Early school leaving: a crisis in secondary schooling in Tonga

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Early school leaving - a crisis in secondary schooling in Tonga

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree

Doctorate in Education

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Makafalani Tatafu, BA, MA

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4. Causes of early school leaving

4.1 Perceptions of school attractiveness

The perceptions of early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and teachers and school administrators were sought because they were the members of the sample school who interacted with the school environments. Their perceptions were gauged through 35 Likert style multiple choice statements with which they agreed or disagreed on a five point scale - strongly agree, agree, unsure, disagree and strongly disagree. The scoring of each response ranged from 1 point for "strongly agree" to 5 points for "strongly disagree". For the analysis of the data, the positive statements have been stated in their negative forms and they have been scored in reverse to bring them into line with the others. The mean scores from the responses were calculated from those points and they are outlined in Tables 5.10a-d. The closer is the mean score to 1, the less attractive is the school, and by the same token the closer it is to 5, the more educationally attractive is the school. In view of the similarities between the views of teachers and school administrators of the sample schools (N = 110) and those of the non-sample schools (N = 53) they are grouped together in this analysis.

The 35 multiple choice statements consisted of four groups: school facilities and resources (Nos. 1-6); school administration (Nos. 7-17); teachers (Nos. 18-27) and students (Nos. 28-35). For the sake of clarity each group is treated separately. The mean scores that early school leavers gave to the multiple choice statements were generally lower than those given by unsuccessful completers, teachers and school administrators. The views of the three groups of respondents were very similar in their agreement that there were problems in most of the areas of the school life.

4.1.1 School facilities and resources

With regard to the school facilities and resources (Nos 1-6) outlined in Table 5.10a, the "school buildings" (4.5; 4.2; 3.9) and "classroom facilities" (4.1; 3.6; 3.8) with mean scores of more than three were satisfactory but the "shortage of trained teachers" (2.5; 2.2; 1.9) and the
"shortage of qualified teachers" (2.3; 2.0; 1.8) posed a real problem for the school. This was important because low levels of teacher quality have been directly linked to low levels of student achievement in schools (Husen et al., 1978; Solman, 1986; Chubb and Moe, 1990).

Table 5.10a: Facilities and resources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facilities and resources</th>
<th>Early school leavers N=365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful completers N=180</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N=163</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. School buildings were generally not in good conditions.</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Shortage of classroom facilities (e.g. desks, chairs).</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. There was a shortage of trained teachers.</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. There was a shortage of qualified teachers.</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Shortage of instructional materials (e.g. textbooks)</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Instructional materials were generally poor in quality</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† = All the responses to the multiple choice statements were scored as follows: Strongly agree = 1; agree = 2; unsure = 3; disagree = 4; strongly disagree = 5

The other critical component was the "quantity" (1.4; 1.9; 1.7) and the "quality" of instructional materials (1.6; 2.0; 1.8) which are considered to be both poor because their mean scores were both low. This is of concern in view of the findings produced by Heyneman et al., (1981); Altbach, (1983); Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, (1985) and Fuller, (1987) which strongly indicated that textbooks and other instructional materials are important for the learning of students especially in countries from the South.

4.1.2 Administration of the school

Responses to the statements on the administration of the school (Nos. 7-17) in Table 5.10b indicated that there was a strong case for improvement because the mean scores of this section mostly fluctuated between the scores of 1 and 2. It is only in this section that teachers' responses and those of school administrators indicate marked differences between them.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multiple choice statements</th>
<th>Early school leavers N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful completers N = 180</th>
<th>Teachers' N = 123</th>
<th>School administrators N = 40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Fairly often the administration did not work well with staff.</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. In general teachers' salaries could not cater for their needs.</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. There was a general lack of incentives for teachers to work hard.</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. The Education Department was not sufficiently effective in its policies.</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. There was little help at school for the &quot;intellectually slow&quot; students.</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Corporal punishment was used fairly regularly at school.</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Teachers and students were rarely given opportunities to celebrate anything.</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. The emphasis was mainly on passing exams and little on other activities.</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. The curriculum was catering mostly for the academically bright pupils.</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. The &quot;good&quot; teachers were heavily concentrated on the higher classes.</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. There was little time for revision before exams because many teachers could not complete their syllabi on time.</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( J = \) this category includes principals, deputy principals, study coordinators, discipline masters and mistresses, heads of department, deans, counsellors and form teachers

The early school leavers tended to be unsure on the following: "administration worked well with the staff" (2.1), "teachers' salaries could cater for their needs" (2.5), "there were incentives for teachers to work hard" (2.8) and "Education Department was effective in its policies" (2.8). This uncertainty may have arisen from the fact that early school leavers may not know much about those items and secondly their influences on them would be indirect. In the other seven items, the early school leavers produced the lowest ratings which suggest that
they were more adversely affected by those items than were unsuccessful completers, teachers and school administrators.

From the responses of the unsuccessful completers, the three that they were "unsure" of were: "in general teachers' salaries could not cater for their needs" (3.0), "there was a general lack of incentives for teachers to work hard" (3.1) and "the Education Department was not sufficiently effective in their policies" (3.2). The next highest score was 2.5, which is half way between "agree" and "unsure" in the Likert scale, and it was related to whether the "administration worked well with the teachers". This was similar to the perception of early school leavers as already indicated. Overall, the unsuccessful completers and early school leavers could only speculate about those items because they were more directly related to teachers, and it is not surprising that they were generally "unsure" in their assessment of those items.

The teachers and school administrators who were directly affected by the first four items gave them lower mean scores than the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers. This suggested that they saw a greater need for improvement in those aspects of school administration than the others. However, the mean scores given by school administrators reflected a tendency to disagree more with these items than teachers were. In other words, school administrators much more than teachers supported their administration policies. Understandably school administrators would tend to view their administration favourably but they still indicated in the low scores that changes in the administration have long been overdue. Generally, they agreed with the statements that their "salaries did not cater for their needs" (2.0; 2.2), "there was a lack of incentives for them to work hard" (1.8; 2.0), "Education Department's policies were ineffective" (1.7; 2.0) and "the administration did not work well with the teachers" (2.1; 2.7). With mean scores that fluctuated between 2.1 and 3.1 for those items, early school leavers and unsuccessful completers probably indicated a lack of knowledge rather than a tendency to disagree with those items.
In view of their likely impact on the problem of early school leaving, the following areas with which early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, teachers and school administrators agreed, showed that the schools as educational institutions were definitely unattractive: "There was little help at school for the "intellectually slow" students" (1.2; 1.6; 1.4; 1.8); "corporal punishment was used fairly regularly at school" (1.3; 1.5; 1.9; 2.1); "teachers and students were rarely given opportunities to celebrate anything at school" (1.5; 2.1; 1.6; 2.3); "the emphasis was mainly on passing exams and little on others" (1.3; 1.5; 1.5; 1.9); "the curriculum was catering mostly for the needs of the academically bright pupils" (1.5; 1.6; 1.8; 2.0); and "the 'good' teachers were heavily concentrated on the higher classes" (1.2; 1.4; 2.0; 1.2). Some of these items are closely related to the problem of early school leaving. For example, to place the emphasis on passing examinations is tantamount to a neglect of the "intellectually slow" students who are not likely to be successful. Furthermore, if the curriculum was catering more for the needs of the academically capable students, then the majority who are not in that category which included the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers would be disadvantaged from the outset.

### 4.1.3 Teachers

Almost all perceptions of the statements in Table 5.10c are negative except for number 26. The early school leavers had lower scores on the teachers' section (Nos. 18-27) than the unsuccessful completers, teachers and school administrators. Such low scores probably reflected the negative experiences that they had with teachers. However, the scores from early school leavers were closer to those from unsuccessful completers than to those from teachers and school administrators. All the respondents tended to disagree that "most teachers were unwilling to take part in staff development programs" (3.2; 3.5) probably because such programs were either not available or they were not considered to be important.
### Table 5.10c Teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multiple choice statements</th>
<th>Early school leavers</th>
<th>Unsuccessful completers</th>
<th>Teachers' and school administrators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18. A number of teachers were dissatisfied with the administration of the school.</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Teachers were generally unwilling to do voluntary work for the school.</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Some teachers came late to school fairly frequently.</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. When teachers were absent, their classes were not well supervised.</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. During their free periods teachers were unwilling to help out.</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Teaching a class of more than 40 students was difficult.</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Quite a number of teachers were at school because there was no other or better options somewhere else.</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Teachers' teaching styles were the same in all situations.</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Most teachers were unwilling to take part in staff development programmes.</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Some teachers hardly prepare their lessons for their classes.</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Early school leavers and unsuccessful completers agreed that "a number of teachers were dissatisfied with the administration of the school" (1.9; 2.0) and this was probably reflected in or a reflection of teachers being "generally unwilling to do voluntary work for the school" (1.5; 2.2; 1.8), in their being at school because "there was no other or better options somewhere else" (1.4; 1.6; 1.8), in their "unwillingness to help out during their free periods" (1.9; 2.7; 2.1) and in their "unwillingness to supervise the classes of teachers who were absent" (1.5; 1.6; 2.3). The fact that "teachers found it hard to teach a class of more than 40 students (2.6; 2.3; 2.0) and that "their teaching styles were the same in all situations" (1.3; 2.0; 1.9) were probably related to their lack of professional training and qualification. It is bad enough that
"some teachers came late to school fairly frequently" (1.8; 2.0; 2.6) but as for "hardly preparing their lessons for their classes" (1.6; 1.9; 2.3), it is a considerable cause for concern.

4.1.4 Students

Early school leavers gave lower scores to most items in Table 5.10d than the other respondents. The exceptions were found in numbers 32 and 35 where they had higher scores than the others. The most striking aspect of the student section (Nos. 28-35) is that teachers and school administrators tended to disagree, and early school leavers and unsuccessful completers were more inclined to strongly disagree with the statement that "some students were not even willing to come to school" (4.4; 4.2; 3.3) which suggested that students in general were willing to learn when they came to school.

Table 5.10d: Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multiple choice statements</th>
<th>Early school leavers N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful completers N = 180</th>
<th>Teachers and school administrators N = 163</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Students</strong></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. The students in general were not sufficiently motivated to learn.</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. A good number of students regularly came late to school.</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Quite a number of students ran away from school.</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. A good number of students was often absent from school</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Some students were not even willing to come to school</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. A number of students found it hard to follow what was taught</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Students were generally unwilling to do voluntary work for the school</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Student misbehaviour at school was becoming a problem.</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, the decision to leave school only emerged while they were at school probably because of these factors: "a number of students found it hard to follow what was taught" (1.6; 1.9; 2.3), and "students in general were not sufficiently motivated to learn" (1.9; 2.0; 2.5). Such a situation could have given rise to "the good number of students coming late regularly to school" (2.1; 2.3; 2.5), "running away during school" (2.5; 3.0; 2.6) and "being absent from school" (2.2; 3.1; 2.9). It is little wonder that "students were generally unwilling to do voluntary work for the school" (2.1; 2.0; 2.2) and "student misbehaviour at school was becoming a problem" (2.3; 2.0; 1.8).

In summing up the findings in view of the problem of early school leaving, one cannot fail to be struck by the perceptions of the respondents that the sample schools as learning environments have not been attractive. The training level of teachers and their qualifications, the quantity and quality of the instructional materials, the teachers' morale and their level of commitment to their profession, and the students' general behaviour in those schools indicated that the school environments were not conducive for retaining students in general and those who were likely to leave school early in particular. The proposition that early school leavers were similar to unsuccessful completers is further confirmed in their perceptions of school attractiveness throughout this section.
4.2 Stakeholders' perceptions of the causes of early school leaving

The focus of this section is the perceptions of the five groups of respondents - early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, parents of early school leavers, teachers and school administrators, and community leaders - on the influence that the nine "agents" - teachers, school administrators, students, parents, village people, Department of Education (government and non-government), School Controlling Authorities (government and non-government) and the Tongan culture - have on students to leave school early. In view of the findings from the literature review in chapter two and of the interactions of the social, economic, cultural and educational systems in Tonga which have been outlined in chapter three, it is reasonable to suggest that the causes of early school leaving in Tonga would most likely be related to the influence of each of these nine "agents".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schooling Systems</th>
<th>Decision Space</th>
<th>Community Systems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Macro level</strong></td>
<td><strong>Students</strong></td>
<td><strong>Macro level</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[School Controlling authorities]</td>
<td>are being impacted</td>
<td>[National community]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Government or Church authority</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Cultural forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Social and economic forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meso level</strong></td>
<td>upon either</td>
<td><strong>Meso level</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Education Department]</td>
<td>positively to complete their schooling</td>
<td>[Village community]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Government or Non-government</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Community leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• PTAs and EAs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Micro level</strong></td>
<td>or negatively to leave school prematurely</td>
<td><strong>Micro level</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Individual schools]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[Family community]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Parents and children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• School administrators</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Grand parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Students</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Extended family</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.2 Theoretical framework for gauging the causes of early school leaving
These "agents" form the major components of the theoretical framework developed in chapter two, which is re-presented here in Figure 5.2. In seeking to be as holistic as possible in the gauging of the causes of early school leaving, the systems analysis approach is adopted in the theoretical framework. Thus, the eight "agents" are subsumed under the two main inter-related systems in Tonga: **schooling systems** and **community systems**. The eight "agents" widely represent the forces in those two systems that could have impacted **positively** on some students in the decision space to complete their secondary schooling or **negatively** on others to depart prematurely from school. The eight "agents" are highlighted in the theoretical framework by being italicized. Those two systems operate simultaneously at the **macro**, **meso** and the **micro** levels, and inevitably they overlap in their influences.

The research design in chapter four also focused closely on these "agents". In the open ended questions associated with the causes of early school leaving, the five groups of respondents were asked to provide three major causes of early school leaving in order of importance in relation to each of these nine "agents".

The data in this section was obtained by asking each of the five groups of respondents to list three major causes of early school leaving in order of importance. The question was **open ended**, and it was asked in relation to each of the nine "agents". For example, with regards to the "agents" of teachers, the question was: "What were the three "things" in order of importance that teachers did which could have caused students to leave school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate Examination?"

The process of categorising the responses is time consuming and demands focused thinking on a number of issues. As an indication of the work involved, if each of the 1,193 respondents provided the three responses to the open ended question, there would be 7,158 responses in relation to one "agent". Since there were eight "agents", the total number of
responses to the question would amount to 57,264. The actual number of responses are as follows: all the 1,193 respondents (100 per cent) gave a first response to the open ended question, 1179 (98.8 per cent) provided a second response and 940 (78.7 per cent) had a third response. Five steps were followed in the categorisation of responses (see section nine of chapter four).

The causes of early school leaving are analyzed under these five headings: agreement among the five groups of respondents, description of categories and comparison of respondents, similarities between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers, similarities between early school leavers and their parents, and summary of the categories. An analysis of the strength of the agreement among the five groups of respondents on their categories of responses is offered in the "agreement among the five groups of respondents". This demonstrated the degree of importance that those five groups of respondents have placed on those categories of causes. The "description of categories and comparison of respondents" determines if there are significant differences and similarities among them. It would seem that the greater the similarities between responses, the more powerful is the message that the data convey and the greater the trustworthiness of their combined perceptions of the causes of early school leaving. The triangulation of responses towards enhancing the trustworthiness of the data is carried out throughout the analysis. In the "similarities between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers" an assessment of the closeness of the similarities to determine if the proposition that they are similar, can be further confirmed.

The responses of early school leavers are matched against those of their parents in the "similarities between early school leavers and their parents". The reason for this is that it can be regarded as a form of reliability test in that the early school leavers and their parents should be similar in their perceptions because they have presumably been affected by those factors which resulted in their decision for early departure from school. The "summary of the categories" condenses those categories into a fewer related issues. These issues are
ranked according to the total aggregate scores ($\Sigma$) of the categories that are similar. The major reason for this summary of the categories is that it highlights the central issues for purposes like policy making.

4.2.1 School administrator-related causes of early school leaving

The five groups of respondents were first asked to list their perception of the three major causes of early school leaving in order of importance that were related to school administrators at the micro level of the schooling systems side of the theoretical framework. All the school administrator-related causes of early school leaving which are ranked from one to thirteen by the five groups of respondents are shown in Table 5.11. These top 13 categories from each group of respondents are chosen because their aggregate scores ($\Sigma$) far outstripped the others. The category of "others" shows the total points of all other categories combined. The number of other categories is shown in brackets.

**Agreement among the five groups of respondents**

The five groups of respondents agree on the importance of the top 13 categories in Table 5.11 as the school administrator-related causes of early school leaving as shown in the fact that their aggregate ($\Sigma$) points far outstrip the others. However, their agreement on those categories is less strong than their agreement on the categories of the previous section. As in the previous section, two of the five groups of respondents (early school leavers and unsuccessful completers instead of the early school leavers and their parents in the previous section) agree on their top 13 categories. Two of the 12 categories stipulated by early school leavers in the previous section were not common to the five groups of respondents, compared to four of the 13 categories in this section. In spite of these minor differences, the agreement of the five groups of respondents on nine of their top thirteen categories is of major significance. It shows that the respondents are aware of and agree on the type of administration which could influence students to leave school early.
Table 5.11: School administrator-related causes of early school leaving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL)</th>
<th>Unsuccessful completers (UC)</th>
<th>Parents of ESL</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators</th>
<th>Community leaders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N = 365</td>
<td>N = 180</td>
<td>N = 365</td>
<td>N = 163</td>
<td>N = 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to be genuinely concerned for pupils</td>
<td>263 1</td>
<td>115 2</td>
<td>237 3</td>
<td>93 4</td>
<td>70 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• No special help for &quot;kau 'atamai kovi&quot;</td>
<td>260 2</td>
<td>136 1</td>
<td>278 1</td>
<td>102 3</td>
<td>80 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Insisting on academically oriented curriculum</td>
<td>228 3</td>
<td>99 4</td>
<td>185 5</td>
<td>81 5</td>
<td>56 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Frequent use of corporal punishment</td>
<td>212 4</td>
<td>106 3</td>
<td>266 2</td>
<td>- 6</td>
<td>66 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Excessive emphasis on passing public exams</td>
<td>198 5</td>
<td>93 5</td>
<td>219 4</td>
<td>68 7</td>
<td>64 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to be genuinely concerned for teachers</td>
<td>180 6</td>
<td>81 6</td>
<td>146 8</td>
<td>115 2</td>
<td>102 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Placing &quot;good&quot; teachers in higher classes</td>
<td>160 7</td>
<td>63 10</td>
<td>158 7</td>
<td>- 6</td>
<td>45 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Inadequate salaries for teachers</td>
<td>148 8</td>
<td>76 7</td>
<td>168 6</td>
<td>127 1</td>
<td>75 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to motivate staff and students</td>
<td>126 9</td>
<td>68 9</td>
<td>102 11</td>
<td>36 11</td>
<td>30 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to communicate with staff and students</td>
<td>115 10</td>
<td>70 8</td>
<td>113 10</td>
<td>61 8</td>
<td>- 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Favouritism sours relationships</td>
<td>89 11</td>
<td>48 12</td>
<td>- 9</td>
<td>53 9</td>
<td>14 =13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to implement school policies</td>
<td>70 12</td>
<td>30 13</td>
<td>48 13</td>
<td>75 6</td>
<td>27 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of enforcement of school rules</td>
<td>61 13</td>
<td>54 11</td>
<td>133 9</td>
<td>35 12</td>
<td>35 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Conflicts between parents and administrators</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>71 12</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>20 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ineffectiveness of a large class size</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- 45</td>
<td>10 -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of incentives for teachers to be committed</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>25 13</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Administrative incompetence</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- 14</td>
<td>=13</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Others</td>
<td>69 (5)</td>
<td>41 (4)</td>
<td>72 (6)</td>
<td>52 (6)</td>
<td>22 (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Description of categories and comparison of respondents

It is clear from the categories and the ranks in Table 5.11 that there are two distinct groups with close similarities in their responses. Early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and the parents form the first group, and the teachers, school administrators and community leaders would form the second. For example, the top five ranks of the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents contain exactly the same five categories: "failure to be genuinely concerned for the pupils" (ranked 1st, 2nd and 3rd), "no special help to the 'kau 'atamai kovi' students" (2nd, 1st, 1st), "insisting on an academically oriented curriculum" (3rd, 4th and 5th), "frequent use of corporal punishment" (ranked 4th, 3rd and 2nd), and "excessive emphasis on passing public examinations" (ranked 5th, 5th and 4th).

As for the second group, there are close similarities in their rank orders of these five categories: "failure to be genuinely concerned for pupils" (both ranked fourth), "no special help for 'kau 'atamai kovi'" (3rd and 2nd), "insisting on academically oriented curriculum" (5th and 7th), "excessive emphasis on passing public examinations" (7th and 6th), "failure to be genuinely concerned for teachers" (2nd and 1st), "inadequate salaries for teachers" (1st and 3rd) and "failure to motivate staff and students" (11th and 10th). As for the other categories, there are greater similarities between the rank orders of the community leaders and those of the first group than of those of the second.

While the perceptions of the community leaders are generally in agreement with those of the first group in the other categories, the teachers and school administrators tend to differ in their emphases. For example, "failure to implement school policies" is ranked twelfth, thirteenth, thirteenth and eleventh respectively by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents of early school leavers, but it is ranked sixth by teachers and school administrators. "Ineffectiveness of a large class size" is another example where the difference in emphasis is obvious. Teachers and school administrators ranked it tenth whereas the other four groups of respondents included it among their causes but not in their
top thirteen categories. Both these differences in emphases indicate the trustworthiness of
the data in that they reflect the support that teachers and school administrators give to the
"ineffectiveness of a large class size" and their perception that the administration has failed
"to implement school policies".

The category of "inadequate teacher salaries" which is understandably ranked high by
teachers and school administrators (1st), and community leaders (3rd), is given a lower
ranking by early school leavers (8th), unsuccessful completers (7th) and parents of early
school leavers (6th). However, there is a clear convergence of opinions on the role played
by "no special help for the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)" (ranked 2nd, 1st, 1st,
3rd and 2nd) on the problem of early school leaving. The high ranking given to that
category by early school leavers (2nd), unsuccessful completers (1st) and the parents of
early school leaving (1st) is presumably due to the fact they may have not only observed it
but also suffered from it themselves. This is a further confirmation of the major complaint
against teachers and school administrators in the previous section in their "neglect of the 'kau
'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)".

The "frequent use of corporal punishment" is respectively ranked fourth, third, second and
fifth by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, parents of early school leavers, and
community leaders. The same category is given a considerably lower ranking of tenth by
teachers and school administrators in the previous section, and in this section it is not even
found among their top 13 ranks chosen for this analysis. This is understandable because
teachers and school administrators would like to think that their "frequent use of corporal
punishment" is justified in that it is at least not among the main causes of early school
leaving. However, it is hard to accept their views against the combined perceptions of the
other four groups of respondents. These differences reflect understandable differences in
perceptions of the groups, and are further indications of the trustworthiness of the data.
The importance of "excessive emphasis on passing public examinations" (ranked 5th, 5th, 4th, 7th 6th) is generally agreed upon, although the ranks given by teachers and school administrators (7th) and the community leaders (6th) are lower than the others. As for "insistence on academic curriculum", the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents of early of early school leavers with their high rankings (3rd, 4th, 5th) agree on its importance as a cause of early school leaving but the teachers and school administrators and the community leaders do not share that view giving it a slightly lower ranking of fifth and seventh. Again this is an expected difference because the rankings that the five groups of respondents give to those two closely related categories are similar in that teachers, school administrators and community leaders give both categories slightly lower rankings than the other three groups of respondents. A further confirmation of this is the overall ranking given to the category of "failure to design a curriculum to cater for the needs and abilities of students" in the summary of categories in Table 5.11a. The early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents give it a higher ranking than the other two groups.

However, teachers and school administrators see the "failure to motivate staff and students" (ranked 5th) as a more urgent issue which the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, parents of early school leavers and community leaders respectively rank ninth, ninth, eleventh and tenth. They also believe in the "ineffectiveness of a large class size" (ranked 10th) much more than the other four groups of respondents who do not even include it among their top 13 categories. It is interesting to view these grassroots perceptions in the light of the research which shows that within a reasonable range of the median class size, students learn just as well in larger as in smaller classes (Haddad, 1978, 1985). Thus, unless student:teacher ratios are substantially higher than median levels, efforts to improve learning outcomes by reducing class size are unlikely to be successful.

The "failure to communicate with staff and students" which is ranked eighth by teachers, school administrators and unsuccessful completers, and is ranked tenth by early school leavers and their parents, is not identified by community leaders in their top 13 categories.
The category of "favouritism sours relationships" is not included among the 12 categories of the previous section but it was identified here by four of the five groups of respondents except the parents of early school leavers. It is interesting that it is ranked high by teachers and school administrators (ranked 9th) presumably because they have suffered from it much more than the others who give it lower rankings (ranked 11th, 12th and =13th).

In summary, the views of early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and the parents of early school leavers are similar while those of teachers, school administrators and community leaders can only be said to be largely similar. In spite of the expected variations in the ranking of categories among the five groups of respondents, the causes of early school leaving are associated mainly with the failure of the school administrators on these six related issues: no special help for the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)", "failure to be concerned for staff and students", "insisting on an academically oriented curriculum", "failure to implement school policies", "ineffective policies and "incompetence of school administrators". The "excessive emphasis on passing public examinations" is related to their "insistence on academic curriculum" which the Tonga Ministry of Education mandates for all secondary schools.

Examples of the failure of the school administrators to make serious efforts to improve the management of the school is seen in their "failure to motivate staff and students", "lack of incentives for teachers to be committed", their "failure to communicate well with staff and students" and in the acceptance of the "ineffectiveness of a large class size" almost as the norm. "Placing the 'good' teachers in higher classes" becomes an important issue for early school leaving because it has been found that most of the early school leavers leave in the junior classes, between Forms 1 and 3. All in all, they all amount to a large extent to a "failure to effectively implement school policies" because there are expressed or implicit school policies for most of these issues.
There are clear similarities in the views of early school leavers and those of the unsuccessful completers. Irrespective of the small differences in their rank orders, the top 13 categories from both groups of respondents are exactly the same. Their rank orders in three categories are the same and in another six categories there is a difference of only one rank between them. Only in one category is there a difference of two rank orders between them: "lack of enforcement of school rules" (13th and 11th). The proposition that the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers are similar is again shown to be significantly confirmed in this section.

Similarities between early school leavers and their parents

There are similarities also in the perceptions of early school leavers and those of their parents but there are more differences between them in this section than in the previous section between early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers. In two categories, the rank orders of their perceptions are identical - "placing 'good' teachers in higher classes" (7th) and "failure to communicate with staff and students" (10th). There is a difference of only one rank order between their perceptions in three of their categories and in another five categories there is a difference of two rank orders between them. Only in one category is there a difference of four rank orders between them: "failure to motivate staff and students" (13th and 9th).

The only significant difference between them is the omission by the parents of the category of "favouritism sours relationships" from their top 13 categories. Instead, they include in their 13 categories the category of "conflicts between parents and administrators". This seems to be understandable because parents would be expected to be more concerned about their "conflicts with school administrators" than students. Again students would be expected to be more concerned about "favouritism (which sours their) relationships" with the school
administrators than parents. Overall, the similarities between the responses of early school leavers and their parents suggest a strong agreement between them as shown by the fact that, in spite of the differences in their rank orders and the understandable omission previously referred to, 12 of their top 13 categories are common to them.

**Summary of categories**

The top 13 categories from the five groups of respondents can be summed up in the five related issues shown in Table 5.11a. It is clear from the aggregate scores (Σ) and rank orders that the most important issue is the administrators' failure to be genuinely concerned for pupils" which includes the category of "no special help for the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)''. The primacy of this issue is shown in the high ranking that the five groups of respondents give to it (1st, 1st, 1st, 2nd, 2nd). Early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents rank it first while teachers, school administrators and community rank it second.

**Table 5.11a : Summary of the school administrator-related causes of early school**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary of the categories in Table 5.12 in six related issues</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful completers (UC) N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Failure to be genuinely concerned for students</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to be genuinely concerned for staff</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to design a curriculum to cater for pupils' needs &amp; abilities</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to discipline students effectively</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to communicate with staff, students and parents</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ineffective policies</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Σ Rank</th>
<th>Σ Rank</th>
<th>Σ Rank</th>
<th>Σ Rank</th>
<th>Σ Rank</th>
<th>Σ Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>523 1</td>
<td>251 1</td>
<td>515 1</td>
<td>195 2</td>
<td>150 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>454 2</td>
<td>225 2</td>
<td>404 4</td>
<td>348 1</td>
<td>207 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>426 3</td>
<td>192 3</td>
<td>416 3</td>
<td>104 5</td>
<td>120 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>343 4</td>
<td>190 4</td>
<td>447 2</td>
<td>110 4</td>
<td>128 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204 5</td>
<td>118 5</td>
<td>184 5</td>
<td>114 3</td>
<td>28 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160 6</td>
<td>63 6</td>
<td>158 6</td>
<td>45 6</td>
<td>45 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The prominence of this issue arises firstly from the high priority (ranked 2nd, 1st, 1st, 3rd and 2nd) that the five groups of respondents give to the category of "no special help to the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)" shown in Table 5.11. Secondly, while the category of "failure to genuinely love all students" is given the relatively lower ranking of fourth by teachers, school administrators and community leaders, the others give it a higher ranking of first, second and third.

The second issue is that of "failure to be concerned for staff" which would include these categories: "failure to motivate staff and students", "inadequate salaries for teachers", and "lack of incentives for teachers to be committed". While this issue is ranked second by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents, it is ranked first by teachers, school administrators and community leaders. It is important to note that the higher ranking given to this issue by teachers, school administrators and community leaders is due to the high ranking of first and third that they allocate to the category of "inadequate salaries for teachers" in Table 5.11, compared to the much lower ranking of eight, seventh and sixth from the others. It is understandable that teachers, school administrators and community leaders would be more concerned about adverse effects of inadequate salaries than the others.

