job ostensibly was to make the public school system grow in both quantity and quality. We therefore reject the interpretation that the dramatic loss of ground experienced by the public school system is due to historical accident, administrative bungling or lack of resources. The Haitian state has a public school system in its image; it has the system it deserves. The interests of the state and the interest of the nation are still a world apart. (pp. 116-117).

A combination of limited investment in the physical infrastructure and inadequate state oversight of the education sector has resulted in schools that lack internal and external efficiency.

Education experts measure the internal efficiency of schools by the repetition, dropout, and promotion rates. Similar to other developing countries schools in Haiti exhibit (and continues to have) high repetition, dropout, and low promotion rates . Table 2.3 D sets out the promotion, repetition, and dropout rates for 1981-1982. Less than 50% of children in the first grade were promoted that year. Over one quarter of children were left back, while one third dropped out. According to Table 2.3C, over 69% of 1000 children entering the first cycle of primary school will dropout before moving onto the next cycle. The average years of schooling of those who dropout is 3.83 years. Less years than the 4-5 years of schooling required to assure permanent literacy. It takes 6.83 years for those

promoted to the next cycle to complete a 4 year course of study. (Research Triangle Institute et al. 1995). Despite such mediocre performance parents continued and continue to enroll their children in school

#### **2.4 THE EVOLUTION OF PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATES 1973-1985**

In this section I present the available data on the gross primary school enrollment rate for the years 1973, 1975, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1984, and 1985.

The evolution of primary school enrollment rates in Haiti since the 1970s has been impressive, particularly when compared to enrollment rates in the first half of the century. Table 2.3A sets out the gross primary school enrollment rate for the years 1973, 1975, 1979, 1980, and 1985. Before turning to an analysis of the data, some cautionary notes: Many experts working in the area of education in developing countries do not rely exclusively on the gross primary school enrollment rate as a measure of participation in schooling because of the high proportion of overage children enrolled in school in these countries. The available data for Haiti however does not always indicate the net primary school enrollment rates. When possible the net primary school enrollment rate for a given year is stated along with the gross enrollment rate, unless specified all references in this thesis to the primary school enrollment rate is to the gross enrollment rate.

It should also be noted that although Haiti has experienced an increase in the proportion of school age children enrolled in school, the net enrollment rate in the country's rural areas is less than 50% of the school age population. The drop-out, and repetition rates are high, indicating that the education sector in Haiti has a low level of internal efficiency.

The focus on enrollment rates in this thesis should not be interpreted to mean that the level of participation is synonymous with school success and completion rates, it is not. Lastly, although there is some divergence between sources in the rate of increase, citations have been cross checked to assure that the trend was in the same direction, that is positive.

As indicated in Table 2.4A Haiti's primary school enrollment rate increased by 38% between 1973-1985.<sup>1617</sup> Explanations for the growth in public spending on education are based on presumed increases in real income per adult, and decreases in teachers' salaries relative to average incomes. Assuming an analogous relationship existed between private expenditure on education and increases in real income per adult in Haiti between 1976-1980, the growth in Haiti's GDP may explain the increase in primary school enrollment rate for the period. As indicated in Table 2.3B, Haiti's economy grew at an annual rate of 4.3% between 1976-1980. Assuming that this had a positive effect on income in the country generally, and that remittances from relatives living abroad also increased the income of the average Haitian, the rise in enrollment rates may be explained as a function of increases in real income. However that explanation has limited application for the period 1981-1985. Between 1981-1982, Haiti's economy contracted, and thereafter grew at less than 1% a year. Yet it is during this period of negative economic growth/slow

---

<sup>16</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Between 1985-1987, the primary school enrollment rate declined at a precipitous rate. In the 12 month period between 1986-1987, the data indicates enrollment rates in the country's primary schools decreased by 24%. This may be explained in part by the social and political disruptions of those years. Schools were often closed for successive days or weeks either by the authorities, or school administrators because of safety and other concerns. Additionally political and student groups encouraged students and their parents to boycott school as a form of protest against Haiti's successive interim governments between December 1987-1990. In 1994 the Ministry of Education reported that the primary school enrollment rate had resumed its upward trend.

down that Haiti experienced the greatest rise in its gross primary school enrollment rate. Fass (1988).

## **2.5 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RISE IN PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATE**

In this section I present the available data on : urban vs. rural enrollment rates; and the distribution by gender, of students enrolled in school between 1973-1985.

An estimated 70-80% of the Haitian population lived in the country's rural areas during study period. But the gross enrollment rate of school age children in rural schools was 55.5% as compared to 108.7% for urban schools in 1980/81. (IIES 1987) Net enrollment rates were 34 and 76% respectively.

Table 2.5A sets out the number of primary school students by gender, sector, location and geographic department in 1982/83. Table 2.5A sets out the number of students enrolled in school in each primary grade in 1982, by age, grade, and gender. This table underscores the fact that primary schools in Haiti are hampered by a large proportion of overage children in the primary grades. The enfantine classes, or preschool in 1982-1983, where the normal age is between 3-5 years old, one observes that children as old as 16 years of age are still enrolled in this grade. Similarly in grades 1-6 one notes that in grade 1 where the age of entry is 6 years old, one finds that 10,573 children who are younger than the age of entry. The majority of students however are overage. There were 24,006 children who were appropriate age, while 112,727 of first graders were overage students. This is true for all grades in the study period. The defining characteristic of Haiti's increasing demand for education between 1973-1985, was the high proportion of

overage students in Haiti's primary schools. Unfortunately the situation has not improved in the past decade. Table 2.5B is reproduced from a recent survey of the nation's private schools (private schools account for 80% of primary schools in Haiti today). The proportion of overage students in all but two departments, exceeds 50% of students. Only 44.5% of students enrolled in primary school in 1994 were the appropriate age for their grade, while 55% were overage. (FONHEP 1994).

The column totals in Table 2.5A indicate that although the number of males enrolled in school is higher than that of females, girls constituted 46.5% of all children enrolled in primary grades 1-6 in 1982/83. (Cf. Miller 1992). And girls accounted for almost 60% of those enrolled in the 5th grade in 1982/83, suggesting that girls are not discriminated against when it comes time to promoting them to the higher grades. The figures on female participation in school between 1973-1985, are consistent with more recent information on gender distribution in primary grades. Girls represented 48.2% of the primary school student population for each of the years 1988-1991. (Diagnostic Technique du Systeme Educatif Haitien, 1995). Explanations for the apparent parity between female and male enrollment rates vary. Some perceive the high proportion of female headed households as one explanation, while others attribute it to the reduction in the labor requirements of the traditional Haitian farm household.(UNICEF 1996). This is an area requiring further research. In the next chapter I consider the migration of Haitians to other Caribbean nations and the United States, and the characteristics of these migrants, specifically their educational attainment levels.