The third issue is the "failure to discipline students effectively" which finds expressions in administrators' failure: "to enforce school rules" and to ban the "frequent use of corporal punishment". It is the parents and community leaders who express the stronger view on this issue because they rank it second, compared to the lower ranking of fourth by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, teachers and school administrators. This suggests that parents and community leaders believe that the school administration suffers from a "failure to enforce school rules" which finds expression in their "frequent use of corporal punishment".
The fourth issue of "failure to design a curriculum to cater for pupils' needs and abilities" would embrace the "excessive emphasis on passing public exams". Teachers and school administrators give a lower ranking to this issue than any of the others which indicates their stronger support for the academic curriculum. The fifth issue is the "failure to communicate with staff, students and parents" which is shown in administrators' "failure to communicate with staff and students", "favouritism (which) sours relationships" and in their "conflicts with parents". Teachers and school administrators give a higher ranking to this issue than the others presumably because they have suffered from it more than the others.

The sixth issue is "ineffective policies" which includes the "placing (of) 'good' teachers in higher classes" and the "ineffectiveness of a large class size". Teachers and school administrators must have experienced the "ineffective policies" more than the others and this is shown by the fact that they rank it higher than any of the other groups of respondents. Thus, as far as the five groups of respondents are concerned, the accumulated effects of the school administrators' failure: to be genuinely concerned for staff and students, to design a curriculum to cater for the pupils' needs and abilities, to produce effective school policies, to implement them effectively, and to communicate well with staff, students and parents have influenced some students to leave secondary schooling prematurely.

What has emerged from the summary of categories is that there are predictable and understandable differences found among the five groups of respondents. For example, teachers and school administrators are more concerned about the "failure to be genuinely concerned for staff" than the others. Similarly, early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents are more concerned about the "lack of genuine love for students" than the others. Those understandable differences make a strong case for the trustworthiness of the responses. They show that respondents' perceptions are honest, although at times differences in emphases rather than opposing views understandably suggest a desire on the part of some respondents to be exonerated from some of the blame.
4.2.2 Teacher-related causes of early school leaving

The five groups of respondents were asked to list three major causes of early school leaving in order of importance that were related to teachers at the micro level of the schooling systems. Table 5.12 shows all categories of causes of early school leaving related to teachers which were ranked in the first twelve by any of the five groups of respondents. The categories are shown in the rank orders as identified by the five groups of respondents. The top twelve ranks from each group of respondents are chosen for this analysis because their aggregate scores ($\Sigma$) far outnumber the others. Table 5.12 was constructed in the same way as Table 5.11.

Agreement among the five groups of respondents

At the most general level, the five groups of respondents are in strong agreement on the importance of the top 12 categories in Table 5.12 as teacher-related causes of early school leaving. This is clearly shown in two ways. Firstly, as it was previously pointed out, the aggregate scores ($\Sigma$) of those 12 categories far outnumbered the aggregate scores of the few categories shown under the category of "others". The score of 121 in the category of "others", for example, may appear to be larger than some of the categories in the top 12 ranks, but when they are divided by the seven categories, they are relatively small. Secondly, in spite of the differences in their rank orders, the 12 categories from early school leavers and their parents are the same, and 10 of their 12 categories are common to the other three groups of respondents. In fact, only one category from each of the other three groups of respondents is found outside the top 12 categories stipulated by early school leavers and their parents. The strong agreement among the five groups of respondents in their categories and to some extent in their rankings shows that there is a consensus of opinions on the teacher-related factors which could influence students to leave school early.
Table 5.12: Teacher-related causes of early school leaving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL)  N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \sum )</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>( \sum )</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>( \sum )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Neglect of the &quot;kau 'atamai kovi&quot; (ones with bad brain)</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Beating students as a major form of discipline</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Teaching is not understood by pupils</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Inability to teach to the student level</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of genuine concern for pupils</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of sensitivity to students' self-esteem</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of encouragement for pupils to do well</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Teaching solely for passing public exams</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of concern for students with difficulty</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Teachers' dislike of particular students</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Unsuitable teaching methods</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Teaching is boring and monotonous</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Bad examples lead students astray</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not incorporating students' characteristics into teaching strategies</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Letting non-school matters interfere with school work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Others</td>
<td>88 (6)</td>
<td>45 (5)</td>
<td>79 (6)</td>
<td>121 (7)</td>
<td>30 (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Description of categories and comparison of respondents

The most important category is the "neglect of the 'kau atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)" because it is ranked first by all the five groups of respondents. The phrase "kau atamai kovi" (literally translated as "ones with bad brain") or "slow learners" is deliberately used here because it was often used literally by respondents and more importantly it conveys the type of labelling that is used for students who are academically slower and also lacking in efforts to be successful in schooling. The seriousness of this category is in the fact that they are "neglected" in spite of or perhaps because of their conditions. Most of those who are likely to be early school leavers and unsuccessful completers would be included among them.

The category of "beating students as the major form of discipline" is of major importance to early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents of early school leavers and community leaders who rank it second, second, second and third respectively. Teachers and school administrators, on the other hand, rank it tenth and that clearly indicates that they do not consider corporal punishment to be a major contributing factor towards students leaving school early. Obviously, teachers and administrators who apply corporal punishment do not want to think that the use of corporal punishment is related strongly to early school leaving.

The category of "teaching was not understood by students" is seen by teachers and school administrators as being more significant because they rank it second and it is ranked between third and fourth by the other groups of respondents. This is in contrast to the much lower rank of eighth that teachers and administrators give to "inability to teach to the student levels" which is ranked considerably higher by early school leavers (4th), unsuccessful completers (4th), parents (3rd) and community leaders (5th). The difference in ranking that teachers and school administrators give to "teaching is not understood by students" (2nd) and "inability to teach to the student levels" (8th) is probably related to the fact that the former
(teaching is not understood by students) can be attributed to some fault on the part of students while the latter (inability to teach to the student levels) can be largely interpreted as a poor reflection on their own performance.

"Lack of genuine concern for students", which is an indictment of teachers by this group, is given greater importance by community leaders who rank it second but it is given lower ranking of fifth, sixth, seventh and fourth respectively by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, parents, teachers and school administrators. There are two other major differences in ranking among the respondents. One is found in the third rank that teachers and school administrators give to the "lack of encouragement for students to do well" as compared to the seventh, sixth and seventh rank that the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, parents and community leaders respectively give to it. It seems that teachers and school administrators blame the parents. The other difference concerns the "teaching solely for passing public examinations" which is ranked fifth and sixth by teachers, school administrators, and by community leaders but it is ranked even lower by early school leavers (8th), unsuccessful completers (9th) and the parents of early school leavers (8th). Those rankings suggest that teachers blame the system for their type of teaching. In summary, it seems that teachers and school administrators try to off load the blame of their "lack of genuine concern for students" to others.

While there are close similarities observed in Table 5.12 in the responses from three groups of respondents - early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents of early school leavers - there are significant differences found in those from teachers, school administrators and community leaders. The only rank that teachers, school administrators and community leaders agree on is the "neglect of the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)" which is ranked first by both of them. In three other categories there is a difference of one placing in their ranks. The differences in ranks in the remaining eight categories range from two (2nd and 4th) to seven placings (10th and 3rd). While the two categories of - "teaching is boring and monotonous" and "letting non school matters interfere with school work" - are
understandably missing from the top twelve categories from teachers and school administrators, the category of "unsuitable teaching methods" is not found among the top twelve categories from community leaders.

It is interesting to note that while the ranks of the categories from teachers and school administrators have largely been different from those of the other four groups of respondents, the ranks from the community leaders are more aligned with those of parents than any of the other four groups. In two of the twelve categories the ranks from the community leaders and the parents are exactly the same (1st and 4th). While there is a difference of one placing in the ranks of four of the categories, there is a difference of no more than three placings in the ranks of five other categories. The only significant omission from the top twelve categories of community leaders is the category of "unsuitable teaching methods" whereas in the top twelve categories of parents, "letting non school matters interfere with school work" is missing. In spite of these minor differences, similarities between these two groups of respondents are significant. Thus, the responses of parents and community leaders are similar to those of the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers, whose similarities in responses are clearly evident in their close ranking of the categories. The responses from teachers and school administrators, on the other hand, are different to those from community leaders and very different to the responses from the other groups.

**Similarities between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers**

The similarities of the responses between the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers are significantly close as is shown by the ranks in six of their twelve categories which are exactly the same. There is a difference of only one placing in the ranks of four of the categories. Only in one category - "lack of encouragement for pupils to do well" - is there a slight difference of two placings in their ranks. It seems that the only significant difference is found in the fact that the category of "unsuitable teaching methods" is not found
among the top twelve ranks of the unsuccessful completers. Similarly the category of "bad examples lead students astray" is not identified among the top twelve categories of the early school leavers. Overall, there are close similarities between these two groups of respondents and the differences between them are not of major significance. The similarities in perceptions between these two groups of respondents strongly suggest that the teacher related forces that have influenced them in their schooling outcomes have been essentially the same.

**Similarities between early school leavers and their parents**

There are even closer similarities between the responses of early school leavers and their parents. In six of the twelve categories, the ranks are exactly the same. In the other six categories there is a difference of only one placing in their ranks. The similarities between early school leavers and their parents are significantly closer than those between them (early school leavers) and the unsuccessful completers as it is shown by the fact that the top twelve categories from early school leavers and their parents are exactly the same although they appear in slightly different orders. The close similarities in the perceptions of the early school leavers and their parents overwhelmingly suggest that both groups have been acutely aware of the factors that have impacted on students to leave school early.

**Summary of categories**

The top twelve categories can be summed up in these four issues shown in Table 5.12a: "lack of genuine concern for students", "ineffective teaching", "neglect of the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brains)", "beating students as the major form of discipline". It is important to note at the outset that there is a strong agreement among the five groups of respondents in that they have exactly the same ranking for these four related issues.
The most important issue is that of "lack of genuine concern for students" which finds expressions in these six categories: "lack of encouragement for pupils to do well", "lack of sensitivity to students' dignity", "lack of concern for students with difficulty", "bad examples lead students astray", "letting non-school matters interfere with school work" and "teachers' dislike of particular students". It is clear from the aggregate scores (Σ) and the rankings found in the summary of categories in Table 5.19a that the five groups of respondents see the "lack of genuine concern for pupils" as the most crucial issue. It is ranked first by all of them.

The second issue of major importance is "ineffective teaching" which encompasses another six categories: "teaching is not understood by pupils", "inability to teach to the student levels", "teaching solely for passing public examinations", "unsuitable teaching methods", "teaching is boring and monotonous" and "not incorporating students' abilities and backgrounds into teaching strategies". This issue is ranked second by all the five groups of respondents. It is important to note that there are only small differences between the aggregate scores that the five groups of respondents allocated to this issue and those to the
first one. It indicates that while the issue of "ineffective teaching" is perceived to be not as important as the issue of "lack of genuine love for students", it is fairly close to it in importance.

The third issue is the "neglect of the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)". The importance of the category of teachers' "neglect of the 'kau 'atamai kovi'" ('ones with bad brain') is evident from the fact that it was ranked first by all the five groups of respondents. The use of the phrase "kau 'atamai kovi (ones with bad brain)" instead of the more conventional terms like "under-achievers", "slow-learners" or other similar terms is for two reasons. Firstly, these exact words "kau 'atamai kovi (ones with bad brain)" were frequently used in the responses. Secondly, it seems to the researcher that it has a considerable impact in that it would, as it were, hit people between the eyes and it would draw their attention to the plight of these students. Since most of the future early school leavers and unsuccessful completers would be looked upon as being among the "kau 'atamai kovi (ones with bad brain)", it is not surprising that all five groups of respondents report that category as the top priority of all the causes of early school leaving.

The fourth issue is the "beating of students as the major form of discipline". Instead of the small differences in the aggregate scores of the first and the second issue, the differences between the total aggregate scores of the second and the third issues are huge. In every case the aggregate scores of the second category is more than double those of the third category. As for the fourth issue of "beating students as the major form of discipline" there is a big difference between the teachers and school administrators, on the one hand, and the other four groups of respondents, on the other. As far as the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, parents and community leaders are concerned, there are only small differences between the aggregate scores of the third and fourth issues. As for teachers and school administrators, on the other hand, the aggregate scores for the fourth issue of "beating students as the major form of discipline" are significantly smaller than those for the third issue of "neglect of the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)". This is consistent with
their belief that corporal punishment is not a significant factor in early school leaving. The overall aggregate scores of the first two issues far outnumber those of the third and fourth issues. Thus, as far as the five groups of respondents are concerned, it is the effects of teachers' "lack of genuine concern for students", "ineffective teaching", "neglect of the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)", and "beating students as the major form of discipline" which have impacted most on students to leave school early.

In view of the fact that these are responses to an open ended question, there is a strong case here for the trustworthiness of the responses especially as differences are related to differences in specific concerns of particular groups of respondents. Furthermore, the similarities found in the responses of the five groups of respondents and the understandable differences among them strongly suggest that there is a strong agreement among the five groups of respondents, and together they further contribute to the trustworthiness of the responses.

4.2.3 Parent-related causes of early school leaving

The next "agents" are the parents of early school leavers at the meso level of the community systems. Here the five groups of respondents were asked to identify the three major causes of early school leaving that were related to the parents of early school leavers in order of importance. Their responses were categorized, scored and rank ordered as in the other sections. The top 12 categories from each of the five groups of respondents are chosen for this analysis because their aggregate scores (Σ), as in the previous sections, are far ahead of the others.

Agreement among the five groups of respondents

There is a stronger agreement among the five groups of respondents in this section than in any of the previous sections as all the five groups of respondents gave to the ten common categories. However, there are significant differences in emphases in the parents' rank
orders of the categories. It seems that the parents give a lower ranking to those categories which might reflect badly on them, and higher ranking to those categories which either appear to be neutral or are perceived by them to be remotely related to them. In spite of those differences, there is a strong agreement among all the respondents on the importance of at least 10 of the 12 categories as the parent-related causes of early school leaving.

Table 5.13: Parent-related causes of early school leaving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful completers (UC) N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Σ</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Σ</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Σ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to discipline their children</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to pay school fees</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of parental encouragement</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of facilities for pupils to study at home</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to meet school demands</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One parent is absent from home</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demand for domestic work</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of parental push to stay at home</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict between parents and schools</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family dislocation e.g. separation</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inability of parents to help with study</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family crises e.g. death</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over spending on particular events e.g. church collection</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spending money on less important things e.g. drinking</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>75 (5)</td>
<td>8 (2)</td>
<td>31 (4)</td>
<td>6 (3)</td>
<td>14 (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Description of categories and comparison of respondents

The first category of "failure to discipline their children" is understandably ranked lower by parents (5th), compared to the much higher ranking of either first or second by the other four groups of respondents. The "failure to pay school fees" is ranked highly (between first and third) by all the five groups of respondents. The "lack of parental encouragement" is again understandably ranked lower (6th) by parents and considerably higher by the other four groups of respondents (3rd, 3rd, 1st and 2nd).

In view of the close ranking that all the respondents gave to the categories listed below, they are said to have strong views on the importance of each of these categories: "lack of facilities for pupils to study at home" (ranked 4th, 4th, 3rd, 5th and 4th), "failure to meet school (financial) demands" (ranked 5th, 5th, 2nd, 4th and 6th), "one parent is absent from home" (ranked 6th, 7th, 7th, 8th and 7th), "demand for domestic work" (ranked 7th, 6th, 9th, 6th and 5th), "lack of parental push to stay at home" (ranked 8th, 9th, 11th, 7th and 9th), "family dislocations e.g. separation" (10th, 8th, 4th, 10th and 8th) and "family crises e.g. death" (ranked 12th, 11th, 8th, 12th and 11th). There are two categories here where the parents' rankings are understandably much higher than the others: "failure to meet school (financial) demands" and "family dislocations".

There are close similarities among the five groups of respondents as ten of the twelve categories are common to all of them. However, the similarities among the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, teachers and school administrators, and community leaders are significantly closer here than in any of the previous sections. For example, there was a difference of only one rank order among them in nine of the ten categories that they have in common with the parents of early school leavers. It is only in the category of "family dislocations" where there is a difference of more than one rank among them.
It is clear from the rank orders of the five groups of respondents that the five most important causes of early school leaving are found in these categories: the "failure to pay school fees" (ranked 2nd, 1st, 1st, 3rd and 3rd), the "failure to discipline their children" (ranked 1st, 2nd, 5th, 2nd and 1st), "lack of parental encouragement" (ranked 3rd, 3rd, 6th, 1st and 2nd), "failure to meet school (financial) demands" (ranked 5th, 5th, 2nd, 4th and 6th) and the "lack of facilities for pupils to study at home" (ranked 4th, 4th, 3rd, 5th and 4th). In these five categories, the rank orders of the parents are significantly different from the other four groups. It seems that when the causes are related to poverty, the parents' ranks are slightly higher than the others - "failure to pay school fees" (ranked 1st compared to 2nd, 1st, 3rd and 3rd), "failure to meet school demands" (ranked 2nd compared to 5th, 5th, 4th and 6th) and "lack of facilities for pupils to study at home" (ranked 3rd compared to 4th, 4th, 5th and 4th). However, when the categories seem to reflect a failure on their responsibilities as parents, their ranks are lower than the others as seen in these two of the five categories - "failure to discipline their children" (ranked 5th compared to 1st, 2nd, 2nd and 1st) and "lack of parental encouragement" (ranked 6th compared to 3rd, 3rd, 1st and 2nd).

The differences in the rank orders of the parents and those of the other four groups continue in three other categories. The parents give lower rankings to these two categories: "demand for domestic work" (ranked 9th, compared to 7th, 6th, 6th and 5th) and "lack of parental push (for children) to study at home" (ranked 11th, compared to 8th, 9th, 7th and 9th). As for the category of "family crises" the parents report a higher ranking (ranked 8th, compared to 12th, 11th, 12th and 11th). Only in the one category of "one parent was absent from home" (ranked 6th, 7th, 7th, 8th and 7th) is there a consensus of opinions among the five groups of respondents. Again the emerging pattern is further confirmed. The parents' rankings are lower in the two categories relating directly to their parental responsibilities ("demand for domestic work" and "lack of parental push for children to study at home"), and higher in the category of "family crises e.g. death" which could occur without their being responsible.

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**Similarities between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers**

There has been close similarities between early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers are stronger in this section. Firstly, their first twelve categories are exactly the same. Secondly, their rank orders are identical in the third, fourth and fifth category. In eight of the other nine categories there is a difference of only one rank between them. Only in the category of "family dislocations" (ranked 10th and 8th) is there a difference of two ranks between them. Thus, the proposition that the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers have endured the same experience is found to be significantly true in this section.

**Similarities between early school leavers and their parents**

The similarity between the early school leavers and their parents is shown in the fact that eleven of the twelve categories are common to both groups. However, the differences in the rank orders between them are more substantial here than in any of the previous sections. Only in four of the twelve categories where there is a difference of one rank between them. As for the other seven categories the differences in their rank orders range from two to six. The category of "inability of parents to help with their study" which is ranked eleventh by early school leavers is not even found among the top twelve categories of the parents. In spite of these differences, their agreement on the causes of early school leaving is still strong. Firstly, eleven of the twelve categories are common to both groups. Secondly, differences in the rank orders are related to differences in emphases rather than to opposing views. Thirdly, perhaps some of these differences are due more to an attempt on the part of the parents to exonerate themselves from some of the possible blames than to real differences in perceptions.
The 12 categories of parent-related causes of early school leaving shown in Table 5.13 can be summed up in the four related issues in Table 5.13a. The first issue is the "lack of family support for children's schooling", and this is clearly illustrated in these categories: "lack of parental encouragement", "lack of facilities for children to study at home", the "demand for domestic work" and their "inability to help with their (children's) study". The primary importance of this issue is shown in the fact that it is ranked first by four of the five groups of respondents. It is only the parents who rank it second. It is worth noting that it is due to the priority given by the four groups of respondents to the category of "lack of parental encouragement" (3rd, 3rd, 1st and 2nd) in Table 5.13 that this issue figures so prominently in Table 5.13a. The parents understandably give a much lower ranking of sixth to this issue.

Table 5.13a: Summary of the parent-related causes of early school leaving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary of the categories in Table 5.13</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful completers (UC) N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Σ Rank</td>
<td>Σ Rank</td>
<td>Σ Rank</td>
<td>Σ Rank</td>
<td>Σ Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of family support for children's schooling</td>
<td>730 1</td>
<td>346 1</td>
<td>564 2</td>
<td>363 1</td>
<td>231 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to discipline children &amp; themselves</td>
<td>579 2</td>
<td>259 2</td>
<td>384 4</td>
<td>200 3</td>
<td>155 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Poverty-related causes</td>
<td>496 3</td>
<td>252 3</td>
<td>674 1</td>
<td>279 2</td>
<td>190 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of stability in the family</td>
<td>306 4</td>
<td>215 4</td>
<td>537 3</td>
<td>130 4</td>
<td>130 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that the parents' perceptions as shown by the aggregate scores and the rank orders of the issues in Table 15.13a are different from those of the other four groups of respondents. This difference in perception is understandable because parents would not like to see their lack of support for their children's schooling to be the most important of the parent-related causes of early school leaving. On the other hand, it is the early school...
leavers and unsuccessful completers themselves whom we would expect to have experienced
the impact of this issue on their lives, who give prominence to this issue through the large
differences in the aggregate scores that they allocate to this issue and those to the second
one.

The second issue is "poverty" which is shown in the parents' inability to "pay school fees",
and "to meet school demands" which are predominantly financial in terms e.g. demand for
school materials, book fees, participation in fund-raisings and so on. Other related aspects
of poverty would include "over spending on particular events" like church yearly collection
(katoanga'ofa or misinale) and "spending money on less important things (than education)"
lke drinking. The importance of this issue is shown in the fact that it is ranked first by
parents. In terms of the aggregate scores, it is closely ranked second by teachers,
administrators and community leaders, and ranked third by early school leavers and
unsuccessful completers. It is expected that parents would give the highest ranking to this
issue for two reasons. Firstly, they would have experienced the adverse effects of poverty
of their children's schooling. Secondly, poverty is a multi-faceted issue, and thus parents
are to a large extent not held responsible for it.

The third issue is the "failure (of parents) to discipline children and themselves", and this is
shown in their "failure to discipline their children", "failure to 'push' (tenge) their children to
study at home" and also in the lack of discipline shown in the "conflicts between them and
the school". The importance of this issue is more strongly felt by early school leavers and
unsuccessful completers who rank it second than by the teachers, school administrators and
community leaders who respectively give it the slightly lower third ranking. Again, it is
understandable that parents would give the lowest ranking to this issue because it is can be
seen as a poor reflection on their own responsibility to their children.

The fourth issue is the "lack of stability in the family". This is shown in the adverse effects
on the family of those categories: "one parent being absent from home", "family
"dislocations" and "family crises". The understandable difference in the perception of parents and the others is also found in this issue. It is ranked third by parents, compared to the fourth ranking that the others give to it. The greater importance that parents give to this issue is shown not only in the higher ranking of third that they give to this issue but also in the greater number of aggregate scores (Σ 537) that they allocate to this issue, compared to those to the fourth issue (Σ 384). It is a difference of 151 points.

Thus, as far as the five groups of respondents are concerned, it is the effects of these four parent-related issues - "lack of family support for their children's schooling", "poverty", "lack of discipline of children and themselves" and "lack of stability in the family" - which have caused children to leave school early.

What stands out clearly from the summary of the categories of parent-related causes of early school leaving is the understandable differences between parents and the other four groups of respondents. This shows validity in that parents are expected to be realistic in their perceptions of the causes of early schooling through their identification of them. However, at the same time they would also be expected to be more circumspect in their assessment of factors which could reflect poorly on their own performance and responsibility.

4.2.4 Student-related causes of early school leaving

The five groups of respondents were next asked to identify the three major causes of early school leaving that were related to students at the micro level of the schooling systems in order of importance. Their responses were categorized, scored and rank ordered as in the other sections. The top 10 categories ranked by each group of respondents are chosen for this analysis because their aggregate scores (Σ) are substantially higher than the others.
Agreement among the five groups of respondents

The agreement among the five groups of respondents on the student-related causes of early school leaving in Table 5.14 is not as strong as the that found in the previous sections. For example, only seven of the thirteen categories is common to the five groups of respondents. In other words, six of the categories were not common to them. However, two of the "uncommon" categories are common to four, and one is common to three of the five groups of respondents. In effect, only three of the thirteen categories are individually identified by a group of respondent. Thus, although the agreement among the five groups of respondents is admittedly not as strong as that in the previous sections, it is still significant.

Description of categories and comparison of respondents

In terms of priority of causes, there are four major student-related causes of early school leaving. Firstly, "they fail to attend school daily" and that is serious because they miss out altogether on schooling. Secondly, "they feel that they have been a failure". Thirdly, "they fail to take their study seriously". It is assumed that if they are serious about it they would "have paid attention in class", "done their homework", "cooperated with teachers", "shared their difficulties with others" and "studied at home". Fourthly, they misbehave at school by "breaking school rules", "being involved in bad peer groups" and "causing trouble at school". Those four factors have been associated with early school leaving because they have worked against students' progress and retention at school.

Similarities between teachers, school administrators and community leaders in Table 5.14 are much greater than any similarities between any of them and the other three groups of respondents. This is illustrated by the fact that the category of "not attending school daily" is ranked first by both of them but it is ranked fifth by the other three groups of respondents. Although they give similar high ranking to the category of "not understanding what is taught" as the three three groups, they differ greatly in the category of "disobeying school
rules" which is given a higher ranking (2nd and 4th) by teachers and school administrators, compared to the lower ranking of 8th and 7th given to it by early school leavers and unsuccessful completers. As for parents they do not even include that category among their top ten categories.

Table 5.14: Student-related causes of early school leaving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 180</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feeling that I am a failure</td>
<td>397 (1)</td>
<td>302 (2)</td>
<td>70 (7)</td>
<td>35 (9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not taking study seriously</td>
<td>366 (2)</td>
<td>345 (1)</td>
<td>76 (6)</td>
<td>40 (8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not studying at home</td>
<td>279 (3)</td>
<td>242 (4)</td>
<td>121 (4)</td>
<td>50 (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not understanding what is taught</td>
<td>246 (4)</td>
<td>267 (3)</td>
<td>146 (3)</td>
<td>100 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not attending school daily</td>
<td>183 (5)</td>
<td>230 (5)</td>
<td>179 (1)</td>
<td>124 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involved in bad peer groups</td>
<td>169 (6)</td>
<td>177 (6)</td>
<td>54 (9)</td>
<td>82 (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not doing homework</td>
<td>152 (7)</td>
<td>160 (8)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disobeying school rules</td>
<td>133 (8)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>164 (2)</td>
<td>90 (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trouble making at school</td>
<td>118 (9)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>92 (5)</td>
<td>94 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not paying attention in class</td>
<td>97 (10)</td>
<td>173 (7)</td>
<td>38 (10)</td>
<td>30 (10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of student cooperation with staff</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>126 (9)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of cooperation from fellow students</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>66 (8)</td>
<td>43 (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sharing difficulties with others e.g. teachers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>92 (10)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>50 (3)</td>
<td>76 (4)</td>
<td>74 (4)</td>
<td>31 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It has been found in the two previous sections that there are close similarities in the ranking of eight of the ten categories that is provided by the early school leavers, unsuccessful
completers and parents of early school leavers. On the other hand, there are similarities in the ranks given by the teachers, school administrators and community leaders. However, between the ranking of the first three groups of respondents and that of the other two groups there are noticeable differences. For example, in spite of some differences in the rank orders, the first six ranks from the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents are found in the first six categories. The sixth and the seventh rank of the teachers and school administrators, and the eighth and the ninth rank of the community leaders are found among the first six categories stipulated by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and the parents of early school leavers.

Clearly, there are major differences in the prioritization of causes between those two groups of respondents. As far as early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents of early school leavers are concerned, the main causes of early school leaving are: the "not taking study seriously" (ranked 2nd, 4th and 1st), "feeling that I am a failure" (ranked 1st, 3rd and 2nd), "not studying at home" (ranked 3rd, 2nd and 4th), and "not understanding what is taught" (ranked 4th, 1st and 3rd). Teachers, school administrators and community leaders, on the other hand, see the following as their most important causes of early school leaving: "not attending school daily" (ranked 1st by both groups), "not understanding what is taught" (ranked 3rd and 2nd), "disobeying school rules" (ranked 2nd and 4th), "trouble making at school" (ranked 5th and 3rd) and "not studying at home" (ranked 4th and 6th).

These differences reflect the differences in perceptions between the five groups of respondents which are more pronounced here than in any of the previous sections. For example, categories like "feeling that I am a failure" and "not taking study seriously" are not expected to be ranked high by teachers and school administrators. In the same way, early school leavers, unsuccessful completers are not expected to give a high ranking to "disobeying school rules" and "trouble making at school". In spite of the differences in emphases shown in the marked differences in the rank orders between the two groups of respondents, the similarities and understandable differences found among them indicate
trustworthiness in their responses in that they would be the kind of similarities in perceptions and differences in emphases that one would expect from these five groups of respondents.

_Similarities between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers_

Again there are close similarities between the responses of early school leavers and unsuccessful completers. Firstly, their first ten categories are common to both groups. Such commonality is not found between them and any of the other three groups of respondents. Secondly, the ranks of both groups for two categories (5th and 6th) are identical. Thirdly, while there is a difference of only one rank between them in three of the categories, in another four categories there are differences of two ranks between them. Fourthly, only in one category - "not understanding what is taught" - where there is a difference of three ranks (4th and 1st) between them. Thus, the similarities found in this section are further confirmation of the close similarities that have been found all along between the responses of early school leavers and unsuccessful completers.

_Similarities between early school leavers and their parents_

The similarities between the responses of early school leavers and their parents in this section are not as close as those in the previous sections as shown by the fact that only eight of the ten categories are common to them. However, in two ways the early school leavers' responses are closer to those of their parents than to those of the unsuccessful completers. First of all, in four categories there are differences of only one rank order between the early school leavers and their parents, compared to only three categories between the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers. Secondly, there is a greater agreement in the first four categories of early school leavers and their parents than in the three categories of the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers in that the difference of one rank in the former is found in their top four ranks (1st to 4th) whereas in the latter it is found in the entire range of the top ten categories. In the fifth and sixth ranks these three groups of
respondents are identical. In spite of these differences, there are great similarities among the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents as the first six ranks are found in the first six categories. As a whole, the similarities between the perceptions of the early school leavers and their parents are not as strong as those in the previous sections as two of the top ten categories of early school leavers are missing from the top ten categories of the parents.

Summary of categories

The 13 student-related causes of early school leaving in Table 5.14 can be summed up by grouping them into school-related, home-related, personal attitude-related at the micro levels of the Schooling and Community Systems and village community-related issues at the meso level of the Community Systems which are shown in Table 5.14a. The 13 categories are dominated by school-related factors in that five of these categories are directly related to school factors - "failure to understand what is taught", "disobeying school rules", "lack of cooperation with teachers", "not paying attention in class" and "trouble making at school" -, and another three - "failure to attend school daily", "failure to share difficulties with others" and "lack of cooperation from fellow students" - can be said to be related partly to school factors and partly to others. There are two personal attitude-related categories: "feeling that I am a failure" and "not taking study seriously", and two home-related categories: "failure to study at home" and "failure to do homework". "Involving in bad peer groups" is the only category relating to the village community.

There are a few striking features of the four issues shown in Table 5.14a. There is a strong agreement among four of the five groups of respondents in that their rank ordering of the four issues is exactly the same. Only the community leaders in three of the issues who differ in their rankings. The first issue is associated with the school, and this is shown in the fact that it is ranked first by all the five groups of respondents. The primacy of the school related issue is further highlighted by the huge margins between the aggregate scores (Σ) allocated.
to it by unsuccessful completers, teachers, school administrators and community leaders and those allocated to the second issue. Moreover, six of the top ten categories in Table 5.14 is subsumed under this issue.

Table 5.14a: Summary of the student-related causes of early school leaving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary of the categories in Table 5.14 in four related issues</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Σ</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Σ</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Σ</td>
<td>Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School related</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal attitude-related</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home related</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village related</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second important issue is that relating to the personal attitude of students for it is ranked second by four of the five groups of respondents while community leaders rank it third. Furthermore, as far as the early school leavers and their parents are concerned, the school related issue has similar weighting as the student related issue in that there are only minor differences between the aggregate scores that they allocate to both issues. It can be argued from the two closely related categories subsumed under this issue - "feeling that I am a failure" and "not taking study seriously" - that this issue is more serious in that it would be highly unlikely that students who are beset with a "feeling of failure" and "lack of seriousness about their study" would complete their study, let alone completing it successfully.

The third important issue is that which relates to the home. Its importance is shown first by the fact that it is ranked third by four of the five groups of respondents and fourth by the community leaders. Secondly, it is also shown in the fact that there are only small differences between the aggregate scores that each of the five groups of respondents allocate
to this issue and those they allocate to the second issue. It seems from these two reasons that the five groups of respondents regard the role of the home in the education of their children to be of major importance.

The fourth issue relates to students' involvement in "bad" peer groups (fakakaungātamaiki kovi) mainly in the village community. It seems that there is a significant difference in perception here between four of the five groups of respondents and the community leaders in that this issue is ranked fourth by the four groups of respondents, compared to the higher ranking of second that community leaders give to it. However, it must be noted that the aggregate scores (Σ) that community leaders allocate to this issue (82) is only marginally greater than those that they allocate to the second (75) and third issue (50). Thus, in terms of the aggregate scores (Σ) the differences that the community leaders place on those last three issues are only marginal. In other words, difference between the second ranking of the fourth issue provided by the community leaders and the fourth ranking that the other four groups of respondents give to it is not as great as it first appears. Thus, the strong agreement among the five groups of respondents in their rank orders of the four issues contributes further towards the trustworthiness of their responses.

4.2.5 Village community-related causes of early school leaving

The next "agent" is the village community at the meso level of the community systems. The five groups of respondents were asked to identify the three major causes of early school leaving that were related to the village community in order of importance. Their responses were categorized, scored and rank ordered as in the other sections. Table 5.15 shows all categories of causes which were ranked one to nine by any of the five groups of respondents. The categories in Table 5.15 were constructed in the same way as Table 5.11.
Table 5.15: Village community-related causes of early school leaving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Σ Rank</td>
<td>Σ Rank</td>
<td>Σ Rank</td>
<td>Σ Rank</td>
<td>Σ Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Social activities distract students from studies</td>
<td>329 1</td>
<td>190 1</td>
<td>348 1</td>
<td>172 1</td>
<td>119 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of community facilities for students</td>
<td>311 2</td>
<td>119 5</td>
<td>278 3</td>
<td>58 9</td>
<td>43 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Smoking &amp; drinking lured pupils away from their studies</td>
<td>295 3</td>
<td>162 2</td>
<td>260 4</td>
<td>84 6</td>
<td>86 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Strong attraction of a perceived easy village life</td>
<td>268 4</td>
<td>138 3</td>
<td>296 2</td>
<td>141 2</td>
<td>108 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of community efforts to help economically disadvantaged parents</td>
<td>240 5</td>
<td>105 6</td>
<td>230 6</td>
<td>69 7</td>
<td>38 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Individualism is becoming stronger</td>
<td>221 6</td>
<td>91 7</td>
<td>152 8</td>
<td>124 3</td>
<td>113 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of cooperation among parents</td>
<td>141 7</td>
<td>126 4</td>
<td>259 5</td>
<td>109 5</td>
<td>56 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of cooperation among students</td>
<td>119 8</td>
<td>58 9</td>
<td>176 7</td>
<td>123 4</td>
<td>85 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Rivalry among schools</td>
<td>94 9</td>
<td>55 8</td>
<td>112 9</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Rivalry among churches</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>49 8</td>
<td>32 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Others</td>
<td>81 (4)</td>
<td>36 (3)</td>
<td>79 (4)</td>
<td>39 (3)</td>
<td>40 (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Agreement among the five groups of respondents

There is a strong agreement among the five groups of respondents on the village community-related causes of early school leaving in that eight of the ten categories are common to the five groups of respondents. Although two of the ten categories are not common to all of them, one is common to teachers, school administrators and community leaders and the other is common to the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and the parents. As for the ranking of categories, there is a relatively strong agreement in the eight categories that are common to them.
For example, while the category of "social activities distract students from their studies" is ranked first by all the five groups of respondents, the category of "strong attraction of a perceived easy village life" is respectively ranked fourth, third, second, second and third by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, parents, teachers and school administrators, and community leaders. Although the agreement among the five groups of respondents is not as strong here as in some of the previous sections, it is sufficiently strong to show that these ten categories have been perceived to be influential in causing some students to leave school early by all groups of respondents.

**Description of categories and comparison of respondents**

In terms of the similarities in perceptions the five groups of respondents are divided into two groups. The early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and the parents of early school leavers form the first group while teachers, school administrators and community leaders comprise the second group. However, there are clear similarities. For example, eight of the nine categories chosen for this analysis are common to both groups. Furthermore, the category of - "social activities (in the village) distract students from their studies" - is ranked first by both groups. This is by far the most important cause of early school leaving and this is related to the number of night clubs which are easily accessible to students in their vicinity. There is an legal age limit for children to attend them but it is hardly observed. Again they all strongly agree that the "strong attraction of a perceived easy village life" (ranked 4th, 3rd, 2nd, 2nd and 3rd) is also an important cause. That is the end of the similarities in their rank ordering of the causes.

In view of the close rankings that are given to the following categories respectively by the first and the second group, they are said to be generally agreed upon as being important causes of early school leaving: "lack of community facilities for students" (ranked 2nd, 5th and 3rd by the first group; 9th and 7th by the second group), "smoking and drinking lured
pupils away from their studies" (ranked 3rd, 2nd and 4th by the first group; 6th and 4th by the second group), "strong attraction of a perceived easy village life" (ranked 4th, 3rd and 2nd by the first group; 2nd and 3rd by the second group), "lack of community efforts to help economically disadvantaged parents" (ranked 5th, 6th, 6th by the first group; 7th and 8th by the second group), "individualism is becoming stronger" (ranked 6th, 7th and 8th by the first group; 3rd and 2nd by the second group), "lack of cooperation among parents" (ranked 7th, 4th, 5th by the first group; 5th and 6th by the second group), and "lack of cooperation among students" (ranked 8th, 9th, 7th by the first group; 4th and 5th by the second group). There are marked differences between the ranking of the first and second group as observed in the category of "individualism is becoming stronger" (ranked 6th to 8th by the first group, compared to 3rd and 2nd by the second group) but overall, the rankings within and between each group are relatively close.

The differences between the total aggregate scores (Σ) of the categories under each of the five groups of respondents are relatively small except for the sizable gap of 80 points between the sixth and seventh category under the early school leavers. There are only small differences found in the rank orders of the causes given by teachers and school administrators and those indicated by the community leaders. As for the causes stipulated by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents of early school leavers, there are substantial differences between their rank orders and those from the other two groups of respondents. In fact, as previously indicated, the five groups of respondents fall into two different groups not only in the rank orders but also in their aggregate scores.

This is clearly illustrated in the fact that the category - "individualism is becoming stronger" (lahi ange 'a e mo'ui fakafo'ituitui') - is ranked third and second respectively by teachers and school administrators, and community leaders but it is ranked sixth, seventh and eighth respectively by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents of early school leavers. Furthermore, while the "lack of cooperation among students" is ranked eighth, eighth and seventh respectively by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, and
parents of early school leavers, it is respectively ranked fourth and fifth by teachers and school administrators, and community leaders.

*Similarities between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers*

The similarities between the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers are shown in two ways. Firstly, the nine categories in Table 5.15 are common to both of them. Secondly, while in one category - "social activities (in the village) distract students from their studies" - their rank order is exactly the same (ranked 1st), in six other categories there is a difference of only one rank order between them. In effect, only in two categories where there is a difference of three ranks between them. Thus, there are close similarities in the rank orders between these two groups of respondents. These similarities are generally not as close as those in the previous sections but they are significantly close to support the proposition that the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers have a similar secondary school experience.

*Similarities between early school leavers and their parents*

The similarities between early school leavers and their parents are close to those between early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers. The nine categories in Table 5.15 are common to the three groups of respondents, the ranking of two categories (ranked 1st and 9th) by the early school leavers and their parents are the same, there were six categories with a difference of only one rank between the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers and four categories between early school leavers and their parents, and in only two categories was there a difference of three rank orders between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers, compared to three categories with a difference of only two rank orders between the early school leavers and their parents. This shows the close similarities not only between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers but also between early school leavers and their parents. Such strong agreement among those three groups shows a
high degree of validity and trustworthiness of the data in that the perceptions of those three groups are expected to be similar.

Summary of categories

The ten village-related causes of early school leaving can be summed up in the three major issues outlined in Table 5.15a. Firstly, there are causes related to the attractiveness of the village life style which include the following four categories: "social activities distract students from studies", "strong attraction of a perceived easy village life" and "smoking and drinking lure pupils away from their studies". Secondly, there are causes related to a lack of cooperation on the community level which is expressed in these six categories: "individualism is becoming stronger" (faka'au ke lahi ange 'a e mo'ui fakafo'ituitui'), "lack of cooperation among parents", "lack of community efforts to help economically disadvantaged parents", "lack of cooperation among students", "rivalry among schools" and "rivalry among churches". Thirdly, the "lack of community facilities for students' activities" does not encourage those who could be willing to organize some student-related activities or programs.

Table 5.15a: Summary of the village community-related causes of early school leaving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories in three issues</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N=365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N=180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N=365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N=163</th>
<th>Community leaders N=120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attractiveness of the village life style</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of cooperation on the community level</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of community facilities for student activities &amp; programs</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is the first time in the analysis that the perceptions of parents as indicated by their rank ordering of the issues in Table 5.15a, was found to be aligned with those of teachers, school
administrators and community leaders rather than those of the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers. In every case the differences between the aggregate scores (Σ) for the issue of "attractiveness of the village life style" and those for the issue of "lack of cooperation on the community level" are only marginal which suggest that in spite of those differences these two issues are of similar importance in the eyes of the five groups of respondents. The same cannot be said of the aggregate scores that each group of respondents gave to the third issue - "lack of community facilities for student activities and programs". The differences in the aggregate scores between the second and the third issue are so wide that one cannot fail to notice that the third issue is much less significant than the first two issues. However, the fact that three of the five groups of respondents respectively rank first and second the issues of "lack of cooperation on the community level" and of "attractiveness of the village life style" and two groups ranking them in reverse order, suggest that the former is more important than the latter. In some respects the issue of "lack of community facilities for student activities and programs" is related to the first issue of "lack of cooperation on the community level" in that facilities could be built or made available if cooperation at the community level is strong.

4.2.6 Government-related causes of early school leaving

The next "agency" at the macro level of the schooling systems is the Tongan government. The five groups of respondents were asked to identify the three major causes of early school leaving that were related to the Tongan government in order of importance. Their responses were categorized, scored and rank ordered as in the other sections. Table 5.16 shows all categories of causes which were ranked one to ten by any of the five groups of respondents.
Table 5.16: Government-related causes of early school leaving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \Sigma ) Rank ( \Sigma ) Rank</td>
<td>( \Sigma ) Rank ( \Sigma ) Rank</td>
<td>( \Sigma ) Rank ( \Sigma ) Rank</td>
<td>( \Sigma ) Rank ( \Sigma ) Rank</td>
<td>( \Sigma ) Rank ( \Sigma ) Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Inadequate subsidies to non-government secondary schools</td>
<td>313 1 193 1</td>
<td>329 1 143 2</td>
<td>114 2</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to ensure that primary school pupils are taught properly</td>
<td>298 2 143 3</td>
<td>294 2 127 3</td>
<td>94 4</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Secondary entrance exam have adversely affected children's schooling</td>
<td>266 3 174 2</td>
<td>264 4 81 6</td>
<td>51 7</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not helping parents who cannot pay for their children's schooling</td>
<td>249 4 120 4</td>
<td>278 3 ( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>62 6</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Insisting on academically oriented curriculum</td>
<td>244 5 94 6</td>
<td>151 5 168 1</td>
<td>100 3</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Limited places in technical schools</td>
<td>200 6 113 5</td>
<td>182 7 31 10</td>
<td>80 5</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not helping schools to be adequately resources</td>
<td>184 7 64 8</td>
<td>231 6 112 5</td>
<td>120 1</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not sharing overseas aid to schools</td>
<td>166 8 58 9</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>62 8</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Rivalry between government and non-government school systems</td>
<td>134 9 78 7</td>
<td>177 8 70 7</td>
<td>38 8</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not paying secondary school teachers' salaries</td>
<td>119 10 27 10</td>
<td>128 10 120 4</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Inadequate professional development programs for teachers &amp; administrators</td>
<td>( - ) ( - ) ( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - ) ( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>51 9</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not regularly evaluating teachers' &amp; administrators' work</td>
<td>( - ) ( - ) ( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - ) ( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>137 9</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>36 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not making jobs available to school leavers</td>
<td>( - ) ( - ) ( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - ) ( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>( - ) ( - ) ( - ) ( - )</td>
<td>17 10</td>
<td>( - ) ( - )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Others</td>
<td>17 (3) 16 (3)</td>
<td>19 (3)</td>
<td>13 (2)</td>
<td>9 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Agreement among the five groups of respondents

The five groups of respondents agree on the importance of seven of the ten categories in Table 5.16 as government-related causes of early school leaving in that they are common to all of them. It is interesting to find that four of those seven common categories are related to some adverse effects of the academically oriented curriculum - "not ensuring that all primary school children are taught properly", "secondary entrance examination has adversely affected children's schooling", "insisting on academically oriented curriculum" and "limited places (available) in technical schools". In an academically oriented curriculum the emphasis is not on all students but on those who are academically capable and who are likely to pass the secondary school entrance examination or the other public examinations.

Two of those seven categories are related to a lack of financial assistance to non-government secondary schools - "inadequate subsidies to non-government schools" and "not helping schools to be adequately resourced". The seventh of the common categories relates to the "rivalry between government and non-government education schools" which could be a constraint on their relationships and cooperation. The fact that two other categories were identified by four groups of respondents suggest that they are also important: "not helping parents who could not pay for their children's schooling" and "not paying (secondary school) teachers' salaries".

The issue of "lack of particular help to teachers and school administrators" is expressed in the perception that the government's "professional development programs for teachers and school administrators" have been inadequate and that a regular "evaluation of teachers' and school administrators' work" has not been forthcoming. The final issue of "lack of employment opportunities for school leavers" is important because with a future of unemployment for most school leavers (be they successful or otherwise) is hardly an incentive for students to strive purposefully for successful schooling outcomes. Thus, nine of the ten categories can be summed up as government's negative impacts through its
academically oriented curriculum, lack of financial assistance to non-government secondary schools and its rivalry with the other education systems.

Description of categories and comparison of respondents

Outstanding among the causes of early school leaving shown in Table 5.16 is the "inadequate subsidies to non government schools" which is ranked first by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents of early school leavers. The total aggregate scores (Σ) that they give to that category are substantially higher than those that they allocate to their second category. Teachers and school administrators, and community leaders rate it second. However the difference between the total aggregate scores that they give to it and those that they give their first rank is not substantial which suggests that although they rate it second, it is a fairly close second.

Government's "failure to ensure that all students at primary school are taught properly" which is ranked highly by all the five groups of respondents (ranked 2nd, 3rd, 2nd, 3rd and 4th) is associated with the fact that the academically capable students are given extra tutorials in class six to ensure that they gain the pass mark in the secondary school examination while the less academically inclined students, on the other hand, are excluded. In that context the "secondary school entrance examination has disadvantaged students" and thus it is respectively ranked third, second and fourth by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents of early school leavers probably because they have been the victims of that accepted practice of the primary school teachers. Teachers and school administrators, and community leaders do not see it in the same light - they rank it sixth and seventh respectively.

Teachers and school administrators rank first the government's "insistence on an academically oriented curriculum" which probably reflects the difficulty that they experience in trying to teach such a curriculum to students. The community leaders by ranking it third
show that they also see it as an important cause for early school leaving much more than early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents of early school leavers who rank it fifth, sixth and fifth respectively. "Insisting on an academically oriented curriculum" is not unimportant to them but they have to hurdle the first four categories of "primary school teaching", "secondary school entrance examination", and "school fees", which are closely related to government's "inadequate subsidies to non-government schools", before considering the curriculum. In fact, the curriculum is closely tied up with "primary school teaching" and "secondary school entrance examination" which were given high ranking by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents.

There is increasing demand from the non-government high schools for the government to pay the salaries of teachers instead of the annual grant of $50 per enrolled student in non-government high schools. Thus, it is not surprising to find teachers and school administrators giving a high ranking of fourth to government's "failure to pay secondary school teachers' salaries". It is interesting to note that the community leaders never mention it, and all the other three groups of respondents give it a low ranking of tenth probably because it is deemed to have only an indirect impact on them and on early school leaving.

"Schools are poorly resourced" in terms of instructional materials and human capabilities is ranked highest by the community leaders. Teachers and school administrators understandably give it a stronger support with a fifth rank than early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents of early school leavers who respectively rank it seventh, eighth and sixth. The lack of resources especially instructional materials, which is strongly suggested from all the respondents in the section on school attractiveness, is perceived as government's failure to provide adequate help to these schools. The government's "failure to help parents who cannot pay for their children's schooling" is strongly pushed by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents of early school leavers who respectively rank it fourth, fourth and third. The community leaders
give it some support by ranking it sixth, but teachers and school administrators did not include it in their top ten categories.

The respondents indicate that the "rivalry between the government and non-government education systems" has eroded to some extent the goodwill that could have made both systems effective through cooperative efforts because in spite of the low rankings (9th, 7th, 8th, 7th and 8th) they all identify that factor. Government's "failure to share overseas aids to schools (with non-government secondary schools)" is also identified by three groups of respondents with low rankings (8th, 9th, 8th). "Inadequate professional development programs for teachers and school administrators" is only identified by teachers and school administrators because it is important to them. The community leaders and the parents of early school leavers consider the category of "not evaluating regularly the teachers and school administrators' work" (ranked 9th by both) to be important for ensuring that they are effective in their work.

Similarities between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers

The close similarities between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers are found in the fact that irrespective of the differences in their rank orders both groups of respondents agree on their top ten categories. In three categories their rank orders were the same: "inadequate subsidies to non-government schools" (ranked 1st), "not helping parents who cannot pay for their children's schooling" (ranked 4th), and "not paying secondary school teachers' salaries" (ranked 10th). In another six categories there is a difference of only one rank order between them (2nd and 3rd; 3rd and 2nd; 5th and 6th; 6th and 5th; 7th and 8th; 8th and 9th). Only in the one category of "rivalry between the government and non-government education systems" (ranked 9th and 7th) where there is a difference of two rank orders between them. These similarities have only been second in closeness to those found in the section on teachers. As clearly indicated in the close similarities in the previous sections, the close similarities in this section show validity and trustworthiness of data.
Similarities between early school leavers and their parents

Nine of the ten categories in Table 5.16 are common to early school leavers and their parents. Only the category of "not sharing overseas aid (with non-government schools)" was not identified by the parents. Similarly, the category of "not evaluating regularly the teachers' and school administrators' work" was not mentioned by early school leavers. The rank orders of the two groups of respondents are identical in four of the categories: "inadequate subsidies to non government (secondary) schools" (ranked 1st), "not ensuring that all primary school students are taught properly" (ranked 2nd), "insisting on academically oriented curriculum" (ranked 5th), "not paying (secondary school) teachers' salaries" (ranked 10th). In the other five common categories, there is a difference only of one rank order between them. Thus, in spite of the fact that both groups do not share the tenth category, the similarities in their nine common categories are closer than those found in the nine common categories which the early school leavers share with the unsuccessful completers. To that extent, there are closer similarities in the responses of early school leavers and their parents than in those shared by early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers.

Summary of the categories

The ten categories chosen from each group found in Table 5.16 can be summed up in these five issues shown in Table 5.16a. The "insistence on an academically oriented curriculum", which is reflected in exam successes which is controlled by pass levels, is by far the most important issue in that it is ranked first by four of the five groups of respondents. Parents are the one group that rank it second to their economic concerns. This is understandable because it is parents' responsibility to shoulder the financial costs of their children's schooling. However, the difference between the total aggregate scores that they give to it and those that they give their first rank is not substantial which suggests that although they
rate it second, it is a fairly close second. The other significant observation is that early school leavers and unsuccessful completers have the greatest differences between their aggregate scores for the first and second rank than any of the others. This indicates that the issue of academic curriculum is more important for them than for the other groups of respondents presumably because they have been more adversely affected by it than the others.

Table 5.16a: Summary of the government-related causes of early school leaving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary of the categories in Table 5.16 in five related issues</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Insistence on an academically oriented curriculum</td>
<td>1,008 1</td>
<td>524 1</td>
<td>891 2</td>
<td>407 1</td>
<td>325 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to provide adequate financial help to non government systems</td>
<td>865 2</td>
<td>404 2</td>
<td>966 1</td>
<td>375 2</td>
<td>296 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Rivalry between government and other education systems</td>
<td>300 3</td>
<td>136 3</td>
<td>177 3</td>
<td>132 3</td>
<td>38 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to provide professional help to staffs of other systems</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>137 4</td>
<td>51 4</td>
<td>36 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to provide jobs for school leavers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second issue is the government’s “failure to provide adequate financial help to non government secondary schools”. It is ranked first by parents and second by the other four groups of respondents. Since the differences between the aggregate scores that the five groups of respondents give to the first and the second issue are only small, it is reasonable to believe that these two issues are perceived by them to be of similar importance. This suggests that the five groups of respondents expect the government to do more to help financing the non government high schools than the current annual grant of $50 per enrolled student in non government high schools.
The third issue is "rivalry between the government and the other education systems". While it is the third issue because it is ranked third by all the five groups of respondents, it can be seen to be closely related to the first two issues. This rivalry have been weaved into the fabric of the education systems in Tonga since its inception in the last century. It can be related to the first issue of "insisting on an academic curriculum" in that students are selected through various assessment mechanisms so that the academically capable attend the government high schools and the others go to the non government schools. Again rivalry can be related to the second issue of "failure to provide adequate financial help to non government secondary schools". The significant disparity in the allocating of grants illustrates this in that an enrolled student in government high schools is given an annual grant of about $600, compared to only $50 to an enrolled student in non government high schools.

The fourth issue is the "failure to provide professional help to staffs of other (education) systems". It is important to note that early school leavers and unsuccessful completers do not see that help as being important for it is not found among their categories of causes whereas parents, teachers, school administrators and community leaders include it among their top ten categories. Rivalry can also be related to this fourth issue. The fifth issue - "failure to provide employment opportunities for school leavers" - is identified only by the community in their top ten categories. However, it is interesting to note that it is identified as well by the other four groups of respondents but not in their top ten categories. With the exception of the fifth issue, the rivalry between the government and other education systems seems to find expressions in the first four issues.

4.2.7 Church Education Department-related causes of early school leaving

Since the Government Education Department is the vehicle through which the government operates, most respondents equated the two in their responses. Hence, there is no special section for the Government Department of Education. The Church or non-government
Department of Education is an independent entity and it serves its own school system. It is placed at the same meso level of the schooling systems of theoretical framework as the Government's Education Department.

The five groups of respondents were asked to identify the three major causes of early school leaving in order of importance that were related to the Church Department of Education. Their responses were categorized, scored and rank ordered as in the other sections. Table 5.17 shows all the categories of causes which were ranked one to eight by each of the five groups of respondents. These eight categories are chosen for this analysis because their aggregate scores (Σ) far outnumber the others.

Agreement among the five groups of respondents

The fact that the number of categories in this section is fewer than those in the previous sections indicates a more focused and even stronger agreement among the five groups of respondents on the Church Education Department-related causes of early school leaving. This is shown in the fact that the aggregate scores for each category far outnumber not only the few under the category of "others" in Table 5.17 whose residuals (Σs) are very low but also those in the previous sections. For example, the aggregate scores for the first rank of early school leavers in the previous sections range from 265 to 329, compared to a massive 515 points in this section. Although only five out of the eight categories are common to the five groups of respondents, the fact that three other categories are common to four groups of respondents again suggest that the agreement is strong. In spite of the differences in the rank orders among the five groups of respondents, the strong agreement on the categories is indicative of the genuineness of the responses.
### Table 5.17: Church Education Department-related causes of early school leaving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to make a policy specifically to retain all students</td>
<td>515 1</td>
<td>224 1</td>
<td>490 1</td>
<td>100 5</td>
<td>102 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to train teachers both teach and care for all students</td>
<td>440 2</td>
<td>182 2</td>
<td>338 3</td>
<td>80 6</td>
<td>139 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to produce a curriculum that caters for all students</td>
<td>334 3</td>
<td>130 4</td>
<td>183 6</td>
<td>154 3</td>
<td>110 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to enforce the rule of 'no corporal punishment'</td>
<td>244 4</td>
<td>174 3</td>
<td>424 2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to provide suitable resources for policy implementation</td>
<td>205 5</td>
<td>88 6</td>
<td>170 7</td>
<td>148 4</td>
<td>53 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to provide adequate salaries for staff</td>
<td>160 6</td>
<td>127 5</td>
<td>268 4</td>
<td>177 2</td>
<td>69 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to consult teachers and parents in policy making</td>
<td>139 7</td>
<td>48 8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>48 8</td>
<td>33 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Favouritism in their dealings with teachers &amp; school administrators</td>
<td>100 8</td>
<td>77 7</td>
<td>203 5</td>
<td>57 7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not developing job satisfaction for teachers and administrators</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>94 8</td>
<td>180 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Others</td>
<td>53 (3)</td>
<td>30 (4)</td>
<td>50 (4)</td>
<td>34 (3)</td>
<td>14 (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Description of categories and comparison of respondents

The views of early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and the parents of early school leavers have been similar in most of the previous sections. As for the teachers, school administrators and the community leaders sometimes their views are similar and at times one of them would tend to agree with the other three groups of respondents. This is true of this section because the views of the community leaders are more in agreement with those of the other three groups than with those of teachers and school administrators. In fact, only in
one category of "failure to make a policy specifically to retain all students" where the view of the community leaders converge with that of teachers and school administrators because they both give it a lower ranking of fourth and fifth, compared to the highest ranking of first given to it by the other three groups of respondents.

The early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, parents and community leaders overwhelmingly agree on the primary importance of the need for the Department "to train teachers to both teach and care for all students" because they all give it a high ranking of second, second, third and first. In contrast, the teachers and school administrators rank it sixth. It is not surprising to find teachers and school administrators giving the category of "failure to provide adequate salaries for staff" a high priority with a ranking of second, compared to the much lower ranking of sixth, fifth, fourth and sixth by the other four groups of respondents. Again the four groups of respondents are similar in the low ranking that they give to "failure to provide suitable resources for policy implementation" (ranked 5th, 6th, 7th, 7th). Teachers and school administrators understandably give that category a higher ranking of fourth.