## CHAPTER 3

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Migration and education are important vehicles of upward social mobility for the poor and marginalized groups of many countries, but notably for those countries characterized as low-income. Jointly or separately, investments in human capital through migration (internal or external) and/or education by prior generations have informed the decisions of subsequent generations in the developing world seeking greater financial resources, economic and social power. The “push-pull” model of migration favored by neoclassical economics views the migrants decision to leave his/her home country, as based on the differential in real income between the home country and the new country. (Clark 1986) (cf. Perusek 1984). During the last three decades there has been an unprecedented rise in the number of persons emigrating to the United States from Haiti.(Allman 1982).

The mass external migration of Haitians in this century started with the emigration of Haitian labor to work the fields of American owned sugar plantations in Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. (Perusek 1984). The skill and education level of these early migrants was low, and the conditions under which they lived and worked were deplorable.<sup>18</sup> The reluctant acceptance of Haitian migrant labor by the governments of

---

<sup>18</sup> Perusek quoting Wingfield : “The life of a Haitian migrant worker in the Dominican Republic is reminiscent of slavery days. Their work consists of cutting or carting cane from dawn to dusk. The companies provide them with shacks and hammocks but they have to shift for themselves for food. It is incredible how they subsist on a meager diet of a little rice and beans which they cook themselves on open fires with occasionally some bread and very rarely some meat. They get their energy from the cane they chew all day long while working...The return trip is at the expense of the worker and sometimes uses up half his savings. Some actually walk all the way back...since the majority are illiterate, they are occasionally short-changed when converting their Dominican pesos into Haitian gourdes...It is on the whole a shocking exploitation of people who are educationally and economically deprived and defenseless...” (Perusek 1984).

Cuba and the Dominican Republic was prompted by the refusal of the indigenous labor force to work the foreign owned sugar plantations in these countries. Fear of a mass exodus of Haitians to these countries resulted in the admission of Haitians as seasonal laborers who were expected to go home after the cane cutting season.

Despite the harsh working and living conditions in these countries, Haitian legal and illegal migration to Cuba, and the Dominican Republic was strong during the first half of the century, until 1959 when the Cuban Revolution, and appropriation of American owned sugar plantations effectively ended the flow of Haitian labor to that country.

Haitian migration to the Dominican Republic although interrupted by that government's massacre of 25,000 Haitians in 1937, resumed in 1939. The emigration of Haitian labor to work the sugar cane fields of the Dominican Republic has since 1952 been assured through a series of agreements between successive Haitian and Dominican governments. (Perusek 1984).

Mass Haitian migration to the United States, both legal and illegal, occurred late in this century. The available data indicates that in the ten year period between 1951-1961, only 4,400 Haitian born persons had legally immigrated to the United States. According to Allman (1982), Haitian Non-Immigrant and Temporary Visitors totaled 650,000 between 1956-1978. He estimates that that number could have reached over 800,000 in 1980, assuming the number of persons with such visas remained at 1977 levels for the years 1979, 1980. Based on the assumption that 50% of persons with non-immigrant and temporary visitor visas remained in the US illegally, Allman estimates that the total number of Haitian immigrants in the US in 1980 was 450,000. (Allman 1982). The three

states with the highest concentrations of Haitian immigrants are New York, Florida and Massachusetts. Based on unconfirmed estimates of 600-1300 illegal Haitian immigrants arriving in southern Florida between 1980-1981, estimates are that the Haitian immigrant population in the Miami area in 1981, was approximately 30,000 strong. Who are these immigrants? And why have they come to the United States. I consider the answers to these questions in the second part of this chapter.

### **3.2 EDUCATION AND EMIGRATION OF HAITIANS TO THE UNITED STATES**

The principle purpose of this thesis is to explore whether the relationship between education and emigration in the context of Haitian emigration to the US since 1972. The study population of interest are the legal and illegal Haitian immigrants who entered the United States between 1972-1985. The expectation is that the data supports the conclusion that Haitian emigrants to the United States between 1972-1985 possess on average higher levels of education than Haitians living in Haiti during the period of the study.

According to the Miller (1992), seventy-seven percent of Haiti's adult population 25 years and older, had no schooling in 1982. (See Table 1.1C). In contrast my findings indicate that 64.4% of Haitian immigrants who entered the US before 1980, were high school graduates, while 57% of legal Haitian immigrants 25 years and older, who entered the US after 1980, were high school graduates. Survey data on illegal Haitian immigrants



who entered the US after 1980 indicates that although not as well educated as the legal adult immigrant population, these immigrants nevertheless possess more years of formal education than those back home. In this section I present data on the flow and characteristics of Haitian immigrants to the United States since 1960.

The Statistical Abstract of the United States 1980, indicates that 34,500 persons claiming Haiti as the country of their last permanent residence emigrated to the United States between 1961-1970. This figure is in sharp contrast with the number for the previous decade, of 4,400. This amounted to a seven fold increase in the volume of legal immigration from Haiti than had been observed between 1951-1960. Between 1970-1978 43,700 persons claiming Haiti as the country of their last permanent resident emigrated to the United States. A sample of the population of Haitian immigrants who entered the US before 1980, reveals that they are older, and as well educated as other immigrants to the United States for the period. Table 3.2A presents data on the education attainment levels and median age of a sample of immigrants to the United States from Haiti, and the that of immigrants from a total of 41 countries who arrived prior to 1980.<sup>19</sup> . As indicated, over 64.4% of Haitian emigrants were high school graduates; 13.4% were college graduates; and 8% had professional degrees. The proportion of all immigrants to the US in 1980, with high school degrees was at 66.5 slightly more than that for Haitians immigrants. The proportion of Haitian emigrants who had completed 4 or more years of college was 13.4 % versus 16.2% of all immigrants to the US for the period. Immigrants with a

---

<sup>19</sup> Countries included are: Asia; Latin America; North America; and Europe.

professional specialty constituted only 8% of the sample population of Haitian immigrants as contrasted to 12.3% for all immigrants to the US for the period.

A great deal is known about the socio-economic characteristics of the first wave of Haitian immigrants to the United States. Because of their wealth, education and language skills it may be said that they found it easier than subsequent Haitian immigrants to adapt to life in the United States. In contrast much less is known about those immigrants who came between 1972-1980. Their arrival in the United States was not preceded by national political upheaval. This group of immigrants is discussed in the next section.