It is conspicuous that teachers and school administrators do not include the category of "failure to enforce the rule of 'no corporal punishment'" in their top categories but it is given a high priority by the other four groups of respondents who respectively rank it fourth, third, second and second. Teachers and school administrators have been consistent throughout the analysis either in the absence of the category relating to corporal punishment or the lower ranking that they give to it. While it is understandable that teachers and school administrators would give the highest priority to the category of "not developing job satisfaction for teachers and school administrators" (rank 1st), it is equally understandable that early school leavers and unsuccessful completers would not consider such a category to be significant - it is not even found among their top eight categories. At least there is a consensus of opinions with regards to the need to "produce a curriculum that caters for all
students”. Four of the five groups of respondents give it high similar rank orders (3rd, 4th, 3rd and 3rd) except for parents who give it a lower ranking of sixth.

While all the five groups of respondents agree on the importance of these eight causes of early school leaving, one cannot fail to recognize in the aggregate scores (Σ) and the rank orders the different perspectives that a particular group of respondents has had on some of the categories. However, in spite of the differences in emphases between the five groups of respondents, in general these respondents support one another in their perceptions of what can be regarded as the failures of the respective Church Education Department which have impacted negatively on some students to leave school early.

**Similarities between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers**

The similarities between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers are as strong in this section as that of the teachers’ because their rank orders for two categories (1st and 2nd) are identical, and in all other categories, there is a difference of only one rank order between them. The emerging pattern of close similarities between these two groups throughout the previous sections is further confirmed in this section. Thus, the proposition that their secondary school experiences are similar is also upheld here.

**Similarities between early school leavers and their parents**

The similarities between early school leavers and their parents are not as close as those between early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers. This is shown in three instances. Firstly, only seven of the categories are common to early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers. Secondly, only in the one category of “failure to train teachers to both teach and care for all students (ranked 2nd and 3rd) where there is a difference of one rank order between early school leavers and their parents, compared to sic in the other two groups. Thirdly, a difference of only one rank order is found in the categories provided by
the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers whereas the differences in the rank orders stipulated by early school leavers and their parents are greater because they range from one to three. Thus, there are noticeable differences between those three groups of respondents, but they relate more to differences in emphases rather than to opposing views. To that extent, the views are still similar but those similarities are not as great as those observed in the previous sections between early school leavers and their parents.

Summary of categories

The Church Education Department-related causes of early schooling can be summed up in the five issues in Table 5.17a. These issues relate to the Department's failure:

• to see retention of all students as one of its priorities
• to develop job satisfaction for staff
• to implement policies effectively
• to consult widely in its policy making

The first issue is the "failure to see retention of all students as one of its priorities" which encompasses the Church Education Department's "failure to make a policy specifically to retain all students" and its "failure to train teachers to both teach and care for all students". The importance of this issue is clearly shown in the fact that it is ranked first by four of the five groups of respondents. Secondly, the aggregate scores for this issue are far ahead of those for the second issue. In fact, the aggregate scores for the first issue almost double those for the second issue.

The second issue is the "failure to implement policies effectively" which include the "failure to provide suitable resources for policy implementation" and the "failure to enforce the rule of 'no corporal punishment'". In view of the widespread perception that corporal punishment is closely associated with early leaving, the "failure to enforce the rule of no corporal punishment" can be easily included among the categories of the first issue. In a
sense the other three issues with the exception of the first one can be placed under the issue of “failure to implement policies effectively” but they are separated here to highlight the specific importance of each issue. The importance of this issue is shown in the second ranking given to it by four of the five groups of respondents.

Table 5.17a: Summary of Church Education Department-related causes of early school leaving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary of the categories in Table 5.17 in five related issues</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to see retention of all students as one of its priorities</td>
<td>955 1</td>
<td>416 1</td>
<td>828 1</td>
<td>180 2</td>
<td>241 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to implement school policies</td>
<td>449 2</td>
<td>262 2</td>
<td>594 2</td>
<td>148 4</td>
<td>182 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to produce a curriculum to cater for all students</td>
<td>334 3</td>
<td>130 4</td>
<td>183 4</td>
<td>154 3</td>
<td>110 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to provide job satisfaction for staff</td>
<td>260 4</td>
<td>204 3</td>
<td>565 3</td>
<td>414 1</td>
<td>140 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to consult widely in its policy making</td>
<td>139 5</td>
<td>48 5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>48 5</td>
<td>33 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third issue is the “failure to develop job satisfaction for the staff” which include these three categories: “failure to provide adequate salaries for staff”, “favouritism in their dealings with staff” and “not developing job satisfaction for staff”. It is understandable that teachers and school administrators place the greatest importance on this issue. Not only is it ranked first by them but its aggregate scores (414) more than double those (180) for their second ranking. This issue is also strongly supported by three of the five groups of respondents who rank it third. It is only the early school leavers who give it the lower ranking of fourth.

The fourth issue of importance is the “failure to produce a curriculum to cater for all students”. This issue can easily be included in the first issue in view of its perceived close relation to early school leaving but it is again treated separately here to highlight firstly its
relation to the Church Education Department and secondly to show the consistency with which it is held by the respondents throughout this analysis. It is ranked third by teachers, school administrators and early school leavers and fourth by the others.

The fifth issue is the "failure to consult widely in policy making". This issue is ranked last by four groups of respondents, and it is not even identified by parents. While this issue is obviously not as important as the others according to the aggregate scores and the rank ordering of the issues, it can, however, be interpreted to be vitally important for these other issues. It would seem that if the Church Education Department consults widely in its policy making, it is quite possible that its failure in the other areas could have been avoided or at least the Department would be exonerated from a lot of the blame.

Overall, the perception of early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, parents and community leaders are very similar in that their rank ordering of the issues are close. It is important to note that the rank ordering of the five issues by the unsuccessful completers, parents and community leaders are exactly the same. Teachers and school administrators, on the other hand, are different in their perception, for example, they rank first the issue of "failure to develop job satisfaction for staff" which is given a much lower ranking by the others (4th, 3rd, 3rd, 3rd). The difference in the perception of teachers and school administrators reflect the strong emphases that they place on issues which are closely associated with their work and their well being as teachers and school administrators. To some extent the same can be said of the other four groups of respondents. Thus, in view of the fact that the differences in perception are due largely to differences in the perspectives of each group of respondents rather than to diametrically opposed views, it can be concluded that it shows the seriousness with which respondents make their responses which in turn strongly supports the trustworthiness of the data.
4.2.8 Tongan Culture-related causes of early school leaving

The next "agency" at the macro level of the community systems side of the theoretical framework is the Tongan culture under which the social, economic and other forces of society are subsumed. The five groups of respondents were asked to list the three major causes of early school leaving that were related to the Tongan culture in order of importance. The responses to this question are not as complete as the others in that some respondents provided only one or two causes instead of three while others offered no responses. The five categories that are common to the five groups of respondents are chosen for this analysis because their aggregate scores (Σ) are significantly higher than the others.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Σ</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Σ</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Σ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavery to what others might say</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primacy of girls over boys</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoing one another in generosity</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obsession with academic successes</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of prioritization of needs</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>79 (3)</td>
<td>54 (3)</td>
<td>86 (3)</td>
<td>18 (3)</td>
<td>33 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing responses</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.18: Tongan culture-related causes of early school leaving

For the first time in this analysis the category of "missing responses" is included in the table. This category records the number of points missing from the analysis through the failure of respondents to provide the three responses in order of importance. The missing responses are calculated by the simple counting of the points missing due to the failure of respondents
to provide the required three responses. Those missing responses are most noticeably found among the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and the parents of early school leavers. Only in a very few cases where there were missing responses in the previous sections. Thus, they were not included in their tables.

These five culture-related categories need some explanation. "Primacy of girls over boys" means that girls would have priority treatment over boys. For example, when there is a financial constraint in the family, girls school fees would be paid before the boys'. Girls would have more and better clothes than boys. "Outdoing one another in generosity" suggests that families would do something in a big way mainly to surpass what the others have done. For example, some families would invite high dignitaries to a wedding feast in spite of the great loss of money and other Tongan prized possessions (koloa faka-Tonga) associated with the presence of such people, simply to outstrip what their neighbours have done in their wedding feasts. "Slavery to what others might say" means that some people would give all the money they get in a particular function simply to escape the criticism of others. For example, people would spend all their savings in the annual Church collections simply because the amount that each person contributes, is announced either at the actual collections or in front of the congregation later. "Obsession with academic exam successes" suggests that parents would insist on their children taking academic subjects even thought they know, and in most cases they are told by teachers and the headmaster that their children could not possibly cope. "Lack of prioritization of needs" implies that parents could spend their money on something of lesser importance (e.g. drinking) and neglect the more important obligations like paying the school fees of their children.

It must be pointed out that these five categories can be interpreted in a positive way. For example, with regard to the category of "outdoing one another in generosity" people can genuinely contribute a great deal of resources to a particular community project firstly for the sake of ensuring that it is completed successfully, and perhaps only secondly with the intention of outdoing what some other people may have done. The same can be said with
the other four categories. However, since they are provided by the five groups of respondents as negative forces working against the successful completion of schooling, they are presented here in their negative impacts. It seems that the negative interpretation of these five categories arises from the Christian perspective (since Christianity is still very pervasive in Tonga) which dictates that any action done simply for the sake of receiving praise from others has no real value in the eyes of God.

Agreement among the five groups of respondents

There were fewer categories in the previous section than in the preceding ones and this indicated a more focused and even stronger agreement among the five groups of respondents. If that was true of the previous section, it is more so in this section because instead of the highest aggregate score in the previous section being 515 in one of the categories, in this section the highest aggregate score is 616. The strong agreement in this section is also shown in the fact that not only the five categories in Table 5.18 are common to the five groups of respondents but the differences between the aggregate scores of these categories are generally closer to one another than those in other sections.

Description of categories and comparison of respondents

It is clear from the responses in Table 5.18 that the five groups of respondents can be divided into two distinct groups. The first group is made up of the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents while the second comprises the teachers, school administrators and community leaders. The similarities between the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents have been consistently established in the analysis. The responses of teachers, school administrators and community leaders, on the other hand, are also generally found to be similar. For example, they agree on the priority of the issue of "obsession with academic successes" which they rank first. There is a difference of only one rank order between the other four categories. The difference between their perception
and that of the other group is clearly shown in the fact that the issue of "primacy of girls over boys" is given a much higher rank (ranked 2nd, 2nd, 1st) by the other group, compared to their lower ranking of fourth and fifth.

It is clear that the most important issue is "slavery to what others might say" which is ranked highly by all the five groups of respondents (ranked 1st, 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 2nd). The second important issue is "primacy of girls over boys" which is given a higher ranking by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents but it is given a much lower ranking by the other two groups of respondents. The third important issue is the "obsession with academic successes" which is ranked first by teachers, school administrators and community leaders, compared to the higher ranking of fourth, third and third respectively by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents. The fourth important issue is the "outdoing of one another in generosity" which is given a higher ranking by teachers, school administrators and community leaders (ranked 2nd and 3rd), compared to the lower ranking of third, fourth and fourth given to it respectively by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents. The fifth important issue is the "lack of prioritization of needs" which is ranked fourth by community leaders and fifth by the others.

Similarities between early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents

The similarities seen throughout the analysis between the responses of early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents are also found in this section. The similarities between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers are closer than those between them and their parents. This is shown in the fact that their ranking of three of the five categories is exactly the same, compared to only one category between early school leavers and their parents. In fact, only in two categories is there a difference of one rank order between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers, compared to four categories between early school leavers and their parents. The difference of one rank order between the categories is so marginal that it does not amount to a real difference in perception. Thus, the similarities
found among the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents in this section are stronger than those found in most of the other sections.

Summary of categories

It must be admitted that it is difficult to condense those five categories because of the different interpretations that can be made on each category. However, in the context of the causes of early school leaving, three of them - "slavery to what others might say" and "outdoing one another in generosity" and "lack of prioritization of needs" - can be grouped together under their economic implications. It is basically in relation to the approval or disapproval of others that "slavery to what others might say" and "outdoing one another in generosity" are grouped together here. Usually the approval or disapproval is given in terms of the abundance or the paucity of the monetary contribution. The economic implication of the "lack of prioritization of needs" is that parents, given the fact that they have limited financial resources, sometimes over spend on items which are perceived to be less important than their children's schooling. The primacy of the economic implications of the culture is clearly shown in the fact that it is ranked first by all the five groups of respondents and that its aggregate scores (Σ) are much higher than those for the second and the third issue.

The second issue is the "primacy of girls over boys" which is ranked higher by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, and parents (ranked 2nd by all of them) than the third ranking given to it by teachers, school administrators and community leaders. Again the differences between these two groupings of the respondents are evident in this summary of issues. The difference can be interpreted from the perspective that teachers, school administrators and community leaders probably think that the force of this cultural expression is weakening. If sheer number of respondents agreeing with this issue is indicative of its importance then the weight of the three respondents to two suggests that it is
very powerful force in the Tongan culture which has negative impacts on the incidence of early school leaving for boys.

Table 5.18a: Summary of the Tongan culture-related causes of early school leaving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary of the categories in Table 5.18 in three related issues</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers of ESL N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Economic factors</td>
<td>1,191 1</td>
<td>529 1</td>
<td>896 1</td>
<td>497 1</td>
<td>388 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Primacy of girls over boys</td>
<td>512 2</td>
<td>228 2</td>
<td>610 2</td>
<td>138 3</td>
<td>67 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Obsession with academic exam successes</td>
<td>281 3</td>
<td>189 3</td>
<td>378 3</td>
<td>281 2</td>
<td>203 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third issue is the "obsession with academic exam successes", as measured by the Tonga School Certificate Examination, which is ranked higher by teachers, school administrators and community leaders (ranked 2nd by both), compared to the lower ranking given to it by the other three groups of respondents (ranked 3rd by all of them). It is this obsession that drives students and parents to select academic programs which are usually beyond the academic ability of students or to shun the suggestion for their children to take up less academically oriented studies (e.g. agricultural school) with which they can cope.

The overwhelmingly strong agreement of the five groups of respondents on those culturally-related causes is shown in the high number of aggregate scores (Σ) given by each group of respondents to each issue which have not been surpassed in any of the previous sections. In spite of the missing responses it is clear from the strong agreement and the concentrated nature of the responses that the forces of culture are still powerful in Tonga and they need to be considered seriously because to bring about changes in the cultural context is a challenge which is always beyond one's lifetime.
The holistic approach of attempting to identify in the theoretical framework as many as possible of the "agents" which could have influenced students in the decision space to either leave or remain at school, has been clearly demonstrated throughout this section to be very relevant. The different and many inter-related causes of early school leaving identified in this section have emerged from the data and clearly support the essence of the theoretical framework developed for and enhanced by the study. The influence of the village people on students at the meso level of the Community Systems, for example, would not have been included among the causes of early school leaving if it was not for the quest of this framework.
5. Stakeholders' perceptions of the policy measures for reducing early school leaving

The word "policy" in this context is not used in its strict technical sense. It refers more to a "thing", a "suggestion" or a "recommendation" that a particular "agent" or "agency" can do or implement to help students to successfully complete their secondary schooling. This is clearly illustrated in the way the question was asked of the respondents: What are the three "things" in order of importance that teachers (for example) can do to help students successfully complete their secondary schooling?

The analysis of the policy measures for the reduction of the problem of early school leaving follows the same format as that of the causes of early school leaving. Thus, the data in this section was collected from the **five groups of respondents** by asking them this same open ended question: "What are the three 'things' in order of importance which (e.g. teachers) can do to reduce the problem of students leaving high school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate Examination?" ("Ko e ha ha ngaahi me'a 'e tolu 'i honau hokohoko 'oku ke pehē 'oku totonu ke fa'i 'e he (hangē ko eni', kau faiako') 'i he kolisi' koe'uhī kae sī'sī'i ange ai 'a e nofo 'a e kau ako 'mei he ako 'te'e ki ke nau a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako 'a Tonga'?). This question was asked in relation to each of the same eight "agents" which were identified in the theoretical framework: teachers, school administrators, students, parents, village community, Education Department, Tongan government and the Tongan culture. Again this is an application of the theoretical framework which seeks to identify as wide a representation as possible of the people and the institutions which could implement policy measures to reduce the incidence of early school leaving.

The responses to the open ended question were categorised, scored and rank ordered in the same way as the responses to the open ended question relating to the causes of early school leaving in section 4.2. As was done in the previous section on the causes of early school leaving...
leaving, this section on policy measures is divided into eight parts, each dealing with each of the eight "agents".

The policy measures relating to each of the eight "agents" within the theoretical framework are analyzed under these four headings:

- **Description of the categories of policy measures**
- **Comparison of the five groups of respondents**
- **Correspondence between causes and policy measures, and**
- **Correspondence between summaries of causes and of policy measures**

The first task of the analysis is to describe the categories of policy measures in each table by highlighting the main policy measures that the five groups of respondents have suggested. The second is a comparison of the perception of the five groups of respondents so as to determine the similarities and differences between them. The third concern deals with whether there is a correspondence between the causes, on the one hand, and the policy measures, on the other. Are the suggested policy measures targeting the perceived causes of early school leaving? The fourth focus is to determine if there are equivalents between the summary of the causes, on the one hand, and the summary of the policy measures, on the other. The assumption being that if the causes and policy measures are largely equivalent, then the responses are seen to be coherent.

### 5.1 Policy measures to be implemented by teachers

The five groups of respondents were asked to list three "things" in order of importance that teachers can do to help students successfully complete their secondary schooling. Table 5.19 shows all categories of policy measures to be implemented by teachers which were ranked in the first ten by any of the five groups of respondents. The top ten ranks from each group of respondents are chosen for this analysis because their aggregate scores ($\sum$) far outnumber the
The category of "others" shows the total aggregate scores for all other categories combined. The number of other categories are shown in brackets.

Table 5.19: Policy measures to be implemented by teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy measures for reducing early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Offer special help to the &quot;kau'atamai kovi&quot; (ones with bad brain)</td>
<td>418 1 133 2 399 1 111 3 109 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Stop beating them but teach them to behave</td>
<td>340 2 157 1 336 2 - - 74 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ensure that teaching is really understand</td>
<td>281 3 90 5 178 5 48 8 69 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Motivate pupils to take their study seriously</td>
<td>232 4 100 4 116 8 53 7 94 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Show genuine christian love in what you do</td>
<td>216 5 122 3 251 3 136 2 72 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Make your teaching attractive</td>
<td>176 6 76 7 225 4 77 5 36 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Use sufficient materials in teaching</td>
<td>137 7 52 10 - - 60 6 - -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ban favouritism and treat everyone fairly</td>
<td>120 8 - - 146 7 - - - -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Be sensitive to students' dignity</td>
<td>92 9 62 9 72 10 42 9 53 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Prepare your classes well before teaching</td>
<td>78 10 84 6 99 9 39 10 44 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Work together to achieve school aims</td>
<td>- - - - - - 95 4 60 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Incorporate students' characteristics into teaching strategies</td>
<td>- - - - - - 180 1 - -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Develop good relationships between the school and the community</td>
<td>- - - - - - 160 6 - - 29 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Others</td>
<td>80 (5) 65 (4) 78 (6) 52 (5) 69 (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Missing points</td>
<td>101 71 130 84 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The category of "missing responses" indicates the number of aggregate scores (Σ) missing from the analysis through the failure of the respondents to list the required three responses. Not all were able to give three policy measures for teachers to implement. The missing responses only occurred in the section on the causes of early school leaving in relation to the Tongan culture but they feature throughout the analysis of the policy measures. This arose from the fact that respondents found it easier to provide three causes of early school leaving than to provide three policy measures to address those causes.

**Description of the categories of policy measures**

According to the aggregate scores (Σ) and the rank orders of the five groups of respondents, the most important policy measure is the "offer special help to the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (literally, ones with bad brain)" which is given a high ranking by all the groups of respondents (ranked 1st, 2nd, 1st, 3rd and 1st). It is repeated here what was said in the section on the causes of early school leaving that the use of the term “kau 'atamai kovi” which is literally translated as “students with bad brain” instead of the more conventional renderings like "slow learners" or "low achievers" is intentional in that it was frequently used verbatim in a number of the responses and more importantly, it has the purpose of drawing the attention of the reader to the negative perceptions of these students and ultimately to their plight.

The second important policy measure that is common to the five groups of respondents is "show genuine christian love in whatever you do" (ranked 5th, 3rd, 3rd, 2nd, 4th). This policy measure is a reflection of the important role that Christian Churches is perceived to have played in the life of the Tongans and it is proposed by the respondents as an essential part of the solution to the "neglect of the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)", "lack of genuine concern for pupils" and a "lack of genuine concern for students with difficulty". The third policy measure - "stop beating students but teach them to behave themselves" - which is understandably not identified by teachers and school administrators, is given even higher
rankings by the others (ranked 2nd, 1st, 2nd, 3rd) than those given to "show genuine Christian love in whatever you do". The fourth policy measure is "ensure that teaching is really understood" which is also given a lower ranking of eighth by teachers and school administrators, compared to a higher ranking of third, fifth, fifth and fifth by the others. This is also an understandable response because teachers and school administrators would like to think that their teaching is not at fault.

The policy measure which highlights the professional perception of teachers and school administrators is the need to "incorporate the students' characteristics into teaching strategies" which is ranked first by them, eighth by unsuccessful completers, and is not identified by the others in their top ten categories. The other understandable policy measure is the need to "use sufficient materials in teaching" (ranked 7th, 10th, 6th) which is identified only by three groups - early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, teachers and school administrators - who presumably know the difficulty of trying to learn or teach with limited instructional materials.

On the whole the policy measures to be implemented by teachers are dominated by policies relating to the need for them to be genuinely concerned for the welfare of the students in that they are asked to: "offer special help to the 'kau 'atamai mai kovi' (ones with bad brain)", "stop beating students but teach them to behave themselves", "motivate students to take their study seriously", "show genuine christian love in whatever they do", "ban favouritism and treat everyone fairly", and "be sensitive to students' dignity". The other important group of policy measures focuses on the demand on the teachers to improve their teaching in that they need to: "ensure that teaching is really understood", "make teaching attractive", "use sufficient materials in teaching", "prepare classes well before teaching", and "incorporate students' characteristics into teaching strategies". Thus, five of the thirteen policies in Table 5.19 are related to measures towards improving teaching, compared to six targeting the need for the teachers to be genuinely concerned for the students.
Comparison of the five groups of respondents

There is a strong agreement among the five groups of respondents in their teacher-related recommendation to reduce the problem of early school leaving. This is shown in the fact that seven of the top ten categories of policy measures ranked from one to ten by each of the five groups, are common to them all. As for the other six categories, "stop beating them but teach them to behave themselves" is common to four, "use sufficient materials in teaching" is common to three, and the remaining four categories - "ban favouritism and treat everyone fairly", "work together to achieve school aims", "incorporate students' characteristics into teaching strategies" and "develop good relationships between the school and the community" - are common to only two groups of respondents.

In comparing the responses from the five groups of respondents, one finds that the responses from the community leaders are closer to the three client groups of respondents (early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents) than to those of the teachers and school administrators. For instance, the category of "ensure that teaching is really understood" is ranked third, fifth, fifth and fifth respectively by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, parents and community leaders but it is ranked eighth by the teachers and school administrators.

The close similarities that have been observed in the section on the causes of early school leaving between the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers continue in this section. This is clearly shown in that nine of the ten top categories in Table 5.19 are common to both groups of respondents. Furthermore, in two categories their rank orders are the same. While in three categories there is a difference of only one rank order between them, in another three categories there is a difference of two rank orders. Only in the category of "prepare your classes well before teaching" is there a difference of four rank orders. The only significant difference is found in the fact that the category of "ban favouritism and treat everyone fairly" is ranked lower than tenth by the unsuccessful completers. Similarly, the category of "incorporate
correspondence between the causes of ESL and policy measures

In Figure 5.3 there are fifteen teacher-related causes in Table 5.11 and twelve policy measures for teachers to implement in Table 5.19. The causes and policy measures that have equivalents here are placed in the top section of Table 5.19, and the ones that have no equivalents are found
under them. It is clear that there is a strong correspondence between the teacher-related causes of early school leaving and the policy measures that have been put forward for teachers to implement. This is shown in the fact that thirteen of the fifteen causes have corresponding equivalents in ten of the thirteen policy measures as outlined in Figure 5.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher-related causes of ESL in Table 5.11</th>
<th>Corresponding Policy measures in Table 5.19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Neglect of the &quot;kau 'atamai kovi&quot;</td>
<td>• Offer special help to the &quot;kau 'atamai kovi&quot; (ones with bad brain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Beating students as the major form of discipline</td>
<td>• Stop beating them but teach them to behave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Teaching is not understood by students</td>
<td>• Ensure that teaching is really understood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Inability to teach to the student level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Teaching solely for passing public examinations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of encouragement for students to do well</td>
<td>• Motivate students to take their study seriously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Teaching is boring and monotonous</td>
<td>• Make teaching attractive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of sensitivity to students' dignity</td>
<td>• Be sensitive to students' dignity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Teachers' dislike of particular students</td>
<td>• Ban favouritism and treat everyone fairly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of genuine concern for students</td>
<td>• Show true love in whatever you do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of genuine concern for students with difficulty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Unsuitable teaching methods</td>
<td>• Use sufficient materials in teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not incorporating students' abilities and backgrounds into teaching strategies</td>
<td>• Incorporate students' characteristics into teaching strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Bad examples lead students astray</td>
<td>• Work together to achieve school aims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Letting non-school matters interfere with (teachers') school work</td>
<td>• Develop good relationships between the school and the community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.3: Correspondence between teacher-related causes of ESL and policy measures

The two categories of "bad examples lead students astray" and "letting non-school matters interfere with (teachers') school work" have no corresponding equivalents among the policy measures. Similarly, there are another two policy measures - "work together to achieve school aims" and "develop good relationships between the school and the community" - that have no corresponding equivalents among the teacher-related causes. However, it must be borne in mind that some of these causes and policy measures do have equivalents in other parts of the analysis. For example, the category of "develop good relationships between the school and the community" finds its equivalent cause in the "conflict between parents and school" which is one of the causes of early school leaving relating to parents but not to teachers.
The overwhelming number of corresponding equivalents between the teacher-related causes and the policy measures strongly suggest coherence in that the respondents have indicated that they were serious not only in their search for the causes of early school leaving but also in the policy measures that they have recommended for the reduction of the problem of early school leaving. In spite of the differences in perceptions and the understandable responses from particular groups of respondents, the most significant aspect of the policy measures is the fact that they are correspondingly equivalent to the perceived causes of early school leaving.

**Correspondence between the summaries of the causes of ESL and policy measures**

In Figure 5.4 the twelve policy measures in Table 5.19 can be summed up in six main issues. The most important policy measure is for teachers to "show genuine 'christian love' for all students" (ke nau 'ofa mo'oni faka-kalisitiane 'i he tokotaha ako kotoa pe). In Tonga "genuine christian love" is generally perceived to be the solution to every conflict in society. It is common to hear people in Tonga saying in times of disagreements and conflicts that: "if their Christian love was genuine, everything would have been easily resolved" (ka ne kalisitiane mo'oni pe 'enau 'ofa', 'e lavanoa pe ke fakalelei'i e me'a kotoa). In view of its importance, this "genuine christian love" will be examined in greater detail in the discussion of results in chapter six. Thus, "genuine christian love" would certainly include these categories from Table 5.19: "offer special help to the 'kau atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)", "motivate pupils to take their study seriously", "show genuine christian love in whatever you do", "ban favouritism and treat everyone fairly", and "be sensitive to students' dignity". The second most important policy measure is for teachers to "make teaching attractive and effective". This policy measure would include these categories: "ensure that teaching is really understood", "make your teaching attractive", "use sufficient materials in teaching", "prepare your classes well before teaching" and "incorporate students' characteristics into teaching strategies". The third important policy measure is to "provide special help to the 'kau atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)". The fourth important policy measure is the "provision of alternative disciplinary
measures to corporal punishment". The fifth policy measure calls on the teachers to "work together to achieve school aims" while the sixth policy measure demands that teachers "develop good relationships between the school and the community".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary of the teacher-related causes of ESL found in Table 5.11a</th>
<th>Summary of the policy measures in Table 5.19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of genuine concern for pupils</td>
<td>Show genuine christian love for all students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ineffective teaching</td>
<td>Make teaching attractive and effective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglect of the kau atamai kovi (ones with bad brain)</td>
<td>Offer special help to the kau atamai kovi (ones with bad brain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beating students as the major form of discipline</td>
<td>Provide alternative and effective disciplinary measures to corporal punishment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.4: Correspondence between the summaries of the teacher-related causes of ESL and policy measures

Four of these six policy measures find parallel equivalents in the summary of the teacher-related causes of early school leaving previously identified in Table 5.11a: "lack of genuine concern for pupils", "ineffective teaching", "neglect of the 'kau atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)" and "beating students as the major form of discipline". The two policy measures of - "work together to achieve school aims" and "develop good relationships between the school and the community" - which are not equivalent to any of the teacher-related causes of early school leaving do find their equivalents in the causes relating to other "agents" or "agencies".

The correspondence between the causes and policy measures shown in Figure 5.3 are also found in the summaries of the causes and policy measures in Figure 5.4. In so far as the similarities in responses and the strong correspondence between causes and policy measures clearly show that the responses are meaningful and consistent from each of the five groups of respondents, they show strong coherence which, in turn, supports the trustworthiness of the data. A similar coherence in response is also evident in the sections which follow.
5.2 Policy measures to be implemented by school administrators

The next "agents" are the school administrators. The five groups of respondents were asked to list three "things" in order of importance that school administrators can do to help students successfully complete their secondary schooling. Table 5.20 shows all categories of policy measures which were ranked in the first nine by each of the five groups of respondents. These categories are chosen for this analysis because their aggregate scores (Σ) are much greater the others. Table 5.20 was constructed in the same way as Table 5.19.

Description of the categories of policy measures

The aggregate scores (Σ) and the rank orders of the five groups of respondents have shown that the first important policy measure is the category - "make christian love the centre of school life" - which is ranked first by parents and community leaders, second by early school leavers and unsuccessful completers, and third by teachers and school administrators (ranked 2nd, 2nd, 1st, 3rd and 1st). The second important policy measure is the need to "offer special help to the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)" (ranked 1st, 1st, 2nd, 4th, 3rd) which are understandably given the highest ranking by early school leavers and unsuccessful completers. The others' support of this category is also strong. The third in importance is "stop beating pupils but teach them to behave" which is given a comparatively high ranking by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, parents and community leaders since they respectively rank it fourth, fourth, third and fifth. Consistently throughout the analysis, teachers and school administrators have given low priority to the impact that corporal punishment may have had on early school leaving. It is either given a low ranking or not mentioned at all as happened in this section.

The need to "design a curriculum to cater for students' needs and abilities" (ranked 3rd, 6th, 5th, 8th, 2nd) is also given great importance here by all the respondents. The only other category that is common to the five groups of respondents is "provide adequate salaries for
teachers” which is understandably ranked first by teachers and school administrators. It is ranked fourth by community leaders but is given lower ranking (8th, 8th, 9th) by the other three groups of respondents. The main thrust of the policy measures is that students need to be seen as human persons who need to be taught, loved and cared for in the various processes of schooling.

Table 5.20: Policy measures to be implemented by school administrators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy measures for reducing early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Offer special help to the “kau ‘atamai kovi”</td>
<td>Σ 466 Rank 1 Σ 164 Rank 1 Σ 387 Rank 2 Σ 99 Rank 4 Σ 90 Rank 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Make christian love the centre of school life</td>
<td>Σ 400 Rank 2 Σ 162 Rank 2 Σ 416 Rank 1 Σ 124 Rank 3 Σ 113 Rank 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Design a curriculum to cater for students’ needs and abilities</td>
<td>Σ 240 Rank 3 Σ 87 Rank 6 Σ 210 Rank 5 Σ 70 Rank 8 Σ 100 Rank 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Stop beating pupils but teach them to behave</td>
<td>Σ 238 Rank 4 Σ 121 Rank 4 Σ 362 Rank 3 - - Σ 80 Rank 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ban favouritism &amp; treat everyone fairly</td>
<td>Σ 215 Rank 5 Σ 130 Rank 3 Σ 78 Rank 8 Σ 66 Rank 9 - -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Create good rapport with parents and the community</td>
<td>Σ 180 Rank 6 Σ 56 Rank 9 Σ 181 Rank 6 - - Σ 53 Rank 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Develop good relationships with staff &amp; students</td>
<td>Σ 142 Rank 7 Σ 102 Rank 5 - - Σ 90 Rank 5 Σ 70 Rank 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provide adequate salaries to teachers</td>
<td>Σ 99 Rank 8 Σ 60 Rank 8 Σ 67 Rank 9 Σ 150 Rank 1 Σ 86 Rank 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Be firm and fair in enforcing school rules</td>
<td>Σ 80 Rank 9 Σ 65 Rank 7 Σ 234 Rank 4 Σ 143 Rank 2 - -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Effectively implement school policies</td>
<td>- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Σ 78 Rank 7 Σ 44 Rank 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Consult widely in policy making</td>
<td>- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Σ 152 Rank 7 Σ 81 Rank 6 Σ 60 Rank 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Others</td>
<td>Σ 55 (4) Rank 45 (3) Σ 63 (4) Rank 30 (3) Σ 30 (3) Rank 11 (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Missing responses</td>
<td>Σ 75 Rank 88 Σ 40 Rank 47 Σ 47 Rank 13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comparison of the five groups of respondents

Although the agreement among the five groups of respondents on the policy measures to be implemented by school administrators is strong, it is not as strong as that over the policy measures for teachers. For instance, only four of the eleven school administrator-related policy measures (36.3%) are common to the five groups of respondents, compared to seven out of the thirteen teacher-related policy measures (53.8%). However, when one considers the fact that only the one teacher-related category of "stop beating pupils but teach them to behave" that is common to four groups of respondents, compared to five school administrator-related policy measures, then the difference in the agreement of the five groups of respondents over the policy measures to be implemented by teachers, on the one hand, and the school administrators, on the other, is only marginal. Thus, there is a strong agreement among the five groups of respondents not only in the policy measures for teachers but also in those for school administrators.

When one compares the responses from the five groups of respondents, one finds that the responses from the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers are the closest because the categories that they ranked one to nine in Table 5.20 are common to both of them. The parents' responses are the second closest to those of the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers in that eight of the categories that they ranked one to nine are common to the other two groups. The similarities between the responses of the parents and those of the teachers and school administrators and the community leaders are less significantly close here than in the previous sections. This is shown in the fact that only five of the categories that the three groups of respondents ranked one to nine have been found to be common to them. Furthermore, two of the categories from parents were not identified by teachers and school administrators, and another two were also missing from the responses of the community leaders. Thus, comparatively the responses of the parents, teachers, school administrators and community leaders are not as close here as in other previous sections.
It is interesting to note that parents, teachers and school administrators have placed high priority in the need for the administrators to "be firm and fair in enforcing school rules" (ranked 4th and 2nd). It is given lower ranking by early school leavers and unsuccessful completers (ranked 9th and 7th). It seems that parents, teachers and administrators think that there is a need for administrators to be firm and fair in the discipline of the students. This perception is in accordance with the tacit belief of teachers and school administrators that corporal punishment still has a role to play in the life of the school in enforcing school rules. It is also in line with the high priority given in the parent-related causes of early school leaving to the need for parents to discipline their children.

Finally, the last two policy measures relate to two important issues for administrators: good communication and effective policies. There are three policy measures targeting the need for good communication: "ban favouritism and treat everyone fairly", "create good rapport with parents and the community" and "develop good relationships with staff and students". The importance of these three categories is shown in that they were identified by four groups of respondents. With regards to effective policies, there are two policy measures addressing that issue: "effectively implement school policies" and "consult widely in policy making". The former was identified only by teachers, school administrators and community leaders whereas the latter received greater support with the addition of the parents to the other three groups.

Correspondence between causes of ESL and policy measures

In Figure 5.5 there are seventeen school administrator-related causes of early school leaving in Table 5.12 and eleven policy measures for school administrators to implement in Table 5.20. The double lines in Figure 5.5 separates the causes and policy measures that have equivalents from those that have no equivalents. Thus, the equivalents are found above the double lines and the others are placed under them. There is a strong link between the school administrator-related causes of early school leaving and the policy measures in that thirteen of the seventeen
causes in Table 5.12 have corresponding equivalents in ten of the eleven policy measures in Table 5.20 as outlined in Figure 5.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrator-related causes of ESL in found in Table 5.12</th>
<th>Corresponding policy measures found in Table 5.20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• No special help to the &quot;kau 'atamai kovi&quot;</td>
<td>• Offer special help to the &quot;kau atamai kovi&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Frequent use of corporal punishment</td>
<td>• Stop beating them but teach them to behave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Insisting on academically oriented curriculum</td>
<td>• Design a curriculum to cater for students' needs and abilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Excessive emphasis on passing public exams</td>
<td>• Ban favouritism and treat everyone fairly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Favouritism sours relationships</td>
<td>• Ban favouritism and treat everyone fairly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Inadequate salaries for teachers</td>
<td>• Provide adequate salaries for teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to implement school policies effectively</td>
<td>• Effectively implement school policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Conflicts between parents and administrators</td>
<td>• Create good rapport with parents and the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of enforcement of school rules</td>
<td>• Be firm and fair in enforcing school rules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to be genuinely concerned for pupils</td>
<td>• Make christain love the centre of school life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to be genuinely concerned for teachers</td>
<td>• Develop good relationships between staff and students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to motivate staff and students</td>
<td>• Make christain love the centre of school life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to communicate with staff and students</td>
<td>• Develop good relationships between staff and students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ineffectiveness of large class size</td>
<td>• Consult widely in policy making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of incentives for teachers to be committed</td>
<td>• Consult widely in policy making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Administrative incompetence</td>
<td>• Consult widely in policy making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Placing &quot;good&quot; teachers in higher classes</td>
<td>• Consult widely in policy making</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.5: Correspondence between administrator-related causes of ESL and policy measures

There are four causes of early school leaving which have no equivalents among the policy measures in this section: "placing 'good' teachers in higher classes", "ineffectiveness of large class size", "lack of incentives for teachers to be committed (to their work)" and "administrative incompetence". The only policy measure that has no equivalent among the causes in this section is "consult widely in policy making". There are more causes with no equivalent policy measures in this section than in the previous one. However, there are thirteen causes with corresponding equivalents among the policy measures in this section, compared to only ten in the previous section. All in all, the large number of equivalents between the administrator-related causes and the policy measures overwhelmingly indicate a strong agreement among the
five groups of respondents. Such agreement further strengthens the trustworthiness of the perceptions of the respondents.

Correspondence between the summaries of the causes of ESL and policy measures

The eleven policy measures in Table 5.20 can be summed up in these six main issues. The most important policy measure is "show genuine christian love for all students" which includes the following policy measures in Table 5.20: "offer special help to the kau atamai kovi (ones with bad brain)", "make christian love the centre of the school life", "ban favouritism and treat everyone fairly", "develop good relationship with staff and students". The second important policy measure is "show genuine christian love for the staff" which encompasses these policy measures: "provide adequate salaries to teachers", "make christian love the centre of school life", "ban favouritism and treat everyone fairly" and "develop good relationship with staff and students". The third important policy measure is for school administrators to "design a curriculum to cater for all students". The importance of this issue is indicated by the fact that it is common to the five groups of respondents. The fourth important policy measure is the "provision of alternative and effective disciplinary measures to corporal punishment" which includes the two categories of "stop beating them but teach them to behave themselves" and "be firm in enforcing school rules". The fifth important policy measure is the need to "communicate well with staff, students and parents" which encompasses these two categories: "create good rapport with parents and the community", and "develop good relationship with staff and students". Lastly, the need to "produce effective policies" is implied in all the other categories but it is particularly relevant to the two policy measures of "consult widely in policy making" and "effectively implement school policies".
Summary of the school administrator-related causes of ESL in Table 5.12a

Summary of the policy measures found in Table 5.20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Administrator-Related Causes</th>
<th>Policy Measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Failure to be genuinely concerned for students</td>
<td>Show genuine Christian love for all students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to be genuinely concerned for the staff</td>
<td>Make teaching attractive and effective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to design a curriculum to cater for pupils needs and abilities</td>
<td>Design a curriculum that caters for all students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to discipline students effectively</td>
<td>Provide alternative and effective disciplinary measures to corporal punishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to communicate well with staff, students and parents</td>
<td>Communicate well with staff, students and parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ineffective policies</td>
<td>Produce effective policies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.6: Correspondence between the summaries of the school administrator-related causes of ESL and policy measures

These six policy measures find parallel equivalents in the summary of the teacher-related causes of early school leaving previously identified in Table 5.12a: "failure to be genuinely concerned for students", "failure to be genuinely concerned for staff", "failure to design a curriculum to cater for pupils’ needs and abilities", "failure to discipline students effectively", "failure to communicate with staff, students and parents" and "ineffective policies". The close link between causes and policy measures is clearly demonstrated in Figure 5.6.

5.3 Policy measures to be implemented by parents

The next "agents" at the micro level of the community systems are the parents. Again the five groups of respondents were asked to list three "things" in order of importance that parents can do to help students successfully complete their secondary schooling. All the categories of policy measures to be implemented by parents shown in Table 5.21 were ranked one to ten by each of the five groups of respondents. The criterion for selecting those categories is that their aggregate scores (Σ) far outstrip the others.
Table 5.21: Policy measures to be implemented by parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy measures for reducing early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Pay the school fees on time</em></td>
<td>443 1 142 2 370 1 99 3 119 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Meet other school demands on time</em></td>
<td>300 2 131 3 230 4 75 5 72 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Encourage children to take their study seriously</em></td>
<td>290 3 170 1 268 2 149 1 106 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Discipline the children to behave</em></td>
<td>280 4 110 4 233 3 - - 68 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ensure that there is a good family life</em></td>
<td>267 5 72 7 146 8 132 2 44 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ensure that time, space &amp; lights are available for studies</em></td>
<td>204 6 90 5 90 9 49 8 35 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Encourage them to behave at school</em></td>
<td>126 7 64 8 - - 80 4 - -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Show real interest in their schooling</em></td>
<td>80 8 - - 191 6 43 9 - -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Reward them even in small school successes</em></td>
<td>78 9 88 6 - - 60 6 62 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Attend school functions and meetings</em></td>
<td>74 10 58 9 167 7 35 10 21 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Often discuss with them what they do at school</em></td>
<td>- - - 212 5 57 7 78 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Be available to students when they need you</em></td>
<td>- - 49 10 83 10 - - 52 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Others</em></td>
<td>50 (3) 60 (4) 90 (5) 94 (5) 32 (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Missing responses</em></td>
<td>80 46 103 90 76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Description of the categories of policy measures

It is evident from the aggregate scores (Σ) and the rank orders of the categories in Table 5.21 that the most important policy measure is the need for the parents to "pay the school fees (of their
children) on time". This is given great importance by early school leavers, parents and community leaders (ranked it 1st), and the unsuccessful completers (ranked 2nd), and is of lesser importance to teachers and school administrators who rank it third. The second important policy measure is for the parents to "encourage children to take their study seriously" which is given a higher priority by unsuccessful completers, teachers and school administrators (ranked 1st), parents and community leaders (ranked 2nd) but it is comparatively less important to the early school leavers who rank it third. It is clear that the perception of teachers, school administrators and unsuccessful completers is that the problem of early school leaving arises largely from the failure of parents to encourage and motivate their children to be serious about their studies rather than the effects of poverty.

The third important policy measure is for parents to "meet other school demands on time". Most of these school demands are closely related to poverty because it includes failure to provide text books, exercise books and other school materials, money for different fundraising projects. The fund-raising issue must have figured strongly in the perception of the respondents because what one respondent said about fund-raising is in agreement with a number of them: "there is plenty of asking for money for all sorts of things, for example, sports" (fele a kole paanga ki he mea kehe hange ko e sipoti). Since the first and third policy measures are related to some aspects of poverty, it is argued that poverty is the most important issue.

The fourth important policy measure is for parents to "ensure that there is a good family life". This policy measure is given the second highest ranking by teachers and school administrators who seem to lay the blame for early school leaving on the parents rather than on them. Although this issue is given a much lower priority (ranked between 5th and 8th) by the other four groups of respondents, it is still important for all of them in that it is one of the six categories that are common to the five groups of respondents.
The fifth important category is for parents to "ensure that time, space and lights are available for studies". This category is understandably ranked higher by early school leavers and unsuccessful completers (ranked 6th and 5th) presumably because they have been adversely affected by the lack of those facilities, as compared to the much lower ranking given to it by parents, teachers and community leaders (ranked 9th, 8th, 9th). The overall importance of this issue is shown in the fact that is common to the five groups of respondents. The sixth important policy measure is the need for parents to "attend school functions and meetings". It is interesting that it is the parents who give the greater priority to this issue for they rank it seventh, compared to the lower rankings given to it by the others.

The policy measure for parents to "discipline their children to behave well" is given a high ranking of fourth, fourth, third and fifth respectively by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, parents and community leaders. The importance of this issue is shown not only in the fact that it is given a high ranking but it is common to four of the five groups of respondents. The support for this issue from teachers and school administrators is less strong in that it is not identified among their top ten categories. However, overall it is true to say that the five groups of respondents believe that children's schooling will be helped greatly if parents discipline their children to behave well. The only other policy measure that is common to four groups of respondents is the need for parents to "reward them even in small school successes" which is also identified by parents but not among their top ten categories. It is given a higher priority by unsuccessful completers, teachers, school administrators and community leaders.

The other four policy measures - "encourage them to behave at school", "show real interest in their schooling", "often discuss with them what they do at school" and "be available to students when they need you" - which are common to only three of the five groups of respondents, are different expressions of the second most important policy measure of "encourage children to take their study seriously". Thus, the most important policy measures relating to parents would include this issue and that of poverty.
Comparison of the five groups of respondents

There is a strong agreement among the five groups of respondents on the parent-related recommendation to address the problem of early school leaving. Six of the twelve categories are common to the five groups of respondents. As for the other parent-related policy measures, two are common to four of the five groups of respondents - "discipline the children to behave themselves" and "reward them in small school successes", and the last four are common to three groups of respondents - "encourage them to behave at school", "show real interest in their schooling", "often discuss with them what they do at school" and "be available to them when they need you".

The similarities between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers have so far occurred with monotonous regularity throughout the analysis. This section is no exception as shown in the fact that nine of the ten categories that they rank from one to ten are common to both of them. Although it is only in the category of "discipline the children to behave" that they agree on their ranking (ranked 4th), in five of the categories there is a difference of only one rank order between them, and in another two categories there is a difference of two rank orders. In fact, it is only in the category of "reward them even in small school successes" that there is a difference of three rank orders between them.

The similarities between early school leavers and their parents are close but again they are not as close as those between early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers. The differences are found in these three main features. Firstly, nine of the top ten categories are common to the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers, compared to only eight between early school leavers and their parents. Secondly, it is only in one category where there is a difference of three rank orders between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers, compared to three between early school leavers and their parents. Thirdly, two categories from early school leavers - "encourage them to behave at school" and "reward them even in small school
"successes" - are not found among the top ten categories identified by parents. In spite of these differences, the similarities between early school leavers and their parents are still significantly close.

**Correspondence between causes and policy measures**

In Figure 5.7 there are fourteen parent-related causes of early school leaving found in Table 5.13, and in Table 5.21 twelve policy measures are recommended for parents to implement to help students successfully complete their secondary schooling.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parent-related causes of ESL in Table 5.13</th>
<th>Corresponding policy measures in Table 5.21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to pay the school fees</td>
<td>• Pay the school fees on time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to meet other school demands</td>
<td>• Meet other school demands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of parental encouragement</td>
<td>• Encourage students to take their study seriously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Inability of parents to help with their study</td>
<td>• Show real interest in their schooling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to discipline their children</td>
<td>• Reward them even in small school successes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of facilities for students to study at home</td>
<td>• Often discuss with them what they do at school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• One parent is absent from home</td>
<td>• Be available to students when they need you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Family dislocation e.g. separation or divorce</td>
<td>• Encourage them to behave at school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Family crises e.g. death</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to discipline their children</td>
<td>• Discipline the children to behave themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of parental push for children to stay at home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Conflict between parents and school</td>
<td>• Attend school functions and meetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Over spending on particular events e.g. Church collection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Spending money on less important things e.g. drinking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Demand for domestic work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.7: Correspondence between parent-related causes and policy measures

It is clear from Figure 5.7 that there is a strong link between the parent-related causes of early school leaving in Table 5.13 and the policy measures found in Table 5.21. In fact, eleven of the fourteen parent-related causes have equivalents in the twelve policy measures outlined in
Table 5.21, as shown in Figure 5.7. Only three of the causes - "over spending on particular events e.g. Church yearly collection", "spending money on less important things e.g. drinking", and "demand for domestic work" - that have no policy equivalents in Figure 5.7.

It must be remembered that, although these causes may not be addressed in the policy measures in this section, they are dealt with in the policy measures in other sections. For example, two of these are addressed in the culture-related causes of early school leaving.

Correspondence between the summaries of the causes of ESL and policy measures

The twelve policy measures in Table 5.21 can be summed up in these four main issues. The most important policy measure is for parents to "render strong support for their children's schooling" which includes the following six policy measures in Table 5.21: "encourage children to take their study seriously", "ensure that time, space and lights are available for students", "show real interest in their schooling", "reward them even in small school successes", "attend school functions and meetings", and "often discuss with them what they do at school". The second important policy measure is the need for parents to "be prudent with the use of money". which includes these two categories: "pay the school fees on time" and "meet other school demands on time". The implication here is that parents have sufficient resources to meet the financial demands of their children's schooling but they have not been sufficiently prudent in their allocation and use of these resources. The third important policy measure is for parents to "discipline their children" which includes these two categories: "discipline the children to behave themselves" and "encourage them to behave at school". The fourth and the final policy measure is a call for parents to do all that they can to "foster the stability of the family" which is contained in the category of "ensure that there is a good family life at home".

These four policy measures find parallel equivalents in the summary of the parent-related causes of early school leaving previously identified in Table 5.13a which includes "lack of family support for their children's schooling", "failure to discipline children and themselves".
"poverty-related causes" and "lack of stability in the family". The close link between this summary of the parent-related causes of early school leaving and the summary of the policy measures suggested to address them, is clearly demonstrated in Figure 5.8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary of the parent-related causes of ESL found in Table 5.13a</th>
<th>Summary of policy measures found in Table 5.21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of family support for children's schooling</td>
<td>• Render strong support for their children's schooling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to discipline children and themselves</td>
<td>• Discipline their children to behave themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Poverty related causes of early school leaving</td>
<td>• Be prudent with the use of money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of stability in the family</td>
<td>• Foster the stability of family life at home</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.8: Correspondence between the summaries of the parent-related causes of ESL and policy measures

5.4 Policy measures to be implemented by students

The next "agents" at the micro level of the schooling systems are the students. Again the five groups of respondents were asked to list three "things" in order of importance that students can do to help students successfully complete their secondary schooling. All the categories of policy measures shown in Table 5.22 were ranked one to eight by each of the five groups of respondents. The criterion for selecting those categories is that their aggregate scores (Σ) far outstrip the others.

Description of the categories of policy measures

According to the aggregate scores (Σ) and the rank orders of the five groups of respondents, the first "policy" measure is for the students to "help their parents to develop a good family life" which is ranked third, fourth, first, third and first respectively by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, parents, teachers, school administrators and community leaders. The
The implication of this policy is that children's lack of discipline at home contributes to the lack of stability in the family which overflows to school and the rest of society.

Table 5.22: Policy measures to be implemented by students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy measures for reducing early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Really seek to understand what is taught</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Always try to attend school daily</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Help your parents to develop a good family</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Show genuine love to students &amp; teachers</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Be faithful to school, and christian values</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Encourage fellow pupils to do what is right</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Actively participate in school activities</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Do your homework and study at home</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Observe school rules &amp; regulations</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Select the subjects that you can do</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Others</td>
<td>81 (4)</td>
<td>58 (4)</td>
<td>42 (3)</td>
<td>15 (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Missing responses</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second important policy measure is the need for the students to "really seek to understand what is taught". The importance of this issue for students is shown in the fact that it is ranked highly by early school leavers and unsuccessful completers (ranked 1st and 2nd), compared to the lower ranking given to it by parents, teachers, school administrators and community leaders. The third important policy measure is for students to "always try to attend school daily". Although this policy measure is not identified by community leaders among their top eight categories, it is highly ranked by the other four groups of respondents especially the early
school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents who rank it second, first and second respectively. The fourth important policy measure is for students to "actively participate in school activities". The importance of this issue is shown in the fact that it is common to the five groups of respondents and it is given similar ratings by the five groups of respondents.

The fifth important policy measure is for students to "encourage fellow students to do what is right". This issue is given a higher ranking by community leaders and unsuccessful completers (2nd and 3rd), compared to the lower ranking of fifth and sixth given to it by parents and early school leavers respectively. Teachers and school administrators do not give the same priority to this issue because although they identify it among their policy measures, it is not included among their top eight categories. The sixth important policy measure is the need for students to "be faithful to the school and christian values" (mateaki'i 'a e ngaahi me'a mahu'inga fakaako mo fakakalisitian). The implication is that students would help their schooling by being faithful to their school and by living out their christian commitment. Again this issue is not identified by teachers and school administrators among their top eight categories but it is given the highest ranking of third by community leaders, compared to the lower ranking of fifth, eighth and seventh by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents. It is interesting to note that in these two value laden policy measures the community leaders give the strongest support which probably reflects the perceptions of church leaders and workers, town and district officers among the community leaders.

The seventh important policy measure is for students to "do their homework and study at home". Teachers, school administrators, community leaders and parents give a high ranking to this issue (2nd, 4th, 4th), compared to lower ranking of eighth by early school leavers. Although this issue is identified by unsuccessful completers, it is not included among their top eight categories. The eighth important policy measure calls on students to "observe school rules and regulations". Teachers and school administrators give this issue the highest ranking of first but is given the considerably lower ranking of second last by unsuccessful completers and community leaders, and indeed last by parents.
While it is understandable that teachers and school administrators give the highest priority (ranked 1st and 2nd) to the two issues of observing school rules and regulations, and of doing homework and studying at home, it is at the same time implied especially in the issue of observing school rules and regulations that there is a concern for discipline. Perhaps there is a hint here that the use of corporal punishment for disciplining students is not as effective as teachers and school administrators would like to believe.

Comparison of the five groups of respondents

The agreement among the five groups of respondents is not as strong as in the previous sections. This is clearly shown in the fact that only three out of ten categories are common to the five groups of respondents. This is partly compensated by the fact that five of the remaining seven categories are common to four of the five groups of respondents, while one is common to three and the last one is common to two groups of respondents.

The close similarities between early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents continue in this section in that six of their top eight categories are common to them. However, it must be pointed out that the similarities have not been as close as those in the previous sections. For example, four of the ten categories in Table 5.22 are not common to the these three groups. Moreover, two of these four categories are identified only by one of the three groups.

As for the teachers, school administrators and community leaders, there are greater similarities between them than any of the other three groups. For example, six of the ten categories are common to them. Although six categories are also common to parents, teachers and school administrators, the rank order differences between these categories are much greater than those between community leaders, teachers and school administrators. In fact, except for the category of "observe school rules and regulations" where there is a difference of six rank orders between them, the rank order differences in all the others are no more than two.
Correspondence between the cause of ESL and policy measures

In Figure 5.9 there are thirteen student-related causes of early school leaving found in Table 5.14 and ten "policy" measures in Table 5.22 for students to implement. It is clear that there is a strong correspondence between the student-related causes of early school leaving and the policy measures that have been recommended for students to implement. This is shown in the fact that ten of the thirteen causes have equivalents in ten of the thirteen policy measures as shown in Figure 5.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student-related causes of ESL in Table 5.14</th>
<th>Corresponding policy measures in Table 5.22</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of cooperation from fellow students</td>
<td>• Show genuine love to other students and teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not studying at home</td>
<td>• Do your homework and study at home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not doing homework</td>
<td>• Really seek to understand what is taught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not understanding what is taught</td>
<td>• Always try to attend school daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not paying attention in class</td>
<td>• Encourage fellow students to do what is right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not attending school daily</td>
<td>• Observe school rules and regulations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Involved in bad peer groups</td>
<td>• Actively participate in school activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Disobeying school rules</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Trouble making at school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of student cooperation with staff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not taking study seriously</td>
<td>• Select the subjects that you can do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not sharing difficulties with others e.g. teachers</td>
<td>• Help your parents to develop a good family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Feeling that I am a failure</td>
<td>• Be faithful to school and christian values</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.9: Correspondence between student-related causes of ESL and policy measures

The three categories of "not taking study seriously", "not sharing difficulties with others e.g. teachers", and "feeling that I am a failure" - have no equivalents among the policy measures in Figure 5.9. However, these are already addressed in other policies. The same is said of the three policy measures of "select the subjects that you can do", "help your parents to develop a good family" and "be faithful to school and christian values" - which have no direct equivalents among the causes of early school leaving in Figure 5.9.

The large number of equivalents between student-related causes of early school leaving and the policy measures suggest strong coherence in the responses indicating that the respondents were
serious not only in their identification of the causes but also in the policy measures that they have suggested to address the problem of early school leaving. In spite of the differences in perceptions and the understandable responses from particular groups of respondents, the most significant aspect of the policy measures is the fact that they are in most cases equivalent to the causes. Thus, they appear to be specifically and deliberately identified to address those needs.

Correspondence between the summaries of the causes of ESL and policy measures

The ten policy measures in Table 5.22 can be summed up in these three main issues. The most important set of policy measure is related to school which includes the following six policy measures in Table 5.22: "really seek to understand what is taught", "show genuine love to students and teachers", "be faithful to school and christian values", "actively participate in school activities", "observe school rules and regulations, and "select the subjects that you can do". The second important set of policy measures relate to the home and these comprise the categories of "help your parents to develop a good family", and "do your homework and study at home". The third important policy measure relates to the village community primarily and only secondarily to the school itself and that is to "encourage fellow students to do what is right".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary of the student-related causes of ESL found in Table 5.14a</th>
<th>Summary of the policy measures found in Table 5.22</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• School-related causes</td>
<td>• School-related policy measures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Home-related causes</td>
<td>• Home-related policy measures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Village community-related causes</td>
<td>• Village community-related policy measures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Student-related causes</td>
<td>• Student-related policy measures</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.10: Correspondence between the summaries of the student-related causes of ESL and policy measures

These three policy measures find parallel equivalents in the summary of the student-related causes of early school leaving previously identified in Table 5.14a which includes causes relating specifically to school, home, village community and the student himself or herself. The
close link between this summary of the student-related causes of early school leaving and the summary of the policy measures suggested to address them, is clearly demonstrated in Figure 5.10. Again the strong coherence in the responses offered by the five groups of respondents supports the trustworthiness of the data.

5.5 Policy measures to be implemented by the village community

The village community is at the meso level within the community systems. Again the five groups of respondents were asked to list three "things" in order of importance that village community can do to help students successfully complete their secondary schooling. Table 5.23 shows all categories that were ranked in the first five by any of the five groups of respondents. The top five categories from each group of respondents are chosen for this analysis because their aggregate scores (Σ) are much greater than the others.