### **3.3 HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE US 1980-1985**

Data from the 1990 US Census indicates that in contrast to the first flow of immigrants from Haiti, those who came after 1980, report far lower levels of educational attainment. Table 3.3A presents the educational attainment level of immigrants from Haiti 25 years and older who arrived in the United States after 1980. A total of 57% of post-1980 arrivals were high school graduates (contrasted with 64.4% of pre-1980 immigrants) and of these 36% had attended college.<sup>20</sup> In a country with an illiteracy rate between 65-75% of the adult population in 1984, the proportion of persons holding high school degrees and possessing some schooling beyond high school among post-1980 arrivals is unexpected. The data suggest that the post-1980 immigrants stayed in school in Haiti in

---

<sup>20</sup> Stepick and Portes (1984), made a similar observation in an article summarizing "Flight into Despair: A Profile of Recent Haitian Refugees in South Florida." ( *International Migration Review* Vol. XX, No. 2 198?); pp. 329-349, p. 336.

excess of the years of the majority of Haitian students, and/or that these immigrants are coming to the United States and continuing their education.

Many Americans associate Haitian immigrants to the United States with their means of travel, i.e. as “boat people”. Mass illegal immigration from Haiti to the United States via homemade boats began in 1972 and differed dramatically from earlier flows in the means of travel, destination, and characteristics of emigrants. As Stepick notes:

All... [prior flows of Haitian immigration] are different from that of the Haitian boat people; those individuals crammed themselves 20-30 at a time into a 25-foot, barely seaworthy boats for a perilous 700 mile trip to southern Florida... In 1972, a virtually continuous flow of boats with refugees seeking political asylum began to land in Florida. In contrast to previous flows to the United States, the boat people are primarily poor rural, and black. <sup>21</sup>

Data on the characteristics of Haitian illegal immigrants who entered the United States between 1972-1985, is limited. The available data is presented below. The data sources are a random sample survey of Haitian immigrants residing in South Florida in 1983-1984, who arrived in the United States after 1980; a non-random purposive studies of the Haitian immigrant population residing in Massachusetts; and a random survey of immigrants residing in New York City in the 1970s. The two latter studies were undertaken by doctoral candidates in fulfillment of their degree requirements in sociology, and education respectively. Before presenting the data, and undertaking an analysis thereof, I will provide in each case a summary of the study goals, methodology,

---

<sup>21</sup> Stepick, A “The Haitian Exodus: From Flight from Terror and Poverty”, in B. Levine, ed. The Caribbean Exodus, (Praeger, 1987); pp. 131-147, p.137

and study population. The variable of interest is the educational attainment level of the adult immigrant population from Haiti who entered the United States after 1972.

**I. SURVEY ON THE ADAPTATION PROCESS OF CUBAN (MARIEL) AND HAITIAN REFUGEES IN SOUTH FLORIDA, 1983-1987**

According to the researchers the purpose of this survey was to explore the economic, social and psychological adaptation of Cuban (Mariel) and Haitian refugees in South Florida, who entered the US after January 1980. The survey was based on stratified multi-staged area samples from two cities and one town in Florida, all three identified with high concentration of Haitians: Miami, Ft. Lauderdale, and the town of Belle Glade. The strata were the little Haiti sections of Miami, and Ft. Lauderdale, and the town of Belle Glade. Census tracts with high concentrations of Haitian immigrants were identified, and marked off. Blocks were the primary sampling units, and each was given a unique three digit numbers and chosen through a simple random sample procedure. The probability of a household on a block being picked was fixed at one. The universe of eligible households consisted of those households with at least one Haitian immigrant between 18-60 years of age who arrived in the United States on or after January 1, 1980. Among the chosen units one person meeting these criteria was interviewed, and provided the interviewers information about themselves and other members of the household. The survey consisted of 499 Haitian adults, between the ages of 18-60, who arrived in the United States on or after January 1980.

Fifty-nine percent of study respondents were female. On average female respondents reported fewer years of education in Haiti than did their male counterparts, 3.7 years for

women versus 5.9 years for men. Less than 2% of the women were high school graduates, while nearly 10% of the male respondents had high school degrees. The average number of years of schooling for the study sample was 4.6. The proportion of all study respondents who were high school graduates was 4.9%.

**TABLE 2.3 B      AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF GDP FOR  
HAITI: 1973-1985**

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>ANNUAL GROWTH RATE</b>
1973	1.2
1974	6.3
1975	-2.3
1976	8.6
1977	0.5
1978	4.8
1979	7.3
1980	7.6
1981	-2.7
1982	-3.4
1983	0.8
1984	0.3
1985	0.2

*Source: World Tables 1995*

**TABLE 3.1A                    EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT ATTAINMENT  
LEVELS OF PRE-1980 EMIGRANTS**

<b>Education Attainment Levels (%)</b>	<b>Haitian Emigrants to U.S. Pre-1980: Sample Size 92,400</b>	<b>Selected Characteristics of Foreign-Born Population of U.S. (1980)</b>
High School Graduate	64.4	66.5
College Graduate/4 or more years of college	13.4	16.2
Professional Specialty	8.0	12.3
Service Occupation	27.4	12.9
Median Household Income in 1979 dollars	13,377	16, 841

**TABLE 3.1B****EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT LEVEL OF  
IMMIGRANTS TO U.S. FROM HAITI, POST-1980.**

<b>EDUCATION BY GRADE LEVEL/FINAL DEGREE</b>	<b>NUMBER: TOTAL 173,615</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
Less than 5th grade	18,190	10.4
5th-8th grade	15,092	8.7
9th-12th grade no diploma	40,397	23.3
H.S. Grad	37,267	21.4
Some college no degree	28,915	16.6
Associate degree, occupational program	6,649	3.8
Associate degree, academic program	6,649	3.8
B.A.	12,958	7.4
Masters degree	3,274	1.9
Professional degree	3,779	2.2
Doctorate Degree	445	0.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>173,615</b>	<b>100.0</b>

SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF CENSUS -- *Selected Characteristics Of Foreign Born Population -- 1990*



TABLE 3.1C

**COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT  
LEVELS OF PRE-1980 AND POST-1980 IMMIGRANTS**

<b>EDUCATION BY GRADE LEVEL/FINAL DEGREE</b>	<b>PRE-1980 IMMIGRANTS (%)</b>	<b>POST-1980 IMMIGRANTS (%)</b>
Less than 5th grade	N/A	10
5th-8th grade	N/A	9
9th-12th grade no diploma	N/A	23
H.S. Grad	64.4	21
Some college no degree	N/A	17
Associate degree, occupational program	N/A	4
Associate degree, academic program	N/A	4
B.A.	13.4	7
Masters degree	N/A	2
Professional degree	8.0	2
Doctorate Degree	N/A	0.3
Service Occupations	27.4	0

**TABLE 3.3A EDUCATION ATTAINMENT LEVEL OF A SAMPLE OF HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH FLORIDA IN 1984**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Categories</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<b>Education in Haiti</b>	Average Years	5.9	3.7	4.6
	% H.S. Grad.	9.6	1.8	4.9
<b>Education in US</b>	% No US Edu.	45.4	43.4	44.2
	% English courses only	86.7	86.0	86.3
	Average Months	7.6	6.6	7.0
<b>Knowledge of English</b>	% None	39.5	60.7	52.2
	Some	50.1	38.3	40.0
	Moderate/Extensive	10.5	1.0	7.8

*Source: "Flight Into Despair: A Profile of Recent Haitian Refugees in South Florida" (Stepick & Portes 1984).*

The high proportion of female respondents in the study is not consistent with data from US Census Bureau on the proportion of women in the (legal) Haitian immigrant population, 25 years and over who entered the US after 1980; they constituted 49.8% of the immigrant population, substantially lower than the 59% in the Portes study. It is unclear why there were more women in this sample population than in the general immigrant population.