Description of the categories of policy measures

The aggregate scores (Σ) and the rank ordering of the categories in Table 5.23 by the five groups of respondents show that the most important policy measure is for the village community to "make the halls in the village available for student activities". Its importance is shown by the fact that it is the only policy measure that is common to all the five groups of respondents. The second most important policy measure is the "provision of social activities suitable for students" which is ranked first, first, third and second respectively by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents. Teachers and school administrators fail to identify this policy measure among their top five categories. In fact, all the five categories of policy measures were identified by all the five groups of respondents. However, some of them were not included among their top five categories.
Table 5.23: Policy measures to be implemented by the village community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy measures for reducing early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Provide social activities suitable for students in weekends</td>
<td>622 1</td>
<td>300 1</td>
<td>402 3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Make the halls in the village available for students' activities</td>
<td>513 2</td>
<td>86 5</td>
<td>317 4</td>
<td>124 3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Special community efforts to help students complete their schooling</td>
<td>486 3</td>
<td>271 2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>245 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Encourage community cooperation in matters relating to education</td>
<td>241 4</td>
<td>164 3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>94 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Cooperate to help parents in difficulty pay for their children's schooling</td>
<td>130 5</td>
<td>107 4</td>
<td>681 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Make serious efforts for churches and schools to work together</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>443 2</td>
<td>186 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Work together towards stopping students from smoking and drinking</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>112 5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Emphasize the community common concerns but not their differences</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>107 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Others</td>
<td>78 (3)</td>
<td>54 (3)</td>
<td>60 (2)</td>
<td>54 (2)</td>
<td>66 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Missing responses</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third most important policy measure is the need for the village community to "cooperate to help parents in difficulty pay for their children's schooling". This issue is given the higher ranking of first and third respectively by parents and community leaders but is given a lower ranking of fifth and fourth respectively by early school leavers and unsuccessful completers.

"Special community efforts to help students complete their schooling" is the fourth most important policy measure. Although it is not identified by parents and community leaders among their top five categories, it is given a high priority by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, teachers and school administrators who respectively rank it third, second and first.
The fifth most important policy measure highlights the need for the village community to "make serious efforts so that churches and schools work together". This is an important issue for parents, teachers, school administrators and community leaders in that they identify it among their top five categories and they also give it higher ranking of second, second and fourth. The sixth most important policy measure of "emphasizing the community common concerns but not their differences" is identified only by teachers, school administrators and community leaders in their top five categories, and this probably reflects the wisdom of these people in the art of designing strategies for community involvement. The last policy measure of "working together towards stopping students from smoking and drinking" is identified only by parents which shows the parents' pragmatic approach to task of problem solving in an area which is of immediate concern to them as parents.

There are more missing responses in this section than in any of the previous sections. It appeared in the interviews to be a difficulty of trying to solve village community-related problems of early school leaving rather than an expression of a lack of effort on the part of the respondents to provide the required three responses.

Comparison of the five groups of respondents

There is a strong agreement between early school leavers and unsuccessful completers, on the one hand, because the five categories in Table 5.23 are common to both of them, and between parents and community leaders, on the other hand, because four of the five categories are common to them. For the first time in this analysis the responses of teachers and school administrators are more aligned with those of early school leavers and unsuccessful completers than any of the other two groups of respondents. It seems that the village community is seen as a neutral ground where virtually no group of respondents has any particular concern to highlight or a specific interest to be shielded from unwarranted criticism.
The overall agreement of the five groups is less strong here than in any of the previous sections in that only one of the eight categories (Table 5.23) is common to all of them. While two categories are common to four of the five groups of respondents, and another three are common to three of them, one category is common to two and another one is identified by only one group. The apparent lack of agreement among the five groups of respondents is to some extent compensated by the fact that all the eight categories were identified by all of them, though not in their top five categories. That suggests that the number of missing responses do not amount to a lack of focus or consistency in the perception of the majority who responded.

Correspondence between the causes of ESL and policy measures

In Figure 5.11 there are ten village community-related causes of early school leaving found in Table 5.15 and eight policy measures for the village community to implement in Table 5.23. It is clear that there is a corresponding equivalents between the village community-related causes and the policy measures that have been recommended for the village community to implement. This is shown in the fact that all the ten causes of early school leaving have equivalents in all the eight policy measures outlined in Figure 5.11. For the first time in the analysis is there no causes or policy measures in the no equivalent column under the double lines.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village community-related causes of ESL found in Table 5.15</th>
<th>Corresponding policy measures found in Table 5.23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Social activities distract students from studies</td>
<td>• Provide social activities suitable for students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Strong attraction of a perceived easy village life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of community facilities for student activities</td>
<td>• Make the halls in the village available for students activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Smoking &amp; drinking lured pupils away from their studies</td>
<td>• Work together towards stopping students from smoking and drinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of community efforts to help economically disadvantaged parents</td>
<td>• Cooperate to help parents in difficulty pay for their childrens schooling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Individualism is becoming stronger</td>
<td>• Emphasize the community common concerns but not their differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Rivalry among schools</td>
<td>• Make serious efforts for churches and schools to work together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Rivalry among churches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of cooperation among parents</td>
<td>• Encourage community cooperation in matters relating to education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of cooperation among students</td>
<td>• Special community efforts to help students complete their schooling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.11: Correspondence between village community-related causes of ESL & policy measures
The eight policy measures in Table 5.23 can be summed up in three main issues. The most important policy measure is the "provision of social activities suitable for students". This issue encompasses these two policy measures: "provide social activities suitable for students" and "make the halls in the village available for students activities". The second important policy measure is the call for the village community to "generate more community cooperation". This issue would include these three categories: "make serious efforts for churches and schools to work together", "work together towards stopping students from smoking and drinking" and "emphasize the community common concerns but not their differences". The third and last policy measure is directly related towards students completing their schooling. Hence, it is called "help for students to complete their schooling" and this is embodied in these two policy measures: "special community efforts to help students complete their schooling" and "encourage community cooperation in matters relating to schooling".

These three policy measures find parallel equivalents in the summary of the student-related causes of early school leaving previously identified in Table 5.15a which includes these three causes: "attractiveness of the village life style", "lack of cooperation on the community level" and "lack of community facilities for student activities and programs". The close link between this summary of the student-related causes of early school leaving and the summary of the policy measures suggested to address them, is clearly demonstrated in Figure 5.12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary of the village community-related causes of ESL found in Table 5.15a</th>
<th>Summary of the policy measures found in Table 5.23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attractiveness of the village life style</td>
<td>Provision of activities and programs suitable for students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of cooperation on the community level</td>
<td>Generate more efforts towards community cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of community facilities for student activities and programs</td>
<td>Helps for students to complete their schooling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.12: Correspondence between the summaries of the village community-related causes of ESL and policy measures
5.6 Policy measures to be implemented by the Tongan government

The Tongan government is the macro level of the schooling systems. Again the five groups of respondents were asked to list three "things" in order of importance that the Tongan government can do to help students successfully complete their secondary schooling. The categories of policy measures in Table 5.24 were ranked one to six by the five groups of respondents. The criterion for selecting those categories is that their aggregate scores (Σ) far outstrip the others.

Table 5.24: Policy measures to be implemented by the Tongan government

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy measures</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) Σ</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school Σ</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Parents of ESL Σ</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators Σ</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Community leaders Σ</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Provide adequate subsidies to non-government secondary schools</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ensure that primary school pupils are taught properly</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provide an alternative form of assessment to the Tonga School Certificate (TSC) and the Pacific Senior Secondary School Certificate (PSSC)</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Help parents who cannot pay for their children's schooling</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Design a curriculum that caters for pupils' abilities and needs</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Create jobs for school leavers</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Help pay the teachers' salaries instead of the current per capita grant</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Help non government schools to be adequately resourced</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Others</td>
<td>45 (2)</td>
<td>35 (2)</td>
<td>50 (3)</td>
<td>60 (3)</td>
<td>31 (2)</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>31 (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Missing responses</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Description of the categories of policy measures

Taking into account the aggregate scores (Σ) and the rank orders given by the five groups of respondents to the categories in Table 5.24, one can see that the most important policy measure is for the Tongan government to "provide adequate subsidies to non-government secondary schools" which is given the strongest support by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents (ranked 1st, 1st, 1st) and also by the other two groups of respondents (ranked 3rd and 2nd). The overwhelming perception of all the respondents is that the government can do much more than the current annual grant of $50 per enrolled student at non-government high schools. The second important policy measure is the need for the government, which looks after more than 90 per cent of the primary school population, to "ensure that primary school pupils are taught properly". The five groups of respondents also rank this policy measure highly (ranked 2nd, 3rd, 2nd, 4th, 4th). There is a strong perception that a number of those students who are likely to leave school early have been disadvantaged through the poor teaching done at the primary school level.

To "design a curriculum that caters for pupils' abilities and needs" is the third important policy measure in that it is common to the five groups of respondents. Teachers, school administrators and community leaders rank this issue much more highly (ranked 1st and 3rd) than the other groups of respondents (ranked 5th, 6th, 5th) which shows the greater importance that they attach to the role the curriculum plays in the incidence of early school leaving. The last policy measure that is common to the five groups of respondents is a call for the government to "create jobs for school leavers". What is implied here is that children would be more determined to be successful at schooling if they could see that there are rewards, for example, in terms of obtaining a job at the end of it. With unemployment rates being high in practically every country including Tonga, there is little incentive for students to complete their schooling, let alone being successful at it.
The fifth important policy measure is the need for the government to "help parents who cannot pay for their children's (secondary) schooling". Although it is ranked outside their top six categories by teachers and school administrators, this issue is included by the other four groups of respondents in their top six categories and it is also ranked fairly highly by them (ranked 4th, 4th, 3rd, 5th). While there are parents who could have paid for their children's secondary schooling, it is perceived that a number of them could not possibly do it without depriving themselves of the bare necessities of life. It is these people who are envisaged in this policy measure to need government help.

The sixth important policy measure - "provide an alternative form of assessment to the current one" - relates to the perception that current form of assessment, the secondary school entrance examination in Tonga, has had negative impacts on the children's schooling. Two of the major negative impacts would include the inculcation of the sense of failure among many children at an early age through the high failure rates in that examination, and the focus of primary school teaching on the academically capable students to the exclusion of the less academically inclined. This policy measure is not ranked by teachers, school administrators and community leaders among their top six categories but it is ranked highly by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents who must have suffered from its impact.

The call for the government to "help non-government schools to be adequately resourced" is identified in the top six categories only by teachers, school administrators and the community leaders who respectively rank it fifth and first. The other three groups of respondents attach some importance to this issue but not to the extent of including it among their top six categories.

The only other policy measure is for the government to "help pay the teachers' salaries instead of the current per capita grant". It is understandable that teachers would consider this issue to be important. However, it does not receive much support from the other groups of respondents. In fact, only the community leaders who render it some support which amounts to giving it the last ranking. The lower rankings shown in this paragraph must be considered together with the high ranking given to the need for the government to "provide adequate
subsidies to non-government secondary schools" which is ranked first by all the groups of respondents. In other words, the issue of government financial help to non-government schools is still of greatest importance.

Comparison of the five groups of respondents

The agreement among the five groups of respondents is stronger here than that found in most other sections. Fifty per cent of the categories here are common to the five groups of respondents. While one policy is common to four groups of respondents and another one to three of them, the last two are identified only by two groups but they are highly ranked.

The similarities between early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents are much closer here than in most of the previous sections. This is clearly shown in the fact that their six top categories are common to all of them. Moreover, there are great similarities in their rank ordering of the categories. Teachers, school administrators and community leaders, on the other hand, are similar in their perception in that five of the eight categories are common to them, and their rank orders are very similar. The only apparent exception to this can be alleged to be found in the category of "help non-government schools to be adequately resourced" which is given a lower ranking by teachers and school administrators. However, when the three policy measures of - "provide adequate subsidies to non-government secondary schools", "help pay teachers' salaries instead of the current per capita grant" and "help non-government schools to be adequately resourced" - are taken together, teachers and school administrators strongly agree with the call from the other four groups of respondents to the Tongan government to make greater financial contribution to non-government education systems.

Correspondence between the causes of ESL and policy measures

In Figure 5.13 there are thirteen Tongan government-related causes of early school leaving found in Table 5.16 and eight policy measures in Table 5.24 for the Tongan government to
implement. There is a strong link in Figure 5.13 between the causes of early school leaving and the policy measures. This is evident in the fact that ten of the thirteen causes have equivalents in the eight policy measures. The three causes of - limited places in technical schools, inadequate professional development programs for teachers and administrators and not regularly evaluating teachers and administrators work - have no equivalents among the policy measures in Table 5.24. However, the two issues of inadequate professional development programs and of the failure to evaluate the work of teachers and administrators have been addressed in the section relating to teachers and school administrators. The high level of correspondence between causes and policy measures further supports the assumption that the policy measures have been specifically tailored to address those needs. As has been consistently shown throughout the analysis, it contributes also to the trustworthiness of the data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tongan government-related causes of ESL found in Table 5.16</th>
<th>Corresponding policy measures found in Table 5.24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Inadequate subsidies to non-government secondary schools</td>
<td>• Provide adequate subsidies to non-government secondary schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to ensure that primary school pupils are taught properly</td>
<td>• Ensure that primary schools are taught properly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Secondary entrance exam has adversely affected childrens schooling</td>
<td>• Provide an alternative form of assessment to the current one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Rivalry between government and non-government school systems</td>
<td>• Design a curriculum that caters for pupils abilities and needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Insisting on academically oriented curriculum</td>
<td>• Help parents who cannot pay for their childrens schooling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not helping non-government (secondary) schools to be adequately resourced</td>
<td>• Help non-government schools to be adequately resourced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not making jobs available to school leavers</td>
<td>• Create jobs for school leavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not paying secondary school teachers salaries</td>
<td>• Help pay the teachers salaries instead of the current per capita grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Limited places in technical schools</td>
<td>• Inadequate professional programs for teachers and school administrators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Inadequate professional programs for teachers and school administrators</td>
<td>• Not regularly evaluating teachers and administrators work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not regularly evaluating teachers and administrators work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.13: Correspondence between government-related causes of ESL & policy measures
Correspondence between the summaries of the causes of ESL and policy measures

The eight policy measures in Table 5.24 can be summed up in these four main issues. The most important policy measure is the call for the government to "provide more financial contribution to non-government secondary schools". The primacy of this issue is shown by the fact that four of the eight policy measures outlined in Table 5.24 are subsumed under it: "provide adequate subsidies to non-government secondary schools", "help parents who cannot pay for their children's schooling", "help pay the teachers' salaries instead of the current per capita grant", and "help non-government schools to be adequately resourced".

The second important policy measure is for the government to "design a curriculum that caters for pupils abilities and needs". The importance of this issue is illustrated in the fact that two other policy measures are subsumed under it: "provide an alternative form of assessment to the current one (the use of the secondary school entrance examination as the selection mechanism)" and "ensure that primary school pupils are taught properly". The close connection between the two issues of the selection mechanism and the heavy concentration of the teaching at primary schools on academically capable students, and the academically oriented curriculum is that the academically capable students are purposely selected to attend the government high schools.

Although students are free to choose schools other than the government high schools, the incentives to attend the government high schools are perceived to be very powerful. The government high schools are heavily subsidized. Not only are they better staffed with qualified personnel but they are much better paid. The examination results of their high schools are the best in their respective districts and indeed nationwide. The prospect of securing employment after leaving high school and of winning a scholarship award to study overseas is generally perceived to be more likely achieved by those attending the government high schools. The connection with the heavy concentration of primary school teaching on the academically bright
students is seen in the fact that teachers promotion is measured largely by their successes in the secondary school entrance examination.

The third important policy measure is the need to "promote good relationship between the education systems in Tonga". The responses from the five groups of respondents show that this issue is important because as one of them puts it: "good relationship (between the government and non-government education systems) has repercussions on a host of other educational issues" (ko e vā lelei mo e kaungā ngāue ['a e potungāue ako 'a e pule'anga' mo e ngaahi potungāue ako kehe'] 'oku lōlahi 'a e ngaahi me'a fakaako 'e kau lelei ki ai'). The belief is that all education systems in Tonga should be heavily involved in the breaking down of the barriers which have been created over the years. It is also expressed by some of the respondents that greater cooperation is needed especially when resources are meagre and indeed limited. The fourth policy measure is the call on the government to "create more job opportunities for school leavers". It is perceived that this can be an incentive for students to persevere and to be successful in their educational pursuits.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary of the Government-related causes of ESL in found Table 5.16a</th>
<th>Summary of the policy measures found in Table 5.24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Insistence on an academically oriented curriculum</td>
<td>• Design a curriculum that caters for pupils abilities and needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Rivalry between government and other education systems</td>
<td>• Promote good relationship between government and non-government education systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to provide adequate financial help to non-government systems</td>
<td>• Provide more financial contribution to non-government secondary schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to provide jobs for school leavers</td>
<td>• Create more job opportunities for school leavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to provide professional help to staffs of other systems</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.14: Correspondence between the summaries of the government-related causes of ESL and policy measures

It is clear from Figure 5.14 that these four policy measures and the causes of early school leaving are closely equivalent. The only cause that is not addressed by a particular policy measure in Figure 5.14 is the government's "failure to provide professional help to staffs of
As previously pointed out, it is already addressed in the section dealing with teachers and school administrators. The close correspondence between the summary of the causes of early school leaving and the policy measures has become a consistent feature of the analysis.

5.7 Policy measures to be implemented by the Church Education Department

The Church Education Department shares the meso level with the Government Education Department within the schooling systems of the theoretical framework. The five groups of respondents were asked to list three "things" in order of importance that the Church Education Department can do to help students successfully complete their secondary schooling. All the categories of policy measures shown in Table 5.25 were ranked one to six by the five groups of respondents. The criterion for selecting those categories is that their aggregate scores (Σ) far outstripped the others.

Description of the categories of policy measures

It is clear from the aggregate scores (Σ) and the rank ordering of the categories in Table 5.25 that the most important policy measure for the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents is for the Church Education Department to "produce a policy to retain all students at high school". Its importance is shown by the fact that it is ranked first by all of them. It is given a lower ranking by teachers, school administrators and community leaders who rank it fifth and fourth. The second policy measure is a call for the Church Education Department to "ensure that teachers are able to both teach and care for all pupils". Teachers and school administrators understandably give this issue a much lower rank of sixth, compared to the higher ranking given to it by the other four groups (ranked 2nd, 2nd, 3rd, 1st) who probably feel that they have suffered from teachers' unattractive teaching and lack of genuine loving care.
Table 5.25: Policy measures to be implemented by the Church Education Department

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy measures for reducing early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Produce a policy to retain all students at high school</td>
<td>500 1 209 1</td>
<td>488 1</td>
<td>98 5</td>
<td>90 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ensure that teachers are able to both teach and care for all pupils</td>
<td>404 2 187 2</td>
<td>333 3</td>
<td>83 6</td>
<td>130 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Produce a curriculum that caters for all students</td>
<td>351 3 133 4</td>
<td>112 6</td>
<td>145 3</td>
<td>100 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ensure that corporal punishment is out</td>
<td>313 4 160 3</td>
<td>395 2</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>121 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provide adequate resources for policy implementation</td>
<td>171 5 - -</td>
<td>76 7</td>
<td>127 4</td>
<td>42 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provide adequate salaries for teachers</td>
<td>125 6 94 6</td>
<td>287 4</td>
<td>163 2</td>
<td>61 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Consult widely in policy making</td>
<td>92 7 101 5</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Develop job satisfaction for teachers and administrators</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>191 1</td>
<td>72 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Be fair in your dealings with staff and parents</td>
<td>- - 82 7</td>
<td>250 5</td>
<td>62 7</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Others</td>
<td>40 (2) 37 (2)</td>
<td>44 (2)</td>
<td>52 (3)</td>
<td>39 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Missing responses</td>
<td>194 77</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third policy measure is the concern for the Church Education Department to "produce a curriculum that caters for all students". Early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, teachers, school administrators and community leaders consider this issue to be important for they rank it highly (ranked 3rd, 4th, 3rd, 3rd). Parents, on the other hand, with a much lower ranking of sixth do not see curriculum as an important issue probably because its effect on the problem of early school leaving is considered to be remote.
The fourth policy measure is the need for the Church Education Department to "provide adequate salaries for staff" which is understandably ranked high by teachers and school administrators (ranked 2nd) but is ranked much lower by the other four groups (ranked 6th, 6th, 4th, 6th). The fifth policy measure is the need to "ensure that corporal punishment is out". This is consistent with the previous section where teachers and school administrators either give this issue a much lower ranking than the others or they do not identify it among their important categories as occurs in this instance. Again, the other four groups of respondents have consistently given this issue a much higher priority in the preceding sections as they do here (ranked 4th, 3rd, 2nd, 2nd).

The sixth policy measure relates to the "design and the implementation of policies". The need for the Church Education Department to consult widely in its policy making is not heavily supported. This is probably a reflection on the top-down management strategy that is almost taken for granted in the Tongan society. It is interesting to note that it is the younger generation (early school leavers and unsuccessful completers) who identify it among their top seven categories. However, the need to make resources available so that policies may be effectively implemented is given greater importance in that it is identified by all the five groups of respondents, although not in the top seven by the unsuccessful completers. The other two policy measures include the call for the Church Education Department to "develop job satisfaction for teachers and school administrators" which is understandably ranked highest by teachers and school administrators, and to "be fair in their dealings with staff, parents and pupils" which is identified only by unsuccessful completers, parents, teachers and school administrators.
Comparison of the five groups of respondents

The agreement among the five groups of respondents on the policy measures to be implemented by the Church Education Department is as strong as most of the agreement so far because not only are four of the nine categories common to the five groups of respondents but also another two categories are common to four groups, one to three and two to two groups.

The similarities between the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents, on the one hand, and teachers, school administrators and community leaders, on the other, continue in this section. As for the respondents in the first group, five of the nine categories are common to them. The similarities among the respondents in the second group are just as strong because six of the nine categories are common to them. While there are similarities in the number of categories being common to each of the two groups, there are marked differences in the rank orders that each group gives to these common categories. The differences in the rank ordering of the categories by the first group are much smaller than those found in the second group. In spite of the differences in the rank orders, the overall similarities are still significantly close which again give credence to the seriousness with which respondents treated the survey.

Correspondence between causes of ESL and policy measures

In Figure 5.15 there are nine Church Education Department-related causes of early school leaving (Table 5.17), and nine policy measures (Table 5.25) for the Church Education Department to implement. There is a strong link (Figure 5.15) between the Church Education Department-related causes of early school leaving and the policy measures as all the top eight causes find equivalents in the top seven categories of policy measures. For the second time in this analysis there are no causes or policy measures in the no equivalent category which clearly indicates that there is a strong coherence in the responses between the five groups of respondents.
Table 5.17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church Education Department-related causes of ESL in Table 5.17</th>
<th>Corresponding policy measures found in Table 5.25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to produce a policy specifically to retain all students</td>
<td>• Provide a policy to retain all students at high school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to train teachers to both teach and care for all students</td>
<td>• Ensure that teachers are able to both teach and care for all students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to produce a curriculum and equitable exam that caters for all students</td>
<td>• Provide a curriculum that caters for all students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to enforce the rule of no corporal punishment</td>
<td>• Ensure that corporal punishment is out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to provide suitable resources for policy implementation</td>
<td>• Provide adequate resources for policy implementation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to provide adequate salaries for staff</td>
<td>• Provide adequate salaries for teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to consult teachers and parents in policy making</td>
<td>• Consult widely in policy making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not developing job satisfaction for teachers and administrators</td>
<td>• Develop job satisfaction for teachers and administrators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Favouritism in their dealings with teachers and school administrators</td>
<td>• Be fair in dealings with staff, students and parents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.15: Correspondence between the Church Education Department-related causes of ESL and policy measures

Correspondence between the summaries of the causes of ESL and policy measures

The nine policy measures in Table 5.15 can be summed up in five main issues. The most important policy measure is the call for the Church Education Department to "produce and effectively implement a policy specifically to retain all students at high school". The importance of this policy is shown by the fact that three of the nine categories are subsumed under it: "produce a policy specifically to retain all students at high school", "ensure that teachers are able to both teach and care for all pupils" and "ensure that corporal punishment is out". These three policy measures are perceived to be contributing towards retention of students at high school.

The second important policy measure is the need to produce a curriculum and equitable exam that caters for all students. The importance of the curriculum issue is that not only is it common
to the five groups of respondents but it has consistently been identified throughout the analysis. It could have been included in the most important policy measure but it is identified separately here to highlight its importance. The third important policy measure is for the Church Education Department to develop job satisfaction for teachers and administrators. This is the final policy measure that is common to the five groups of respondents. It also includes the two categories of “provide adequate salaries for teachers and school administrators” and “be fair in your dealings with staff and parents”. The fifth policy measure relates to the need to consult as many stakeholders as possible in the process of policy making.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary of the Church Education Department-related causes of ESL found in Table 5.17a</th>
<th>Summary of the policy measures found in Table 5.25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to see retention of all students as one of its priorities</td>
<td>• Produce and effectively implement a policy to retain all students at high school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to implement school policies effectively</td>
<td>• Provide adequate resources for effective policy implementation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to produce a curriculum to cater for all students</td>
<td>• Produce a curriculum to cater for all students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to provide job satisfaction for staff</td>
<td>• Develop job satisfaction for staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to consult widely in its policy making</td>
<td>• Consult as many of the stakeholders as possible in the process of policy making</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.16: Correspondence between the summaries of the Church Education Department-related causes of ESL and policy measures

The summaries of the causes of early school leaving and those of the policy measures are highly equivalent in that none of the causes (Table 5.17) fails to find equivalents in the policy measures (Table 5.25). Again the close correspondence between causes and policy measures in the preceding sections is further confirmed here.

5.8 Culture-related policy measures to be implemented by the Tongan people

The Tongan culture is the macro level "agency" in the community systems. Unlike the other preceding seven "agents" which comprise a particular group of people, the Tongan culture
while it relates to the entire population of Tonga is not a group of people. Therefore, the five
groups of respondents were asked a somewhat different question: "Suggest three changes to the
Tongan culture in order of importance which people can work to bring about in order to help
students successfully complete their secondary schooling?". The responses call on all the
Tongan people especially the stakeholders of education (parents, teachers, students, school
administrators, education departments, government and churches) to examine the Tongan
culture and its relevance to school education. All the categories of policy measures shown in
Table 5.26 were ranked one to five by each of the five groups of respondents. The reason for
selecting those categories is that their aggregate scores (Σ) far outstrip the others.

Table 5.26: Culture-related policies to be implemented by Tongans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy measures for reducing early school leaving</th>
<th>Early school leavers (ESL) N = 365</th>
<th>Unsuccessful Completers school N = 180</th>
<th>Parents of ESL N = 365</th>
<th>Teachers &amp; school administrators N = 163</th>
<th>Community leaders N = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Act on what you consider to be right rather than being enslaved by the opinions of others</td>
<td>536 1</td>
<td>276 1</td>
<td>462 2</td>
<td>162 3</td>
<td>164 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Treat girls well but not to the extent of disadvantaging boys</td>
<td>422 2</td>
<td>236 2</td>
<td>586 1</td>
<td>120 4</td>
<td>72 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Be generous but not to the point of losing all your savings</td>
<td>379 3</td>
<td>151 4</td>
<td>224 4</td>
<td>235 2</td>
<td>111 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Be happy that your child is doing at school what he or she can do</td>
<td>245 4</td>
<td>178 3</td>
<td>359 3</td>
<td>290 1</td>
<td>192 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Prioritize your needs and spend your money accordingly</td>
<td>186 5</td>
<td>107 5</td>
<td>189 5</td>
<td>90 5</td>
<td>98 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Others</td>
<td>53 (2)</td>
<td>48 (2)</td>
<td>58 (2)</td>
<td>20 (2)</td>
<td>28 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Missing responses</td>
<td>369 84</td>
<td>312 61</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the policy measures are fewer here than in any of the other sections, the agreement
among the five groups of respondents is very strong in spite of the highest number of missing
responses from groups. The strong agreement among the respondents could be a reflection of the homogenous nature of the Tongan culture where people generally know one another and are conscious of what happens in the country. The limited number of categories in this section suggests that the respondents found it difficult to come to grips with the kinds of changes to be made to the Tongan culture to help students stay on and be successful in their schooling.

Description of the categories of policy measures

The aggregate scores ($\Sigma$) and the rank orders of the categories in Table 5.26 demonstrate that the most important culture-related policy measure is for the Tongan people to: “act on what they consider to be right rather than being enslaved by the opinions of others” (ke fai ha me'a koe'uhi ke 'oku totonu ke fai, ka 'oku 'ikai ko e popula pe ki he lau 'a e kakai”). The importance of this policy measure is that it is highly ranked by all the five groups of respondents (ranked 1st, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 2nd). The second important policy measure is for the people to be happy that their child is doing at school what he or she can do (ke nau fiefsia he fai 'e he'enaau tamasi'i pe ta'ahine' 'i he ako' 'a e lesoni te ne lava 'o fai”). This is a response to the gross preoccupation in Tonga with academic success - through the Tonga School Certificate Examination and higher public examinations - which is considered by and large as the primary reason for schooling. It is important to note that this policy measure is ranked first by teachers, school administrators and community leaders who realise how important it is for the students to pursue the type of subjects that they can cope with successfully.

The third important policy measure relates to the primacy of girls over boys. This policy calls on the people to treat the girls well but not to the extent of disadvantaging boys. Early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents give a much higher ranking to this issue (ranked 2nd, 2nd, 1st) than the others probably because early school leavers and unsuccessful completers have suffered from such gender difference. As for parents they may have become aware of the adverse effects on boys of the preferential treatment that they have given to girls because they ranked it first.
The fourth important policy measure is the need for people to be generous but not to the point of losing all their savings in one event. Although teachers and school administrators give higher rating (ranked 2nd) to this issue than the others, it is important to note that the ranking of third and fourth by the others are only marginally different. In other words, they all consider it to be important which is probably a reflection of their perception that people need not be selfish but they must be prudent with the use of their limited resources. The intent of the fifth important policy measure is similar to that of the fourth for it calls on the people to prioritize their needs and spend their money accordingly.

Comparison of the five groups of respondents

The agreement was common among the five groups of respondents. Close similarities between the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents, on the one hand, and teachers, school administrators and community leaders, on the other hand, are also found in this section. This is clearly shown in the fact that teachers, school administrators and community leaders rank first the category of be happy that your child is doing at school what he or she can do, compared to the lower ranking of fourth, third and third given to it respectively by early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents. The overwhelming similarities between the five groups of respondents in spite of these minor differences bespeak a strong coherence and agreement that is probably derived either from the fact that culture is the most neutral ground of all the eight "agents" in that there is no apparent reason for a particular group of respondents to be defensive or otherwise about it or the commonality of experiences associated with these cultural factors in a closely knit community, or both. Whatever the explanation for these close similarities, one thing is certain. They further contribute to the trustworthiness of the data.

Correspondence between the causes of ESL and policy measures

There is a strong correspondence between the causes of early school leaving and policy measures shown in Figure 5.17. For the first time in this analysis are the five top causes
directly equivalent to the top five policy measures. It is interesting to note that the highest number of missing responses are found in this section and yet they do not detract from the consistency of responses and the prioritization of issues. Thus, the high level of correspondence between the causes and policy measures shows the strong coherence in the perception of the respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tongan culture-related causes of ESL in Table 5.18</th>
<th>Corresponding policy measures in Table 5.26</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Slavery to what others might say</em></td>
<td><em>Act on what you consider to be right rather than being enslaved by the opinions of others</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Primacy of girls over boys</em></td>
<td><em>Treat girls well but not to the extent of disadvantaging boys</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Outdoing one another in generosity</em></td>
<td><em>Be generous but not to the point of losing all your savings on one event</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Obsession with academic successes</em></td>
<td><em>Be happy that your child is doing what he or she can do</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lack of prioritization of needs and spending</em></td>
<td><em>Prioritize your needs and spend your money accordingly</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.17: Correspondence between the Church Education Department-related causes of ESL and policy measures

**Correspondence between the summaries of the causes of ESL and policy measures**

The five policy measures in Table 5.26 can be summed up in three related issues. As stated in the section on the causes of early school leaving relating to culture, these five categories in Table 5.26 are difficult to summarise because of the possible number of interpretations that can be placed on them. However, with particular reference to their relevance to the attempts to address the causes of early school leaving, the financial implications of these three policy measures - *act on what you consider to be right rather than being enslaved by the opinions of others, be generous but not the point of losing all your savings on one event and prioritize your needs and spend your money accordingly* - constitute the most important policy measure. Thus, the first policy measure, for want of a better term, is referred to as "appropriate resource allocation".

There is a clear difference of opinions over the second important policy measure. Early school leavers, unsuccessful completers and parents ranked second the category of *treat girls well but not to the extent of disadvantaging boys* while teachers, school administrators and community
leaders ranked first the category of *be happy that your child is doing at school what he or she can do*. In view of the fact that there are far more respondents in the first three groups of respondents, compared to the other two groups of respondents, the second important policy measure is the category of *treat girls well but not to the extent of disadvantaging boys*. Thus, the third important policy measure is the category of *be happy that your child is doing at school what he or she can do*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary of the Tongan culture-related causes of ESL found in Table 5.18a</th>
<th>Summary of the policy measures found in Table 5.26</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Money spending-related factors</td>
<td>• Money saving-related factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Primacy of girls over boys</td>
<td>• Treat girls well but not to the extent of disadvantaging boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Obsession with academic successes</td>
<td>• Be happy that your child is doing what he or she can do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.18: Correspondence between the summaries of the Tongan culture-related causes of ESL and policy measures

Figure 5.18 clearly demonstrated that these three policy measures are directly equivalent to the three culture-related causes of early school leaving. The close link between the categories (Figure 5.18) indicate that these responses were not casually identified or haphazardly ranked but were deliberately considered in the light of the responses that were given on the causes of early school leaving. All these factors again point to the seriousness with which the respondents dealt with the questions which, in turn, again support the credence and relevance of the results.

5.9 Concluding remarks

The policy measures recommended in this section for the reduction of the problem of early school leaving are comprehensive. On the whole there is a close correspondence between the causes and the recommended policy measures. Moreover, the pattern of understandable differences in perceptions found among the five groups of respondents in the section on the causes is also found to be similar in the section on policy measures.
Discussion

"The future world of paid and unpaid work that so many of our students will face, the structures of inequality, and the realities of poverty that they will experience and that are growing should make us pay much closer attention to whether we can solve our educational problems without dealing with the root causes of our dilemma".


Apple suggests above that no serious discussion of the problem of early school leaving can be fruitfully carried out unless it is situated in the context of what is happening inside and outside of the school. This suggestion supports the quest of this study which is to be as holistic as possible in its focus on the problem of early school leaving with the context of the decision making space of the student and his or her parents.

The structure of this discussion follows the five research questions which are as follows:

1. What is the extent of early school leaving?
2. What are the characteristics of the early school leavers?
3. What are the consequences of secondary schooling for early school leavers?
4. What are the causes of early school leaving?
5. What are the policy measures for reducing early school leaving?

One particular way in which this study broadens the issue of early school leaving is its attempt to determine if there are similarities between the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers. If similarities are found to be significantly close then the problem of early school leaving is much greater than the early school leavers themselves. Since similarities between the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers are found throughout the analysis, the discussion of each research question focuses on the two groups
together. Thus, the first part of the discussion which deals with the extent of early school leaving includes both the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers. The second part focuses on the personal and social characteristics of the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers. The third part examines the consequences of secondary schooling for early school leavers and unsuccessful completers, and seeks to account for the advantages and disadvantages of secondary schooling for both groups. The fourth part deals with the causes of early school leaving while the fifth section discusses the policy measures that have been suggested to address the problem of early school leaving.

1. Extent of early school leaving

The rate of early school leaving for the sample secondary schools is 48.6 per cent, compared to the 37 per cent for the national population in Tonga (Report of the Ministry of Education, 1991-1992). This rate is not as high as the 80 per cent in Bangladesh (Islam and Booth, 1994) who left without completing the primary school cycle, nor is it as low as the national early school leaving rate of between 25 and 28 per cent for the United States (Weis, Farrar, Petrie, 1989), although figures of 50 and 70 per cent for blacks and Hispanics respectively are often cited (Mann, 1985), but it is definitely a cause for concern because it represents almost one in two students leaving high school in Tonga with incomplete and inadequate secondary schooling outcomes.

There are difficulties which do not allow the researcher to compare the rates of early school leaving in Tonga and those in other countries. There are disagreements over the definition of early school leaving (Weis, Farrar, Petrie, 1989) and the methods for measuring it (Hammack and Morrow in Natriello, 1987). The difficulty of attempting to determine the exact methods used in the calculation of the rates in a number of studies is further compounded by the fact that those methods are not even set out in some studies. Another difficulty relates to the fact that all the studies from the countries in the South that were reviewed in the literature concentrated on early school leaving from primary schools whereas
This current study deals exclusively with the early departures from secondary school. In fact, it is only the studies from the United States that concentrate on early school leaving from high schools but the vast differences in practically every facet of life between the tiny Kingdom of Tonga in the south Pacific and the super power of the United States almost in effect render any attempt at comparison meaningless. Thus, the only viable comparisons that can be made are between the early school leaving rates found within this study.

It is clear from Figure 6.1 that, in spite of a few small differences, the rates of early school leaving for the 1988 and 1989 new cohorts are similar. The rates in the two high schools of Takuilau in the eastern district of Tongatapu and St. Joseph Community College in the island groups of Ha’apai are lower than the others. The main reason for this is due largely to the general perception which is reflected in the data from the five groups of respondents, that those two schools are of a better quality than their counterparts in their respective districts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample schools</th>
<th>Rates of early school leaving (%)</th>
<th>Average (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1988 cohort</td>
<td>1989 cohort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takuilau College</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph Community College</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Apifo'ou College</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>49.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanel College</td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Andrew Secondary School</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>58.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall Average</strong></td>
<td><strong>50.2</strong></td>
<td><strong>47.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.1: Rates of early school leaving of the sample schools

The higher rates in 'Apifo'ou College are probably due to the large number of students in the school (more than 1,300 students) and the adjustment periods after its amalgamation with the Catholic girls' high school of St. Mary's in 1987 following the centenary celebration of Catholic Education in 1986. The rates in St. Andrew Secondary School are greater than any of the others and they may be related to a combination of factors which include its central
location in the capital city of Nuku' alofa where distractions to schooling are greater, the large size of the school population, the composition of the students from various religious backgrounds and the morale of the staff which was suggested by one of its principal stakeholders to be very low.

However, in spite of these differences there are close similarities between the rates of the 1988 and the 1989 new cohorts in that the differences range from one per cent at 'Apifo'ou College to about five per cent at St. Joseph's Community College. The only substantial difference between the two cohorts is that found in Chanel College, a difference of more than eight per cent. Although it is substantially higher than the differences in the other rates, it is to a large extent only a 'one-off' event due to a number of changes introduced in Chanel College leading up to the celebration of the centenary of Catholic Education in Tonga in 1986. Outstanding among those changes was the introduction of more vocational programs for the less academically inclined students. This created conflict with parents because it was perceived to be contrary to their desire for their children to be engaged in academic pursuits. The accompanying rise in school fees added more fuel to the fire of the controversy. In the midst of this conflict the government secondary school of Vava'u High School in the district of Vava'u where Chanel College is situated, suddenly increased its intake to almost all its classes in 1988. This move gave parents the opportunity to choose whether to let their children remain in Chanel College or to send them to the nearby Vava'u High School.

In view of the widespread perception that Vava'u High School is a better school and the fact that its financial demands are significantly lower than those in non-government high schools, there was an influx of students into Vava'u High School from the non-government high schools especially Chanel College. For a number of reasons, especially the difficulties involved in settling down to the new schooling environment, a number of students left school early. With a new administration at Chanel College together with the growing acceptance of further adjustments to those changes, the big exodus of 1988 from Chanel College has not been repeated. Thus, Chanel College's rate of 57.6 per cent for the 1989
new cohort is perceived to be higher than its general pattern of early school leaving which is estimated to be closer to the rate of 'Apifo'ou College than to that of Takuilau College and St. Joseph Community College.

1.1 More boys leaving high school early than girls

The percentage of boys and girls in the sample schools was 55 and 45, and the absolute numbers of male and female early school leavers were respectively 345 and 168 (see Table 5.2). Thus, the extent of early school leaving is much greater for boys with 67.3 per cent, as compared to 32.7 for girls. This gender difference is similar to the figures from the Ministry of Education in Tonga of 64.4 per cent for boys and 35.6 per cent for girls (Reports of the Ministry of Education, 1991 and 1992). The "primacy of girls over boys" which was identified in chapter five among the causes of early school leaving relating to the Tongan culture may be an important contributing factor to the gender differences in the incidence of early school leaving. It seems from the literature review that the gender differences of early school leavers are in reverse order in most countries of the South (Colclough and Levin, 1993).

1.2 Early school leavers and unsuccessful completers

As already indicated, there is a perception in Tonga that the problems in secondary schools are wider than early school leaving and the experience of the early school leavers. It should include the unsuccessful completers or those who completed their general secondary education (Form 1 to Form 5) but were unsuccessful in the Tonga School Certificate Examination. It has been clearly demonstrated throughout the data analysis that these two groups are very similar. similarities. Not only are they similar in their personal and social characteristics but they are also similar in their perceptions in general and in the advantages and the disadvantages that they attribute to their secondary schooling in particular.
In adding together these two groups, one cannot help but baulk at the enormity of the problem. The total number of students in the 1989 and 1989 new cohorts in all the five sample schools was 1,042. The number of early school leavers was 513 or 48.6 per cent, and those who completed the general education course (Forms 1 to 5) amounted to 529 or 51.4 per cent. The number of unsuccessful completers or those who completed the general education course but were unsuccessful in the Tonga School Certificate Examination was a staggering 447 or 84 per cent of those who sat the examination. In other words, only 82 of the 529 students (or 16 per cent) were successful in the Tonga School Certificate Examination. Overall, the percentage of the 1988 and 1989 new cohorts who were early school leavers and unsuccessful completers was 92, and only 8 per cent was considered successful (82 out of 1,042). While this figure is much higher than the rates of early school leaving in countries of both the North and the South that were included in the literature review, it is likely that if unsuccessful completers were included in the statistics for other countries, many countries in the South would be seen to have a problem similar in scope to that in Tonga.

Using the Age Cohort Method (see section three of chapter two) for calculating the rates of early school leaving from the Ministry of Education figures, it was found that the average rate of early school leaving for the whole secondary school population of Tonga for 1991 and 1992 was 37 per cent. Of the remaining 63 per cent who sat the Tonga School Certificate Examination only about 20 twenty per cent were successful. In other words, 80 per cent were unsuccessful completers. Thus, the overall percentage of both early school leavers and unsuccessful completers was 87.4, and only 12.6 per cent was regarded as being successful.

It is clear that the percentage of 87.4 of the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers for the total secondary school population is lower than the 92 for the sample schools. However, as previously indicated in section 1.3, when the difference in the
methods for measuring the rates of early school leaving which was the Age Cohort Method for the total secondary school population, and True Cohort Method for the sample schools is taken into account together with the inclusion in the overall population of the more successful government high schools especially Tonga High School (at least in terms of public examination results), the extent of early school leaving for the total secondary school population is not much different from that of the sample schools.

The fact that the extent of early school leaving for the sample schools is only marginally greater than that for the total secondary school population in Tonga suggests that not only the sample schools but indeed the education system in Tonga as a whole is facing educational problems of monumental proportions. The extent of the problem of early school leaving is that the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers account for about 90 per cent of the total secondary school population in Tonga. Thus, the secondary school education in Tonga is "successful" for only about 10 per cent of the total secondary school population.

2. Characteristics of the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers

The personal and social characteristics of the early school leavers in this study are similar to those found in virtually every study of early school leaving (Combs and Cooley, 1986; Bachman, Green Wirtanen, 1971; Rumberger, 1983; Peng, 1983). The high incidence of early school leaving is found among children whose parents have the following characteristics (see Table 5.3): low socioeconomic status, low educational achievement, single parent families, large families, low paid work and low level of student achievement. These characteristics are what Peng (1983) and others referred to as the 'deficiencies in the early school leavers and their families'.

As has been previously shown in the comparison of the characteristics of early school leavers and those of the general population (see Table 5.3), there are differences between the early school leavers and the general population in each of their personal and social
characteristics. The data shows that percentages of parents in these characteristics with low socioeconomic status, low educational achievement of fathers, low educational achievement of mothers, large family size and low pass rate in the secondary school entrance examination are greater for the parents of early school leavers and unsuccessful completers than for the parents of the general population. Given that 90 per cent of the secondary school population are early school leavers and unsuccessful completers and only 10 per cent who are successful completers, it is surprising to find that the influence of the 10 per cent over the whole entire secondary school population is powerful to the extent that it makes a difference in the characteristics. In other words, there must be significant differences not only between the characteristics of the parents of the 10 per cent who are successful completers and those of the parents of the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers, but also in the ways in which they interacted with other components of the Schooling and Community Systems in the macro, meso and micro levels. For instance, although the data has shown that poverty was one of the major causes of early school leaving, it is rather the combination of poverty and other factors which has contributed to the success of the 10 per cent of the student population. It is a fact that some of the successful completers come from poor families.

While students (early school leavers and unsuccessful completers) do have characteristics shown in the literature to be related to early school leaving, this research shows that there are other factors which the five groups of respondents strongly believe are important. These are the factors relating to the school, students, village community, Church Education Department, Tongan government and the Tongan culture which will be dealt with in the section on the causes of early school leaving.

3. Consequences of secondary schooling for early school leavers and unsuccessful completers

There are two sections dealing with the consequences of early school leaving for early school leavers and unsuccessful completers. The first section focuses on the advantages that early school school leavers and unsuccessful completers have derived from secondary schooling.
The second section accounts for the problems which parents, teachers, school administrators and community leaders associated with early school leaving.

3.1 Advantages of secondary schooling for early school leavers and unsuccessful completers

The advantages that early school leavers and unsuccessful completers believe they have derived from secondary schooling are listed in chapter 5 (Table 5.6) as follows: "ability to read, write and speak English, competence in literacy and numeracy, know more about God and the Bible, pride in going to high school, pride in sitting the Tonga School Certificate Examination, know more about the history and geography of Tonga, know more about the history and geography of other countries, know more about yourself and other people, ability to help your parents, becoming one of the Church workers, getting some job somewhere, getting into the police force and into the defence force".

What is significant about these advantages of secondary schooling is that they are largely the intended outcomes of primary schooling. For example, the two most important advantages - "ability to read, write and speak English", and "competence in literacy and numeracy" - may further improve in the high school but they are really assets closely associated with primary schooling. The development of a greater degree of fluency in English is a skill that can be attributed to high school learning. Taking pride in being among those who went to high school and those who sat the Tonga School Certificate is indicative of some attempt at boosting one's self-esteem but those two factors do not mean much today in Tonga where most students proceed from primary school to high school any way, and simply sitting the Tonga School Certificate is neither here nor there because most fail and even those who were successful in that examination are really hard-pressed to find paid urban employment in Tonga. The fact that they "know more about God and the Bible" through their secondary schooling may be important but at the same time that type of knowledge is already acquired and continues to be reinforced without attending secondary school through the Sunday school programs which each Christian Church faithfully conducts for its members.
Both groups entertain some hope of getting some kind of paid employment but it is becoming increasingly difficult for both groups to fulfil such aspirations in Tonga today. One can almost say that it is sheer wishful thinking to contemplate becoming a policeman or soldier as hoped for by unsuccessful completers, unless one can, as it were, gain entry by the back door. However, to work as a labourer, as do those who left during or after primary school education is always open for the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers, but since they have gone to high school, their expectations are higher (Afeaki, 1980). In fact, some have indicated in the interviews that they would rather become "kau haua" (loafers) in the villages or in the streets of the main urban centres than be placed on the same level as the "kau vale" (stupid ones), a term frequently used by respondents for the early school leavers from primary schools.

To "know more about the history and geography of Tonga and of other countries" can certainly be regarded as part of the advantages of secondary schooling but advantage relating to their "ability to help their parents" is seriously doubted because one of the problems relating to early school leaving as far as the parents, teachers, school administrators and community leaders are concerned, is the "burden that they place on the families". Since manual work is envisaged to be the area where they could be helpful, there is little hope for such contribution in that "dislike for manual work" is characteristic of those early school leavers and unsuccessful completers. To "become one of the Church workers" can be an advantage but since the life of some of these two groups is sometimes punctuated by "stealing, committing other crimes, forming bad peer groups, drinking and loafing in the village" (see Table 5.8), it is envisaged that a radical change in life style would be required for their acceptance. Thus, while there are some advantages relating to secondary schooling, they are to a large extent very limited.
3.2 Disadvantages of secondary schooling according to the five groups of respondents: who to blame?

This study clearly shows that the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers report they experience a life characterised by "unemployment, feelings of uselessness, having no money, feelings I am a failure, a burden on the family, frustrated in doing nothing, drinking, loss of dignity, committing crime (stealing), dislike for manual work and begging" (see Table 5.7). As previously indicated in the section on the problems associated with early school leaving in chapter five, these disadvantages are similar to the problems that parents, teachers, school administrators and community leaders associate with early school leaving: "unemployment, burden on their families, trouble making, stealing, committing other crimes, dislike for manual work, forming bad peer groups, drinking, loafing in the village and begging". In view of their similarities they are treated together in this section under the heading of disadvantages derived from secondary schooling.

It seems from the list of disadvantages of secondary schooling that the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers hold the school responsible for the disadvantages that they face in their lives. They see secondary schooling as a vitally important contributing factor toward their unfortunate lot in society. This is a devastating picture of the failure of the formal school system to deliver and the frustration of people who place so much hope in secondary schooling. It seems that the frustration of the people results from the failure of the school system to meet their expectations. In Tonga where successful schooling is seen almost as the panacea for all the ills of society, and where school successes are generally equated with academic successes, it is not surprising to find that failure of early school leavers and unsuccessful completers in their schooling is tantamount to a failure in life. One of the parents of early school leavers expressed this in a somewhat poignant language: "What else can they do now? They have lost all their chances for any success in this world!" - "Ko e ha ha'anau toe me'a 'e lava'? Kuo mole honau faingamalie ke nau lava me'a ai he mamani ko 'eni'?". 
The disadvantages associated with their secondary schooling and the problems relating to early school leaving can be frightening in that a large number of early school leavers and unsuccessful completers or about 90 per cent of the total secondary school population of Tonga live mainly a life characterised by discontent, frustration, desperation and even desolation. In a real sense they can even be seen as "walking time bombs"; some of which have exploded in a small way as shown in the number of court cases between those in authority and the dissatisfied members of community. In fact, I often wonder why those "walking time bombs" have not exploded in a big way, considering the visible signs of their presence in the guise of high youth unemployment and its accompanying adverse social and financial consequences, increases in youth suicide rates, family dislocations, crime rates, begging and loafing. Undoubtedly, the reasons for the apparent societal cohesion are probably as many as there are interpreters of the society in Tonga (Martin, 1827; Gifford, 1929; Maude, 1965; Rutherford, 1971; Latukefu, 1974; Kavaliku, 1966, 1977; Cummins, 1977, 1980; Hau'ofa, 1978; Wood-Ellem, 1980; Marcus, 1980; Helu, 1983; Afeaki, 1983; McCrae, 1986; Hingano, 1987; Thaman, 1988). I consider that there is a general consensus among them that Christianity plays a vital role in the Tongan culture. It appears that it is due largely to the mediation/control of the Tongan culture that the people in Tonga manage to live in peace with one another in a country which was awarded in 1996 with the international prize for being a peaceful and socially integrated society.

The cultural realities that are perceived to be responsible for the "toka lingolingoa 'a e melino 'i Tonga" (peace lasting for ages in Tonga) which is popularised in Tongan songs and poetry, can be summed up in the interactions of these eight factors: "conformity" (faaitaha), "respect for those in authority" (faka'apa'apa'i 'a e kau ma'u mafai), "primacy of the good of community over that of the individuals" (ko e mahu'inga'ia ange 'i he lelei fakalukufua 'i he lelei fakafo'ituitui'), "importance of kinship" (mahu'inga 'o e nofo fakaekainga), "centrality of love" (hilio 'a e 'ofa pe manava'ofa), "maintaining the 'status quo'" (tauhi e taufatungamotua 'o e fonua'), "being reluctant to criticize openly those higher than you"
(‘oua ‘e taungutu kia kinautolu ‘oku mā’olunga ‘iate koe’) and "live christianly" (mo’ui fakakalisitiane) or another way of expressing it is "to live as christians" or "living not for oneself but for others". A similar version of those factors was provided by Thaman, (1988), a noted Tongan educationalist, who identified ten factors, and maintained that they "are valued and therefore emphasized by Tongans" (p.92) [emphasis in the original]. The operative word is 'emphasis' because Thaman does not want the reader to assume that opposite tendencies are absent, a qualification which the current researcher fully endorses.

It is not difficult to see how a culture which emphasizes "conformity", "respect for those in authority", "primacy of the good of the community over that of the individuals", "importance of kinship", "centrality of love", "maintaining the 'status quo'", "being reluctant to criticize openly those higher than you", and "live christianly" can influence its members not to explode in the face of difficulties. One of the sayings which shows how deeply imbedded in the heart of the Tongan people is the desire to keep things in the way they have always been, is "'Oku kei Tonga pe 'a Tonga" (Tonga is still Tongan). This saying is often invoked as a reminder that in spite of what happens (for example, to the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers in this context), we are Tongans living happily together and we would like to keep it that way. It is also a call for people, when there are challenges to the traditional way things have been done, to stand firm in their traditions.

However, the gradual modification and indeed erosion of these cultural factors especially through the impact of the Western cultures was identified by Marcus (1980) in the phenomenon he referred to as the "compromise culture". Thaman (1988) challenges the use of the term "compromise culture" and she proposes instead the more appropriate concept of "composite culture". It is a culture which integrates elements of both the Tongan traditional culture and those of the Western cultures. However, she still agrees with the phenomenon as described by Marcus that over the last hundred years the Tongan culture has undergone many changes. Many of those changes are perceived to be militating against the major tenets of the Tongan culture which are expressed in the preceding eight traditional cultural factors.
One of those changes is seen in the younger generation being more openly critical of those in authority. The spirit of open criticism is being fuelled by the political movement which promotes democracy in the Western style as a more viable alternative to the current Tongan monarchical democracy. This critical spirit is seriously opposed to four of the eight cultural factors previously identified: "conformity", "respect for those in authority", "maintaining the status quo", and "being reluctant to criticize openly those higher than you".

It is the consensus of the five groups of respondents in the section on the causes of early school leaving relating to the village community in chapter five (see Table 5.15) that "individualism" as opposed to community cooperation is more pervasive. This is perceived as another manifestation of the Western influence which strikes at the heart of the community centred culture of the Tongans. The data shows that this has been related mainly to people becoming reluctant to do things for others if there is no financial gain involved. In the past people would turn up in great numbers for community activities and their only expectation was to have something to eat at the end. This individualism in large measure directly contradicts the cultural factor of "primacy of the good of the community over that of the individuals". To some extent, the cultural factors relating to the "importance of kinship", the "centrality of love" and the concern to "live religiously" are also adversely affected. In the light of this evidence, it is predicted that unless widespread radical measures are introduced in the school systems and in the society as a whole to defuse the situation which has been gaining momentum over the years, Tonga will drown in the tidal waves of its own making. Perhaps the shameful Tongan saying that "'E mate pe 'a e Tonga 'i he ngaue 'a e Tonga'" (Tongans will die only at the hands of Tongans) is applicable here because, although there may be other influences, it is principally the actions of the Tongans which will ultimately bring about the downfall of fellow Tongans.

These cultural changes have alarming consequences on the problem of early school leaving. It is clear from the characteristics and the perception of the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers that their life has been characterised by feelings of failure,
uselessness, frustration, anger and anguish. It is the view of the researcher that those explosive feelings have been kept under control for so many years by the strong influences of the Tongan culture which includes the Christian Churches. However, in view of the changes in the traditional Tongan cultural values and the perceived decline in the influences of the Christian Churches, one would expect those feelings to explode much more noticeably and frequently than they have to the present.

4. Causes of early school leaving

The literature on early school leaving has identified three major inter-related causes of early school leaving: social and family backgrounds, students' personal characteristics and school factors (Wehlage et al, 1990). There are five factors relating to the social and family backgrounds: low socioeconomic status, children of solo parents, children of parents who are generally poor, low educational achievement and large families (Ekstrom, Goertz, Pollack and Rock in Natriello, 1987). With regard to the students' personal characteristics, there are the mental and physical health problems, drug problems, difficulties arising from crisis in the family or divorce, pregnancy and learning difficulties. The school factors include grade retention, course failure, truancy, suspension and other disciplinary measures, unsuitable curriculum, poor teaching and adverse school climate (Wehlage, Rutter, Smith, Lesko and Fernandez, 1989 : 25-27). While the literature on early school leaving from the countries in the South share those three causes, there are some marked differences in emphasis. In the literature from the South the major factor is family poverty which is expressed in the high demand on children not only for domestic work but for income earning activities. Other expressions of poverty are found in the lack of schools and facilities for schools in general, and the lack of instructional materials in particular (Khan and Islam, 1986; Ahmed and Chowdhury, 1987; Islam and Booth, 1994).

There are equivalents between the causes of early school leaving from the literature and those found in this study. However, there are other causes which are not found in the literature
review and the reason for this is the fact that this study is seeking to be as holistic as possible in its search for the causes of early school leaving. This is reflected in the theoretical framework in which eight "agents" at the macro, meso and micro levels of the Schooling and Community Systems are identified as having some impact at the Decision-making Space on tensions to stay or leave school. These eight "agents" are: teachers, school administrators, students, parents, village community, Education Department, Tongan government and the Tongan culture. Thus, there are causes of early school leaving in this study which relate to each of them. Overall there were 96 causes of early school leaving emerging from the data, and these were summarised in 34 categories for discussion.

4.1 Teacher-related causes of early school leaving

The 15 teacher-related causes of early school leaving have been summarised in chapter five in four main issues in order of importance:

• "lack of genuine love for students",
• "ineffective teaching",
• "neglect of the "kau 'atamai kovi" (ones with bad brain)" and
• "beating students as the major form of discipline".

With regard to the first issue of "lack of genuine love for students", all the five groups of respondents including teachers themselves agree that early school leaving is related closely to teachers' lack of genuine love for the students.

The "centrality of love" is included not only in the eight cultural factors that the researcher identified previously but also in the list of the ten cultural factors which his fellow Tongan educationalist, Thaman, (1988) produced in her thesis. Kavaliku (1977), the current Minister of Education, Civil Aviation and Deputy Prime Minister of Tonga, maintains that the use of the word 'ofa (love) among Tongans signifies all that is good and positive. Any Tongan that does anything to the contrary is said to be ta'e'ofa (not loving). Thus, it is
claimed by Kavaliku (1977: 67) that when a non-Tongan knows the Tongan concept of 'ofa (love), he or she begins to know what the Tongan society is all about.