Table 3.3B indicates that the study population was younger than that of the general Haitian immigrant population in the US. The median age of legal Haitian immigrants who entered the US after 1980, was 38 . In contrast the median age of study respondents was 29 years old.

**TABLE 3.3B GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF A SAMPLE OF  
HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH FLORIDA IN 1984**

	NUMBER	PERCENT
Male	204	40.9
Female	294	59.1
TOTAL	498	100.00

*Source: "Flight Into Despair: A Profile of Recent Haitian Refugees in South Florida" (Stepick & Portes 1984).*

**TABLE 3.3C GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Categories</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<b>Age</b>	Median	30	29	29
<b>Marital Status</b>	% Single	53.6	48.5	49.8
<b>Province of Birth</b>	% North	14.6	22.5	19.3
	% Northwest	44.0	48.4	46.6
	% West	26.9	16.8	20.8
	% Other	14.5	12.3	13.3
<b>Size Place of Birth</b>	% born in places < 10,000	64.4	62.1	63.3
	% born in places >50,000	19.1	12.9	15.5
<b>Province of Last Resid.</b>	% North	13.9	17.8	16.2
	Northwest	40.2	44.4	42.7
	West	36.6	30.5	33.0
	Other	9.3	7.3	8.1
<b>Size Place of Last Resid.</b>	% living in places <10,000	48.3	39.3	42.9
	% living in places >50,000	34.7	34.1	34.3
<b>Relatives Accompanying to US</b>	% Alone	81.3	70.7	74.9
	Spouse & children	5.3	9.8	8.0
	Other	13.4	19.5	17.1
<b>Means of Travel &amp; Intermediate destinations</b>	% Airplane	15.7	12.7	14.0
	Boat Direct to US	46.1	52.8	50.3
	Boat Stop Cuba	21.2	16.2	18.2
	Boat Stop Bahamas	17.0	18.3	17.6

Sixty-three percent of study respondents were jobless at the time of the survey, as compared to a jobless rate of 31% in Haiti. The most surpassing result is the high proportion of women who were jobless, over 80% of respondents were unemployed at the time of the survey, as compared to a 33% jobless rate in Haiti among female respondents. The reasons for the disparity in employment between genders may be related to the comparatively low level of education, and or knowledge of English among the female respondents.

**TABLE 3.3D EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF RESPONDENTS**

Variable	Categories	Haiti		TOTAL US		TOTAL	
		(Males)	(Females)	(Males)	(Females)		
Occupation	% Jobless	28.2	33.0	31.0	35.7	81.4	63.0
	Unskilled/semi skilled						
	Blue Collar	4.6	6.9	6.0	34.3	14.7	22.6
	Farm	27.3	6.5	15.0	17.6	2.2	8.4
	Skilled Blue Collar	26.9	25.5	26.0	8.0	0.7	3.6
	White Collar						
	Services	4.0	25.6	16.8	3.4	1.0	2.0
Professional & Managerial	9.0	2.5	5.2	1.0	----	0.4	
Unemployment	Average Months During Past 3 Yrs.				10.7	22.4	17.8
	% Never Unemployed				6.1	1.2	3.2
Help in Securing First Job	% Kin & Friends				75.2	66.4	70.7
	Self				23.0	27.9	25.5
	Government Agencies/ Other				1.8	5.7	3.8
Ethnicity of Employers	% Haitian				1.8	----	1.2
	Black American				19.3	24.3	20.8
	Latin				8.3	14.2	10.0
	Anglo/Other				70.6	61.5	68.0
Unionized Jobs	% Union Member				5.0	6.2	5.3

**TABLE 3.3E INCOME OF A SAMPLE OF HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS IN BOSTON AREA**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Categories</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Income in Haiti	Median gourds/month <sup>22</sup>	100	60	70
Current Income	Median 1983 dollars/month <sup>23</sup>	600	440	563
Household Income	Median 1983 dollars/month	712	508	600
	% below poverty level <sup>24</sup>	46	71	59
Remittances to Haiti	% Sending Remittances	45.3	27.9	34.9
	Average Last Remittance, 1983 dollars	205	137	173
Home Ownership	% Home Owners	1.9	2.5	2.3
Welfare Aid <sup>25</sup>	% Receiving Aid	12.7	40.3	29.2
	Average Months of Aid Since Arrival	5.2	14.3	11.6

**II. THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION STATUS ON THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC NEEDS OF UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS IN THE BOSTON AREA**

This exploratory study of three immigrant groups residing in the greater Boston area, in 1992, tested three basic hypotheses: 1) Illegal or undocumented immigrant status

<sup>22</sup> "US \$1=5 gourdes."

<sup>23</sup> "Gainfully employed respondents only."

<sup>24</sup> "Percent of households below the federal poverty level for a household of three, 1982."

<sup>25</sup> "Includes cash, food, and all other forms of aid, except medical, from private or public agencies."

increased the social and economic needs of immigrants; 2) Illegal or undocumented status meant a decrease in the use of social services by these immigrants; and 3) The illegal or undocumented immigration status has meant a reduction in the social service system's responsiveness to the needs of illegal/undocumented immigrants. The study population consisted of undocumented immigrants from Haiti, El Salvador and Ireland, who entered the United States after 1982. And a control group from each of the three sending countries, who had previously been undocumented but were accepted for legalization under either: the Immigration Reform C Act,; received visas under the new 1990 Immigration Law, Donnelley Visas; or have Temporary Protected Status under the new 1990 Immigration Law, and were entitled to work for an 18 month period. For purposes of this thesis the relevant information is the data on the characteristics of the sample population from Haiti. The study used two data collection instruments: 1) a survey of undocumented immigrants from Haiti; as well as 2) key informant interviews with service agencies providing assistance to the undocumented immigrant population in the greater Boston area. Because of the study population's fear of deportation if the Immigration and Naturalization Service was able to identify them, the researcher took great care to assure the anonymity of the immigrant population. Random selection of the study population was not feasible, the sample population consisted of volunteers, and thus the study may suffer from selection bias.

The researcher identified three other potential threats to the validity and reliability of the study: 1) the possible affects of extraneous occurrences on the variables under study; 2) changes in outcome variables maybe the result of the passage of time versus the



independent variables; and 3) The measurement instrument threatened the reliability of the result due to the fact that each of the three groups had different interviewers and three different languages were used . With the exception of selection bias, the concerns regarding the validity and reliability of the results should not affect the data culled from this study. For purposes of this thesis the relevant data/results are for the most part descriptive. Similar to the preceding study there is a higher proportion of female respondents in this study. The median age of the respondents exceeded that of larger Haitian immigrant population, and that of respondents in the Portes study. The respondents in this study had a relatively higher level of educational attainment than that in the preceding study. Fifty-three percent indicated that they had completed primary school. Over six percent completed high school, and ten percent reported to have completed college. The proportion of respondents who were unemployed at the time of the survey was 30%, as compared to 63% in the Portes study. The majority of those employed worked in the service industry.

**TABLE 3.3F**

**CHARACTERISTICS OF A SAMPLE OF  
HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS IN BOSTON AREA**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Categories</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Gender</b>	Male	7	23.3
	Female	23	76.7
<b>Level of Education Completed</b>	Elementary School	16	53.3
	Middle or Jr. H.S.	7	23.3
	High School	2	6.7
	College or University	3	10.0
	Other	1	3.3
	None	1	3.3
<b>Present Employment Status</b>	Full time	9	30.0
	Part time (P.T.)	4	13.3
	Several P.T. jobs	3	10.0
	Not Working but looking	5	16.7
	Not Working	2	6.7
	Other	2	6.7
	<b>Kind of Work</b>	Professional	----
Managerial		----	----
Clerical		----	----
Skilled Craft		----	----
Transportation		----	----
Farm		----	----
Service industry		19	73.1
Retail, unskilled			
Other		6	23.1
<b>Main Reason for coming to US</b>	Better Life	13	43.4
	Work Opportunities	5	16.7
	Political Reasons	6	20.0
	Economic Reasons	1	3.3
	Rejoin Family	5	16.7
	Other	---	----

**TABLE 3.3G                    MEAN AGE OF A SAMPLE OF HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS IN BOSTON AREA**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Undocumented</b>	<b>Legal</b>
Mean Age	39.4	42.71
Length of time in US (mean number of months)	71.66	109.26
Mean hours per week of work	16.36	27.53
Mean monthly income	382.10	929.97

**III.    HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS IN NEW YORK CITY 1972 - 1990**

According to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, approximately 70,000 Haitians entered the United States illegally between 1972-1979; and another 49, 800 entered as legal or documented immigrants between 1971-1979.<sup>26</sup> With respect to Haitian immigrants who lived in the United States in the 1970s , data regarding their educational attainment levels was obtained from a study of a sample of Haitian immigrants living in New York City in the 1970s. The survey instrument used by the researcher was based on a questionnaire and interview, taken from the work of Bastide, Morin and Raveau Les Haitiens en France. (Fouron 1985). The questionnaire/interview was administered to a randomly selected population of Haitian immigrants living in Brooklyn, New York. The

<sup>26</sup> Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1981; and Immigration and Naturalization Service Annual Report 198?

researcher obtained a total of 72 responses to his questionnaire, 12 which were determined to be incomplete, and thus rejected. A slight majority of respondents were male 31 (51.7%), with 29 female respondents (48.3%).

Sixty-five percent of respondents did not complete high school in Haiti, while 15% attended technical school in Haiti. Only 20% of respondents had a high school degree and/or a college degree at the time they emigrated. Seventy-percent of the respondents despite their relatively low level of educational attainment were employed in some capacity, the balance were either unemployed or full-time students. (Fouron 1985).

The data from these surveys does not lead to any final conclusions regarding a nexus between household investments in education in Haiti, and emigration. What is clear from the preceding is that although not well educated by US standards Haitian immigrants are better educated than the general population in Haiti.

### **3.4 CONCLUSION**

The purpose of this thesis was to explore the relationship between the rise in aggregate demand for primary education in Haiti between 1972-1985, and the increase in emigration to the United States among Haiti's rural and urban poor during the period under study. It was proposed that the rising rate in primary school enrollment rates may be related to the perception among Haiti's poor majority, that education increased the likelihood of successful emigration to the United States. The data presented in chapter 2, indicates that primary school enrollment rates in Haiti have been rising since 1972. And that Haiti experienced a dramatic increase in demand for education between 1976-1985.

The evidence suggest that this unusual increase in demand occurred during a period of economic growth, as well as decline; and at a time of high legal and illegal migration to the United States by some of the least urbanized, and poorest segments of Haitian society. In order to explore the relationship between the rise in primary school enrollment rates in Haiti and immigration to the US, data on the primary school enrollment rate and the flow, and characteristics of Haitian immigrants to the United States between 1972-1985, was presented. My findings indicate that Haitian immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1972-1985, on average possess more years of schooling than their counterparts in Haiti. According to the World Bank's Trends in Developing Economies (1996), the mean years of schooling in Haiti in 1992, was 1.7 years. The literacy index was at 55% in 1992.

In contrast, census data on Haitian immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1980-1989, indicates 57 % of these immigrants had at least a high school degree. Of those immigrants surveyed by Portes (1984), who arrived in the United States between 1980-1984, the majority of whom may be assumed to be undocumented, 4.9% were high school graduates. The average number of years of schooling in Haiti claimed by respondents was 4.6 years. A survey of Haitian immigrants living in the Boston area in 1992, with an average residency period in the United States of 109 months, revealed that an estimated 16.7% of those survey had at least a high school degree, and 53.3% claimed to have completed elementary school. (Hayes 1985). Lastly, data on Haitian immigrants living in the New York City area in the 1970s, also indicated a relatively high educational attainment level among the sample population. Twenty percent of respondents had a high

school and/or college degree when they emigrated to the United States. The majority of the respondents in the New York study, when asked what they liked most in the United States, replied the educational opportunities afforded them in this country. (See Table 3.3

A) Although Haitian immigrants experience debilitating impediments to financial security in the United States due in large part to their relatively low educational attainment levels, they are by far better educated than their counterparts left behind in Haiti.

**TABLE 1.1A            A COMPARISON OF GROSS PRIMARY ENROLLMENT RATES IN SELECTED LOW-INCOME COUNTRIES (1985).**

<b>COUNTRY</b>	<b>YEAR</b>	<b>GNP (\$US)</b>	<b>GROSS PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLL. (%)</b>
Haiti	1985	360	97
Benin	1985	410	68
Central African Rep.	1985	410	75
Ghana	1985	360	76

Sources: *World Bank: Trends In Developing Countries 1996*; *UNESCO STATISTICAL YEARBOOK 1995*.

**TABLE 3.4A EDUCATION ATTAINMENT LEVEL OF HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES: 1972-1990**

<b>AGE</b>	<b>MIAMI AREA</b>	<b>BOSTON AREA</b>	<b>NEW YORK AREA</b>	<b>US CENSUS (1990)</b>
<b>AGE RANGE</b>	<b>18-60</b>	<b>18-55</b>	<b>15-75</b>	<b>18+</b>
<b>MEDIAN AGE</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>39.4 &amp; 42.7<sup>27</sup></b> <b>(illegal &amp; legal immigrants)</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>38.</b>
<b><u>EDUCATION</u></b> <b><u>ATTAIN.</u></b> <b><u>LEVELS</u></b>				
<b>AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>5.3</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>10.2</b>
<b>H.S. DEGREE (%)</b>	<b>4.9%</b>	<b>16.7%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>57.6%</b>

<sup>27</sup> The ages indicated are the mean age for undocumented and legal immigrants, as opposed to the median age reported by the other studies and the US Census.



**TABLE 3.4B RESPONSE OF SAMPLE OF HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS TO  
QUERY: "What do you like the most in America?"**

<b>No Opinion</b>	<b>Eco. Opp.</b>	<b>Educ. Opp.</b>	<b>Freedoms (press, speech, religion)</b>	<b>Way of Life</b>	<b>Women's Rights</b>	<b>Nothing</b>	<b>Environment</b>
12	15	22	17	10	1	6	3
14%	17%	26%	20%	11.6%	1%	7%	3.4%

*Source: Fourn, G. "Patterns of Adaptation of Haitian Immigrants of the 1970s in New York City" (Ph.D. diss. Columbia University, 1985).*

TABLE 1.1B  
 TABLE 1.1B

**Primary Enrollment Rates of Caribbean Countries: 1900-1987**

(Percent)

Country	1900	1910	1920	1930	1935-40	1980-87
Bahamas	72	88	-	89	92	94
Barbados	50	68	49	56	62	99
Belize	37	53	50	62	76	97
Grenada	63	61	59	60	66	99
Guyana	41	55	54	64	65	84
Haiti	-	-	12	15	12	44
Jamaica	51	44	41	55	55	98
Leeward Is.	32	42	37	56	-	98
St. Lucia	52	64	53	73	59	90
St. Vincent	54	46	35	57	88	97
Suriname	44	43	40	47	49	97
Trin./Tob.	52	68	60	69	66	97

Source: Compiled from Benavot and Riddle (1988) and *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1988*.

TABLE 1.1C

**Proportion of Population having no Schooling: 1980 Census***(Percent)*

Country	Year	Over 25	Over 15
Barbados	1980	0.8	0.5
Belize	1980	10.7	7.3
B.V.I	1980	2.4	1.1
Dominica	1981	6.6	4.9
Grenada	1981	2.2	1.7
Guyana	1980	8.1	5.8
Haiti	1982	77.0	65.2
Jamaica	1982	3.2	2.8
Montserrat	1980	1.7	1.2
Netherlands Antilles	1982	1.6	1.5
St. Kitts/Nevis	1980	1.1	0.9
St. Lucia	1980	17.5	10.3
Trinidad and Tobago	1980	1.3	n/a

Source: Compiled from Caribbean Censuses: 1980-82.

Numbers of Public and Private Schools by Year,  
1973/74 to 1981/82

TABLE 1.1D

Year	Public	Private
74	891	1,527
75	900	1,830
76	904	1,884
77	900	1,898
78	906	1,935
79	935	2,031
80	958	2,038
81	994	2,277
82	995(a) (1000)	2,221
Percent increase	11.6	45.4

Additional correction made; figure in parentheses appears in original document.

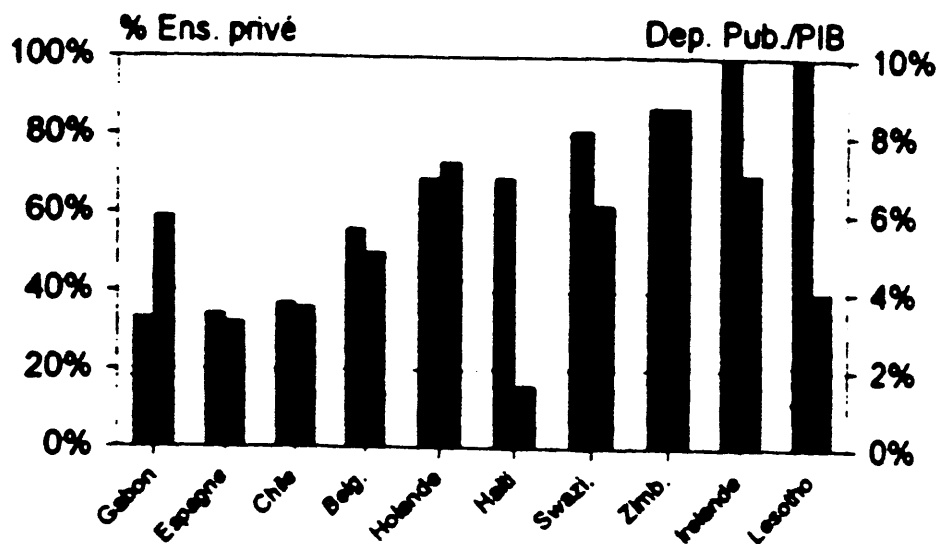
TABLE 1.1E

**Structure of employment'**

	1983		1988	
	'000	% of total	'000	% of total
Agriculture	1,228.3	65.1	1,184.8	66.2
Mining	19.3	1.0	17.6	1.0
Manufacturing	121.7	6.4	115.5	6.5
Construction	22.2	1.2	22.4	1.3
Commerce, restaurants & hotels	286.9	15.2	260.7	14.6
Transport, storage & communications	16.3	0.9	16.6	0.9
Electricity, gas & water	2.1	0.1	2.9	0.2
Financial sector	3.9	0.2	3.6	0.2
<b>Total incl others</b>	<b>1,887.9</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,788.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Economic Intelligence Unit 1995-1996

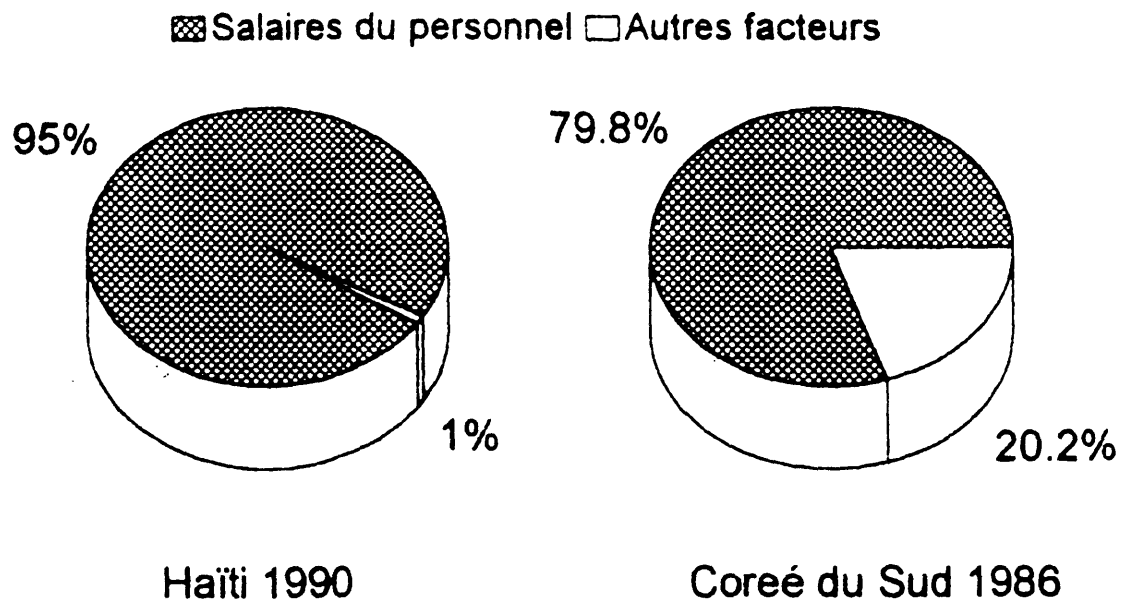
GRAPH 2



Source: UNESCO

Source: Plan National d'Education: Education, Democratie et Developpement Economique en Haiti (October 1994)

GRAPH 3



Source: Lockheed et Verspoor 1991

TABLE 2.3A

Enrollments in Public and Private Schools  
1973/74 to 1982/83

Year	Public	Private	Total
1973/74	252,996	178,611	431,607
1974/75	257,999	193,141	451,140
1975/76	180,187	206,948	487,135
1976/77	269,729	240,987	510,716
1977/78	266,204	251,519	517,723
1978/79	267,112	261,499	528,127
1979/80	277,458	302,669	580,127
1980/81	277,268	365,123	642,391
1981/82	282,366	375,736	658,102
1982/83	293,328	429,713	723,041
Percent increase	15.9	140.5	67.5

Source: Compiled from DEN, Annuaire Statistique, Vols. 1-6



TABLE 2.3B  
PRIMARY COMPLETION (RETENTION) RATES  
(PERCENT)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Central America									
Belize	77.	72.	78.	89.	70.	83.	86.	86.	87.
Costa Rica	74.	71.	76.	77.	78.	83.	81.	77.	82.
El Salvador	58.	67.	60.	56.	59.	44.	59.	60.	62.
Guatemala	49.	33.	53.	52.	53.	50.	50.	50.	51.
Honduras	33.	50.	42.	43.	49.	45.	45.	46.	48.
Panama (1)	73.	73.	74.	76.	78.	82.	83.	84.	83.
Nicaragua (2)	38.	34.	35.	30.	25.	20.	34.	42.	35.
Average [a] (3)	51.	46.	50.	49.	51.	47.	50.	51.	52.
Caribbean									
Dominican Republic	30.	33.	34.	35.	36.	41.	38.	37.	37.
Haiti	57.	24.	39.	47.	27.	32.	15.	24.	25.
Jamaica	67.	73.	76.	69.	67.	54.	81.	82.	47.
St. Lucia	92.	93.	94.	95.	93.	95.	96.	83.	96.
St. Vincent (4)	90.	90.	90.	90.	90.	90.	90.	90.	90.
Other E. Caribbean	88.	89.	88.	90.	88.	91.	90.	90.	91.
Average [a] (5)	48.	38.	44.	46.	39.	41.	39.	41.	36.
Average PRIMARY ENROLLMENT									
South America									
Bolivia	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	18.	0.
Colombia	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
Ecuador	65.	65.	65.	65.	65.	65.	0.	0.	0.
Guyana	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
Peru	70.	70.	70.	70.	70.	70.	0.	0.	0.
Average [a]	67.	67.	68.	67.	67.	67.	0.	2.	0.

TABLE 2.3C

<b>Entrants en CP1</b>	<b>1000</b>
<b>Effectif atteignant le CM2</b>	<b>434</b>
<b>Effectif admis au cycle suivant</b>	<b>288</b>
<b>Effectif admis au cycle suivant sans redoublement</b>	<b>131</b>
<b>Nombre d'abandons</b>	<b>696</b>
<b>Nombre d'années-élèves</b>	<b>4633</b>
<b>Nombre d'années-élèves pour ceux admis au cycle suivant</b>	<b>1970</b>
<b>Durée moyenne de scolarité pour ceux admis au cycle suivant</b>	<b>6.83</b>
<b>Durée moyenne de scolarité des abandons</b>	<b>3.83</b>
<b>Nombre d'années-élève pour produire un seul admis au cycle suivant</b>	<b>16.07</b>
<b>Nombre d'années dans le cycle</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Rapport "input / output"</b>	<b>2.68</b>

---

SOURCE: Analyse originale basée sur les taux moyens de promotion, redoublement, et abandon calculés à partir des taux des années 1979 - 86 (IREDU, 1991) et 1988 - 91 (MENJUS, Annales Statistiques, 1988-91).

## BASIC EDUCATION:

TABLE 2.3D

### Expenditures on Education as a Percentage of GNP and Total Government Expenditures

Country	Year	Total Exp.		Recurrent Exp.	
		GNP	Tot.Govt.	GNP	Tot.Govt.
Antigua/Barbuda	1983	4.5	14.4	4.0	15.9
Bahamas	1986	6.2	17.9	5.7	22.2
Barbados	1982	5.7	17.8	5.0	18.7
British Virgin Is.	1984	n.a.	15.3	n.a.	16.9
Grenada	1975	7.6	22.5	7.6	23.4
Guyana	1985	10.1	10.4	8.3	13.0
Haiti	1985	1.2	16.5	1.2	16.7
Jamaica	1985	5.8	12.1	5.5	15.8
St. Kitts/Nevis	1985	6.6	18.5	6.5	19.1
St. Lucia	1986	7.6	20.4	7.2	22.4
Suriname	1980	5.6	14.1	4.9	17.9
Trinidad and Tobago	1983	5.9	12.3	4.8	16.3

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1988.

TABLE 2.5A  
PRIMARY SCHOOL STUDENTS ACCORDING TO GRADE, AGE, AND GENDER

		1982-1983															
		1		2		3		4		5		6		TOTAL			
AGE		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
<5 YEARS		1,109	1,173	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,109	1,173
5 YEARS		10,588	9,507	8,503	2,070	2,069	16	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11,593	10,588
6 YEARS		17,075	14,378	13,624	13,686	1,078	1,521	2	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	31,839	29,612
7 YEARS		14,518	11,372	12,871	11,135	7,498	8,372	688	909	14	41	-	-	-	-	35,587	31,829
8 YEARS		10,803	16,951	12,006	9,943	9,373	9,287	3,921	5,415	579	701	50	45	-	-	36,732	42,342
9 YEARS		7,468	6,225	9,403	7,769	9,050	8,214	5,561	6,587	2,660	3,531	256	408	57	39	34,455	32,773
10 YEARS		6,005	4,808	8,494	6,752	10,095	8,081	6,490	6,331	4,162	4,643	1,643	2,141	336	446	37,225	33,202
11 YEARS		3,596	2,892	5,873	4,667	8,012	6,064	6,681	5,792	4,689	4,892	2,688	2,638	1,198	1,558	32,737	28,503
12 YEARS		2,765	1,929	4,703	3,836	6,906	5,211	7,455	5,994	5,836	5,129	3,123	3,564	2,156	2,324	32,944	27,987
13 YEARS		1,875	1,377	3,251	2,504	5,190	4,018	6,807	5,056	5,983	4,963	4,084	4,043	2,556	2,534	29,746	24,495
14 YEARS		1,137	792	2,335	1,666	3,979	2,847	5,579	4,271	5,635	4,716	4,620	3,906	2,986	3,243	26,271	21,441
15 YEARS		672	439	1,486	860	2,507	1,857	4,071	2,850	4,766	3,794	4,747	3,924	3,973	3,445	22,222	17,169
16 YEARS		1,637	955	2,627	1,480	4,422	2,694	7,121	4,403	9,400	5,635	11,276	7,572	11,838	7,705	48,321	30,444
UNKNOWN		1,560	1,495	1,100	956	876	671	685	546	540	543	417	394	435	404	5,693	5,009
TOTAL		79,727	73,289	79,983	67,323	69,000	58,853	55,061	48,181	44,264	38,588	32,904	48,635	25,535	21,698	386,474	336,567

SOURCE: CEN, ANNUAIRE STATISTIQUE, 1982/83 (UNPUBLISHED).

PROPORTION OF OVERAGE STUDENTS

1994

TABLE 2.5B

DEPARTEMENT	AGE		TOTAL
	NORMAL	SURAGE	
ARTIBONITE	42,65	57,35	100,00
CENTRE	50,19	49,81	100,00
GRAND'ANSE	38,57	61,43	100,00
NORD	46,77	53,23	100,00
NORD'EST	66,42	33,58	100,00
NORD'OUEST	33,97	66,03	100,00
OUEST	50,53	49,47	100,00
SUD	36,83	63,17	100,00
SUD'EST	39,36	60,64	100,00
TOTAL	44,58	55,42	100,00

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allman, James 1982 "Haitian Migration: 30 Years Assessed" in Migration Today, Vol. X, No.1

Bennell, Paul (1996) "Rates of Return to Education: Does the Conventional Pattern Prevail in sub-Saharan Africa?" in World Development, Vol. 24 No.1, pp. 183-199

Benavot, Aaron and Riddle, Phyllis 1988 "The Expansion of Primary Education, 1870-1940: Trends and Issues" in Sociology of Education, Vol. 61 (July): 191-210.

Dorgan, Charity ed. 1995 Gale Country & World Rankings Reporter, Gale Research Inc., Detroit Michigan

Easton, Peter and Fass, Simon 1989 "Monetary Consumption Benefits and the Demand for Primary Schooling in Haiti", in Comparative Education Review, pp. 176-193.

Economic Intelligence Unit 1995-1996 "Country Profile: Dominican Republic, Haiti, Puerto Rico", Economist Intelligence Unit Ltd.

Fass, Simon 1988 Political Economy in Haiti, Transaction Books, New Brunswick.

Fass, Simon 1995 The Cost of Schooling: Overview Findings From the Survey of Household Education Expenditure (Research Triangle Institute et al).

Fondation Haitienne de L'Enseignement Prive "Annuaire Statistique des Ecoles Primaires Privees" (August 1994).

Fouron, George Eugene 1985 "Patterns of Adaptation of Haitian Immigrants of the 1970s in New York City" (Ph.D diss. , Columbia University).

Grasmuck, Sherri, Spring 1984 "Migration within the Periphery: Haitian Labor in the Dominican Sugar and Coffee Industries" in International Migration Review, Vol. 16, No.2 pp.365-377.

Hayes, Helene 1993 "The Impact of Immigration Status on the Social and Economic Needs of Undocumented Immigrants in the Boston Area" Ph.D diss., Boston College

Improving the Efficiency of Educational Systems Consortium, the Ministry of National Education of the Republic of Haiti, and the United States Agency for International Development, 1987 Haiti: Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment.

Loecher, Uli 1990 Primary Education in a Predatory State: Private School Take Over Haiti eds. Cantave, Alix and Clark, Veve A. (Haitian Studies Association Proceedings Second Annual Conference June 15-16 1990).

Plan National D'Education 1994 Education, Democratie et Development Economique et Social en Haiti.

Portes and Rumbaut 1990 Immigrant America, University of California Press, Berkeley California

Portes A, and Stepick A 1993 City on the Edge: Miami, University of California Press, Berkeley California

Psacharopoulos, G 1973 Returns to Education, Jossey/Bass, San Francisco

Schultz, Theodore 1961 "Investment in Human Capital" American Economic Review 51:1-17

Stepick, A and Portes, A (1986) "Flight into Despair: A profile of Recent Haitian Refugees in South Florida", International Migration Review, Vol. 20, No.2 Summer; pp. 329-349.

World Bank, 1995 Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Review. (World Bank Publication, Washington, D.C.)

United Nations Education, Cultural, and Scientific Organization Statistical Yearbook 1984; 1995; and 1996.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development 1983 Economic Survey of Latin America and the Caribbean 1983, Vol.1

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 1985 The Least Developed Countries

U.S Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census 1980 Statistical Abstract of the United States.

U.S Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1990 1990 Census of Population The Foreign-Born Population in the United States .

U.S Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census 1996 Statistical Abstract of the United States 1996.

Research Triangle Institute, 1995 The Academy for Educational Development, Educat S.A. Diagnostic Technique du Systeme Educatif Haitien (Rapport de Synthese).

Research Triangle Institute, 1996 Haiti's Local Democracy: An Assessment of the Status Quo and Prospects for Sustainable Local Self-Governance, Vol. I.

Stepick, Alex 1987 "The Haitian Exodous: Flight from Terror and Poverty", in (Ed.) Levine, Barry B The Caribbean Exodous. Praeger Publishers.

Straubhaar, Thomas (19) "The Causes of International Labor Migrations-A Demand-Determined Approach" in International Migration Review, Vol. XX, No.4 pp. 835-847.

Trouillot, State Against Nation

World Bank, Trends in Developing Economies: Social Indicators of Development 1995.