Genuine love for a Tongan is most often interpreted in its Christian context. It is understood to be the love which Jesus Christ showed to the entire human race by actually dying and rising from the dead for their sake. It is basically an altruistic love where the lover is more concerned for the welfare of the others than his or her own. It is interesting to note that the policy measure that is suggested by the five groups of respondents in chapter five to address the lack of genuine love for students is to "show genuine Christian love for all students". The emphasis on 'Christian love' is added because ofa fakakalisitiane (Christian love) is the term frequently used by the five groups of respondents.

In view of the fact that it is not only a lack of love in itself but it is an erosion of the Tongan cultural identity and values, it takes on a much deeper significance. Furthermore, it is more serious when it is considered in a cultural understanding that the teachers take the place of parents while students are at school. Thus, the category of "lack of genuine love for students" is not only viewed as a failure on their obligation as teachers but also as Christians and as culturally-constituted Tongans who are proud to be Tongans.

With the other three categories: "ineffective teaching", "neglect of the 'kau 'atamai kovi (ones with bad brain)" and "beating students as the major form of discipline", most Tongans would certainly agree that a teacher who genuinely loves his or her students would ensure that:

• his or her teaching is attractive and effective,
• the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain) are being cared for and helped to experience school successes,
• the students are not tā ta'e 'ofā'i (literally, beaten without love).

Thus, it is the lack of genuine love which is expressed in the neglect of the other three areas.
The second teacher-related cause of early school leaving is "ineffective teaching". It is clear from the research data that the five groups of respondents strongly agree on this issue. While teachers can be blamed for this failure, it is important to consider the impact of a number of issues on this problem. How easy is it to teach an academically and examination oriented curriculum to a group of students who are largely made up of people who will be early school leavers and unsuccessful completers? It is not an easy challenge for most teachers. With teachers' salaries being perceived by the five groups of respondents to be insufficient to meet basic obligations (and they are definitely lower than the salaries of their government counterparts), the relationship between teachers and administrators not being generally supportive and instructional materials for teaching being of poor quality and often in short supply, it is not hard to imagine that teachers are working in conditions which are not conducive for successful teaching. It does not mean that teachers are totally exonerated from blame, but it is important to note that ineffective teaching may be part of the problem with the school rather than the teachers themselves.

Next, teachers' "neglect of the 'kau 'atamai kovi'" (ones with bad brain) is in some ways a more serious allegation. It is more serious in so far as teachers generally prefer to teach the academically capable students than the "kau 'atamai kovi" (ones with bad brain) or the slow learners. Where there are remedial programs for such students in other countries, to a large extent it is not the so-called good teachers who would be allocated to teach them (Levin, 1987). Thus, there is also a stigma associated with teachers involved in the teaching of the "slow learners". In Tonga there is no stigma attached to those teaching the "slow learners" because there is no secondary school with a program specifically designed to help the "slow learners". However, the more serious side about this category is the fact that teaching as reflected by the informants concentrates on the small proportion who are likely to be successful and ignores the vast majority who are not likely to be successful.
Finally, the "beating of student or corporal punishment" is also a critical issue in that it is against the law of Tonga for any teacher to use corporal punishment at school. The other critical side of corporal punishment is what is often expressed in the responses as "tā ta'e 'ofa" (literally, beating without love). What makes corporal punishment objectionable is its perceived cruelty which is also conceived more as a way for teachers to vent their frustration and anger rather than a measure for control or correcting unruly behaviours. As long as corporal punishment is viewed in that context, it is unacceptable to people as the data clearly shows.

In spite of the law against corporal punishment at school and of the fact that a number of teachers have been convicted of its violation, corporal punishment is still used in a number of high schools including Catholic high schools. Teachers would argue that parents use corporal punishment at home when they want things to be done or when a change to a particular behaviour is desirable. Therefore, teachers should apply, it was argued, the same treatment to students when they want things to be done or when they want unacceptable behaviours to be changed. Thus, if teachers use another form of discipline (e.g. persuasion) which is usually less physically and psychologically painful, students would not respond well to them and their demands. In reflecting the perceptions of many teachers, one teacher said that if corporal punishment is banned altogether, "te nau molo kinautolu hotau mata" (literally, they will stand on our face).

Obviously there is a conflict of philosophy here between what parents do at home and what they expect teachers to do at school. The important point to be made here is that if corporal punishment is so effective, why are there still many disciplinary problems at home and at school? It is clear that corporal punishment is simply ineffective and has other socially unacceptable ramifications. For example, it contributes to a social environment of violence which begins at home, continues at school and ultimately reverts back to the home and to
society at large. Thus, it actually fuels a vicious circle of violence which is fed by video and film.

4.2 School administrator-related causes of early school leaving

The 17 school administrator-related causes of early school leaving have been summarised in six issues:

• lack of genuine love for students,
• lack of genuine love for the staff,
• failure to discipline students effectively,
• ineffective teaching,
• failure to communicate well with the staff, students and parents, and
• failure to design a curriculum to cater for all students.

The first four of these six issues have been discussed in the previous section. However, there are other aspects of these four issues that warrant some explanations and clarification.

Firstly, the love that was discussed previously as applied to the teacher-student relationship equally applies to the relationship that school administrators have with teachers and students. If teachers have failed to genuinely love students, it is the responsibility of administrators to ensure not only that teachers really care for students but that students also relate well to teachers. Secondly, the failure on the part of administrators to discipline students focuses on two important issues. The failure not only to enforce the rule of "no corporal punishment at school" but also to provide a more viable alternative to it. In so far as they fail on those two counts, they are rightly deemed to be fellow culprits of teachers who apply corporal punishment at school. Thirdly, the same can be said about ineffective teaching. While teaching is specifically a task performed by teachers, it is the responsibility of the school leaders to ensure that it is effectively carried out.
The only two issues that have not been discussed are: "the failure to communicate well with the staff, students and parents", and "the failure to design a curriculum to cater for all students". The failure of the administrators to communicate well with the staff, students and parents may be related to the fact that the top-down management strategy is still widely practised in Tonga. An examination of the legitimacy or feasibility of such an approach may have long been overdue. It is clear from the findings of this study that teachers, students and parents want to share in the decisions affecting their lives. This is well illustrated in one of the important causes of early school leaving relating to the Church Education Department (see Table 5.25), a body that works closely with school administrators, which maintains that the failure of school policies is associated largely with the failure of the Church Education Department to "consult widely in its policy making".

The last cause of early school leaving relating to the administrators is the "failure to design a curriculum to cater for all students". This is a difficult issue in that most secondary school systems in Tonga do not have the resources to design their own curricula and to provide suitable strategies for assessing it. The curriculum currently used by secondary schools in Tonga was designed by the government curriculum unit. The non-government systems were consulted but always within the terms dictated by the government curriculum unit whose purpose is found in the government's sixth development plan (1991 - 1995) where it is stated that there "are demands for the provision of other subjects in the curriculum, but the concentration on the core subjects is a necessity that must be met as of the highest priority. The other subjects will be improved but as second priority" (p. 296). Thus, it is not likely that the government will produce any other type of curriculum in the near future. The fact is that the academic and examination oriented curriculum, a legacy of the New Zealand education system, is deeply entrenched.
4.3 Parent-related causes of early school leaving

The 14 parent-related causes of early school leaving have been summarised in four issues in chapter five:

- "lack of family support for children's schooling",
- "failure to discipline their children and themselves",
- "lack of financial resources" and
- "lack of stability in the family".

The category of parents' "failure to discipline their children and themselves" has been dealt with to some extent in the discussion of "corporal punishment". However, there are two points to be raised here. Firstly, the use of corporal punishment for disciplining children at home is really a traditional practice. There is hardly any widely accepted worthwhile alternative. Secondly, there is a need as the data shows for parents to discipline themselves. This is to be seen in the context of parents' model of over indulging in beer or kava, (the Tongan traditional drink). One of the undesirable effects of such parental behaviour was identified in the data as a neglect of their responsibilities towards their children's schooling.

While the "lack of family support for their children's schooling" is related to some extent to the parents' inability to discipline their children and themselves, it is more focused on parents' inability to provide the physical and psychological space at home where children can study and do their homework. It was also associated with the demands that they have on them to spend more of their time at home on household chores than on their studies. In most of the studies from the countries in the South (e.g. the study of 2,500 households in Peru by Lunn and Moock, 1991), such a demand on the children is related to poverty but it is clear from this Tongan data that it is associated more with a lack of family support because those household chores can be done without the help of those children.
The category of "lack of financial resources" is a reality which is clearly shown in the data that 84 per cent of parents of early school leavers and 81 per cent of the parents of unsuccessful completers earn less than $3,000 a year (see Table 5.5). Furthermore, 13 per cent of the parents of early school leavers and 11 per cent of parents of unsuccessful completers earn between only $3,000 and $5,000 a year. In effect, only two percent of the parents of early school leavers and seven per cent of parents of unsuccessful completers earn more than $5,000 a year. While such low levels of cash income can be supplemented by their own home-grown crops, such families would not find it easy to meet the financial demands of their various obligations including the secondary schooling of their children.

A case study conducted by Geography students of Form 5 together with the researcher in 1986, showed that money sent from families overseas has in most cases been given for a particular purpose, be it for the yearly collection of the churches or a specific requirement for the house like a stove or a fridge. The implication is that there are homes in Tonga with some items of modern equipment (e.g. television, video, fridge, stove etc) but they could hardly eke out an existence. Thus, in spite of the extra helps from families overseas most people remain basically deprived of the resources that could help them meet their obligations. With the decline in the economic viabilities of those overseas countries, it is not likely that the flow of the remittances can be sustained much longer.

The final category is the "lack of stability in the family" which is related largely to the overseas migration of one of the parents especially the fathers. The late Bishop Finau of the Catholic Diocese of Tonga sums up some of the problems relating to migration in this statement:

Negative aspects of this outflow (of people from Tonga to other countries) are clearly shown in broken families, separations, divorces and the lack of family security for many of our children. The realities of the exodus are: separation from loved ones, deaths, the huge pressure on overstayers, even the loss of one's spirit (Mullins, 1994 : p. 168).
With Tongans constantly seeking opportunities to migrate overseas so as to escape the constraints of the life in Tonga, many families in Tonga are constantly grappling with the family problems identified by Finau.

This lack of stability in the family is also related to the erosion of some of the cultural factors previously referred to especially the "centrality of love", "conformity", "importance of kinship" and "live christianly". If support of the relatives and the safeguard of a genuine christian love have been operative, families would not have been rocked to their bones. The decrease in christian commitment is also reflected in the increase in divorce rates and separations. The lack of discipline of the children and the parents which have been identified in the data also plays an important part in the instability in the family. The fact that there is no welfare services in Tonga suggests that without the help of close relatives and the community spirit of helping one another, families in difficulties are not likely to rise above their woes. While the church can offer material help to some families, it is always understood that such assistance cannot be sustained for a long period of time.

4.4 Student-related causes of early school leaving

The 13 student-related causes of early school leaving in chapter five have been summarised in four issues:

• school,
• home,
• personal attitudes and the
• village community.

The "school-related issue" is by far the most important as far as all the five groups of respondents are concerned. This is the only issue where there is a consensus among the respondents in their aggregate scores (Σ) and their ranking (see Table 5.14a). Eight of the 13 causes can be said to be related to school. These include: "failure to understand what is taught", "disobeying school rules", "lack of cooperation with teachers", "not paying
attention in class", "trouble making at school", "failure to attend school daily", "failure to share difficulties with others (teachers)" and "lack of cooperation from fellow students". Thus, of the student-related causes, it is the negative interaction between the school and the students more than any other factor which was responsible for early school leaving.

Two factors characterise the "personal attitude issue": "feeling that I am a failure" and "not taking study seriously". The vast majority of the early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers began their secondary schooling with experience of failure since very few of them actually gained the pass mark for the secondary school entrance examination. In coming into secondary schooling with a feeling that they are not as good as the others, they are more likely than their more academically capable peers to be seriously affected by more failures at school. It is not surprising to find that the five groups of respondents associate early school leaving with their sense of failure and this is closely related to the other factor of "not taking study seriously". It is not easy to be committed to study if one feels that he or she is a failure. Thus, the student related issue of failure and lack of commitment to study is a product of a process that began well before they came to secondary school and is bound to increase in intensity unless the high school environment is prepared to empower them to experience success in their schooling.

The "home-related issue" relates to students' failure "to study at home" and "to do homework". Although there are only two items identified by the respondents in the student section, it is highly likely that parents' - "failure to discipline their children and themselves", "lack of financial resources", "lack of stability in the family" and "lack of family support for children's schooling" - play an important role in the students' failure "to study at home" and "to do their homework". The implication was that there is a close link between the home and the school in that where there was a demand from school for certain activities to be done in the home, little gets done if the home environment was not supportive.
The "village community issue" relates only to "the involvement of students in bad peer groups". Community leaders gave greater importance to this issue and it was probably a reflection of their more intimate knowledge of the damaging effects to children's schooling of the involvement in bad peer groups. However, this can be viewed as a "youth bashing" by the older generation in that the blame is on the students rather than on themselves. This issue must be important because it appears again in the characteristics of early school leavers, the disadvantages of secondary schooling, and especially in the causes of early school leaving that relate to the village community. This problem relates mainly in the findings of this study to youth's frequenting of the night clubs which are found especially in the capital town of Nuku'alofa. It must have been a widespread perception because the educational officer in charge of the Examination Board in Tonga in a speech made on the radio, which was later published in the *Tonga Chronicle* in January 1995, attributed the poor performance of students in the public examinations to the distractions of social activities especially the night clubs.

### 4.5 Village community-related causes of early school leaving

The 10 village community-related causes of early school leaving are summarised in three issues:

- "attractiveness of the village life style",
- "lack of cooperation on the community level" and
- "lack of community facilities for student activities and programs".

The "attractiveness of the village community life style" has already been discussed in the section relating to students. However, besides the attractiveness of the social activities like night clubs, in the village there is a strong belief among the five groups of respondents in this study that students see socialising with peers in the village as a better alternative to schooling especially when schooling is perceived to be associated with lack of care and success. This accounts for the lack of school attendance and running away during school
hours which were closely associated in the research data with early school leavers and unsuccessful completers.

The second issue is "lack of cooperation on the community level". This has already been discussed in the increase in intensity of "individualism" as one of the disadvantages of secondary schooling dealt with in section 3.2. The only other aspect with regard to the increase in individualism is that it is bound to accelerate basically because of the gradual disintegration of the kinship which is shown in the increasing number of land and property disputes among close relatives. Sadly, some of those disputes are settled in courts with devastating effects on their relationships to one another. In most cases it is enormously difficult for those families to forgive and forget. Thus, there is often little chance that those people would be willing to cooperate in a community endeavour.

The third issue is "lack of community facilities for student activities and programs". The perception of the five groups of respondents is that the lack of community facilities for student activities and programs suggests that the alternative is to socialise with their peers whose activities may not be conducive for schooling. In fact, the activities of smoking, drinking and even committing crimes were perceived in the data to draw students away from their studies. Again this could be part of the "blame" syndrome. If facilities were available students would be able to socialise together and even helped to cooperate with one another in their studies. Thus, the challenge is to have the facilities, programs and supervision for all young people.

4.6 Tongan government-related causes of early school leaving

The 13 Tongan government-related causes of early school leaving are summarised as these five issues:

- insistence on an academically oriented curriculum,
- failure to provide adequate financial help to non-government systems,
• rivalry between government and other education systems,
• failure to provide professional help to staffs of other systems and
• failure to provide job opportunities for school leavers.

The first cause of "insistence on an academically oriented curriculum" is a very important and complicated issue. The perception of the five groups of respondents is that it is closely related to the problem of early school leaving. The reality of it is that about 90 per cent of the secondary school students in Tonga are not successful at the Tonga School Certificate Examination. One could argue that it is the fault of teachers that students are not successful or perhaps it is the fault of both teachers and students. Such argument is hard to substantiate against the evidence of this study that the five groups of respondents strongly believe that the curriculum is hard for the teachers to teach and to cover, and it is even more difficult for most students to be successful in it. Thus, the curriculum is perceived to have a more direct bearing on the students' failure to remain at school and to be successful in their academic pursuits, because academic failure has been singled out throughout the analysis of the causes of early school leaving in chapter five as a dominant factor. It is not the academic curriculum per se which is suggested in the data to be at fault. It is really the selection device of the examination and the pass level. This would be true whatever the curriculum.

While the curriculum alone cannot be totally responsible for the academic failure, it is undoubtedly perceived in this study to be very influential. Definitely there are difficulties involved in designing a curriculum that caters for the needs and abilities of all students, but no difficulty can substitute for the fact that education systems, irrespective of whatever theory one follows, is ultimately concerned with "human betterment", and human betterment cannot be achieved through a curriculum and an assessment system that fails the vast majority of the students. I believe that the feelings of failure, frustration and desperation of so many students shown in this study have serious consequences not only for themselves but for their families and indeed for the country as a whole. With the growing awareness in the country of a sense of justice, the education systems cannot remain complacent with a curriculum that promises so much and delivers very little. The failure cannot be ignored.
because the examination allows only about 10 per cent to proceed to higher education. Thus, failure is the inevitable consequence for 90 per cent of the secondary school population.

The next issue is the "failure to provide adequate financial help to non-government education systems". This issue has been topical in Tonga in the last ten years. It was a subject of a joint petition from the directors of non-government education systems to the Tongan Cabinet and Parliament in 1991-92 (Submission to Cabinet, 1992). This researcher knows the sensitivity of this issue because it was he who drafted the approved English and the Tongan copy of the petition and presented it to the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Furthermore, the issue figured prominently in the political debates leading up to the previous two parliamentary elections. The issue remains a source of contention as the government's response has not been satisfactory. It seems that the crux of the problem is not so much that the government lacks resources, rather the failure of the government to be equitable in the distribution of the annual and capital grants.

There is a growing realisation among school policy makers and administrators that the steady increase in the number of qualified teachers needing higher salaries will ultimately result in schools closing down if the government does not intervene. In a circular letter from the Director of Catholic Education to administrators, teachers and parents in 1994 he indicated that "about 85 per cent of expenditure is on salaries, and the amount remaining is therefore small - schools are neglecting maintenance and purchase of books in particular as they try to keep within their incomes" (p. 2). In a discussion with the same Director of the Catholic Education in February 1996, the researcher learnt that the Catholic Education System in recent years has experienced a deficit of about $50,000 annually. The issue is more than just the availability of money because it has repercussions on the other components of schooling.

The third issue is "the rivalry between government and the other education systems". This rivalry was begun in the dispute between two outstanding and powerful Wesleyan
missionaires in the last century. One was identified with the government education system and the King, and the other was with the dominant Christian religion of the Wesleyan Church which has now become the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga. It has by far the biggest number of followers in Tonga today. The conflict between the two missionaries inevitably spilled over into the education systems that they started. The perception when the other education systems came into existence was that the government education system was on one side and they were on the other. Some of the problems between the government and the non-government education systems today are perceived by the five groups of respondents in this study to be related to the rivalry between them. The government's recent building of new high schools in areas where the Christian Churches have established high schools is generally interpreted by the respondents in this study as part of this rivalry. Some of the five groups of respondents argued that the government is out to "kill off these schools" (ke tamate'i e ngaahi ako ko ia"). Some Church schools have been closed while others are struggling to survive. The government argues that these schools were not sufficiently efficient, and it is in the interests of the children that they step in to address the problem. Perhaps the interests of the children and the country as a whole are best served through cooperation rather than confrontation and rivalry.

The fourth issue is "failure to provide professional help to staff of other systems". There is a strong belief among the five groups of respondents that the government schools have better quality resources than the other systems. Thus, the problems of the Church systems relate not only to their lack of resources but also to the lack of cooperation from the government education system. This issue is important but it seems somewhat impractical for two reasons. First, the government schools are not as well equipped and resourced as some people might think. Second, some non-government education systems in the past have shown some reluctance to government personnel coming into the schools to inspect the schools. It could be that they objected more to the way the inspection was carried out rather than the inspection itself. Again this was related to the rivalry between the two systems, as it were, with one poking its nose unnecessarily into another's affairs.
The fifth issue is the "failure to provide jobs for school leavers". This issue is more directly related to the problem of early school leaving in that it is clear from the literature that students are unlikely to complete their schooling and to strive for successful outcomes if they think that in the end they will be part of the unemployment figures with the frustration and indignity that such a state confers on them (Wehlage, Stone and Kliebard, 1980; Wehlage, 1983; Wehlage, Rutter and Turnbaugh, 1987; Apple in Weis et al, 1987). The fact is that a large number of those who were successful with the Tonga School Certificate are still unemployed today (see Table 8 in Scholarship Review : 15). It is not hard to imagine how much more difficult it must be for the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers to find paid employment.

The five groups of respondents in this study identified youth unemployment as the most important factor generating the frustration and the desperation felt by the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers. The use of those words in association with unemployment (see Figure 5.3) - "kau maumau taimi" (those waste of time), "kau sikulu mutu" (those chopped off schooling), "kau vale" (stupid ones), "fanga te'efehi'i" (little worthless ones), "hopo ki hala 'o hauanoape" (hit the road and loaf aimlessly), "kau veve" (those garbage), "kau kai koa" (those soap 'eaters) "kau kai suka" (those sugar eaters) - indicate that the word "unemployment" hides a depth of animosity which the respondents expressed in these terms: "losing face, worthy to be looked down on, your views are not worth listening to, your problems are your own fault, bloody waste of time, selfish, good for nothing, and rubbish". The indignity and the animosity associated with unemployment make it a problem that goes far beyond economic considerations.

The government alone cannot be held responsible for the problem of unemployment as the private and cooperative sectors of the economy must also play their part. The unemployment rate of 9 per cent found in the census data is at variance with the 60 per cent found in the study of Samate (1993) and the 80 per cent in this study. Perhaps if the rate in the census
data reflected the findings of these two more recent studies, the issue would be a cause for concern for the society as a whole.

The government position is that the aim of education, as stated by one of their top officials in the interview, is "not to provide immediate workers but to provide a good basic general education for everybody up to Form 5 in order to provide a flexible workforce" (‘oku ‘ikai ko e taumu’a ia ’o e ako’ ke ma’u leva ha kau ngaue, ka ke ma’u ’e he tokotaha ako’ ‘a e poto ‘oku ala ma’u ’o a’u ki he Foomu nima’ keoe’ahi’ ke ma’u ai ha kakai ke ngaue ‘i ha fa’ahinga tafa’aki pe.). There are two problems here. First, a large number of those students do not reach Form 5 for they are the early school leavers. Second, those who reach Form 5, be they successful or not with the Tonga School Certificate Examination, may be regarded as "the flexible workforce" as there are few employment opportunities to meet their "flexibility". The admission in the Sixth Development Plan (1991-95) that the "existing employment opportunities, both public and private, cannot meet employment needs" (p. 73) is not an indication that something will be done about it. Probably the situation is not likely to change unless something tragic happens. It would seem that a more responsible strategy is to be more concerned to bring about changes rather than to face subsequent dire consequences.

4.7 Church Education Department-related causes of early school leaving

The nine Church Education Department-related causes of early school leaving in Table 5.17a are summarised as five issues:

• failure to see retention of all students as one of its priorities,

• failure to implement school policies,

• failure to produce a curriculum to cater for all students,

• failure to provide job satisfaction for staff and

• failure to consult widely in its policy making.
The first issue is the "failure to see retention of all students as one of its priorities". In view of the financial problems that the Church Education Department is facing, this issue is not likely to be high on its agenda. For the Department with more than 70 per cent of its running costs derived from school fees, it should be its priority to retain as many students as possible. In view of the current economic constraints it is not likely that the Church Education Department will be able, at least from the economic point of view, to divert any resources to specific programs for those who are likely to leave school early or to be unsuccessful with the Tonga School Certificate Examination.

The "failure to produce a curriculum to cater for all students" has already been discussed. The two issues - "failure to consult widely in its policy making" and "failure to implement school policies" - are discussed together. It is understood that one of the reasons for the failure of a policy is the lack of consultation which leads to the lack of ownership of the policy by those implementing it (Majchrzak, 1984). As previously indicated, lack of consultation may be related to the widespread practice of the top down management strategy in Tonga. However, it is clearly indicated in this research that such a strategy cannot justifiably be continued. The failure to implement school policies may also be related to other factors and outstanding among them is the lack of resources for the implementation of the policy.

The final issue is the "failure to provide job satisfaction for staff" and this is seen in three factors: lack of consultation of staff in decision making, failure to communicate well with staff, parents and students, and the perception that staff salaries are inadequate. Lack of consultation and the failure to communicate well have been discussed in the section dealing with the causes of early school leaving that relate to teachers and school administrators, but as for the salaries of the staff, the signs are not good especially when it was proposed in the Catholic Director of Education’s circular letter to the administrators, teachers and parents in 1994 that one of the measures for reducing the school expenditure is to "ask all teachers...to
accept 3/4 of the government salary" (p. 2). The shortage of funds has already been discussed and that the situation is likely to get worse. Since the large part of the dissatisfaction arises from the perception that salaries are inadequate, the staff's dissatisfaction is likely to increase. It is unlikely that greater participation in decision making and better communication strategies will ease the dissatisfaction of not being paid government level salaries.

4.8 Tongan culture-related causes of early school leaving

The five Tongan culture-related causes of early school leaving are summarised as:

• inappropriate allocation of financial resources,
• primacy of girls over boys and
• obsession with academic successes.

The first issue of "inappropriate allocation of financial resources" focuses on the problem that Tongan parents often find themselves in when there is pressure on them, be it real or imagined, to give more than they would normally contribute. This often occurs, for example, in the annual church collection (misinale or katoanga'ofa) where the amount one contributes is announced in front of the congregation. To avoid being labelled as being poor or selfish or otherwise, people tend to give more than they would usually do when the amounts are announced in front of everybody. In the context of where parents have only limited financial resources (and most people are in this situation), such apparently generous contribution can easily result in lack of resources to be dedicated to the schooling of their children. Some of the five groups of respondents in this study believe strongly that most parents have sufficient funds but they find it difficult to allocate them according to needs because of the pressure from other people to be generous and supportive.

The second issue is the "primacy of girls over boys". Treating girls differently from boys is seen by the five groups of respondents as an important factor in the gender differences in the incidence of early school leaving. At an early age, the girls are given better things: clothes,
footwear, beds and food. When there is little to go around, the girls will, for example, get the bed while the boys sleep on the floor. If the boys have not turned up for the night, most parents will not be worried about it but in the case of girls they will not rest until they determine their whereabouts. The data suggests that girls generally tend to have a higher self-esteem than boys.

The third issue is the "obsession with academic successes" which suggests that children are pushed by parents to do academic subjects at school irrespective of whether they will be successful in them. Where students fail to cope, they tend to be disengaged from schooling and eventually they leave school altogether. When students are sent to alternative schools where they can do vocational subjects, they are either reluctant to go or refuse to go altogether. This attitude was responsible for the closure of the Agricultural School established by the Catholic Education System. Children (and perhaps in agreement with parents) would rather leave school than to be involved in a non-academic curriculum.

However, there was a slight twist to this attitude with respect to the Hospitality School established by the Catholic Education System in 1990 for both boys and girls. Parents have sent their children to this school and when they were asked for the reasons for doing so, they felt there was a better chance for their students in these courses to secure employment in the hospitality and tourism industry. This throws a different light on the obsession with academic successes. It seems that the obsession is related more to some hope of finding a paid job rather than to a perception that academic successes are more valuable than the other schooling rewards. It seems that alternative schools are attractive to parents and students, if they are perceived to have greater employment prospects.

4.9 Summary

It is clear that the causes of early school leaving are numerous and inter-related. The importance of the "agents" operating on the three levels (macro, meso and micro) of the
theoretical model within the push/pull of the "decision making space", is clearly illustrated throughout this section. There are apparently immediate causes at the micro level which are in most cases relating to causes which may be considered to be remote at the macro level and yet they are very powerful. For example, the academic failure of students has been attributed to the more immediate causes of ineffective teaching at the micro level of the Schooling Systems and lack of parental support at the micro level of the Community Systems. However, it seems that what teachers and parents at the micro level do may not result in more successful academic outcomes if the more remote causes of an academic curriculum and the examination selection mechanism at the macro level of the Schooling Systems are not considered. While each of the "agents" impacting on students to leave school prematurely, has contributed to the problem of early school leaving, it is understood at the same time that the same "agents" can equally contribute towards resolving it.

5. Policy measures to reduce early school leaving

The concept of "policy" in this context is not the technical meaning used in Department's and Government's official documents but in its practical use which is found in this example: "It is the policy of this family that our children must complete their homework before going to bed". This is well illustrated in the way the question was asked of the five groups of respondents. For example, with regards to the "agents" of teachers, the question was: "What are the three 'things' in order of importance that teachers should do to reduce the problem of students leaving school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate Examination?" Thus, policies are really recommendations or suggestions offered by the five groups of respondents for each of these eight "agents" - teachers, school administrators, parents, students, village community, Church Education Department, the Tongan government and stakeholders - to address the problem of early school leaving.

It is important at the outset of the policy consideration to point out that each of the policy measures is only one piece in the puzzle of the whole school environment. The secondary
school environment in particular needs to be addressed in its entirety and this is to be undertaken in chapter seven. It is important to preempt this discussion here as each policy measure is only one of a wider review which must be undertaken to provide equitable opportunities for students to be successful in their secondary schooling. To commence this discussion, the policy measures relating to each of the eight "agents" are individually considered in the discussion that follows.

5.1 Teacher-related policy measures for reducing early school leaving

The 13 teacher-related policy measures are summarised in Figure 5.7, and focus on four issues. The first policy recommended by all the respondents as the best way to behave towards students was that of showing genuine christian love. Essential to this type of love is the willingness to sacrifice oneself for the good of the other. It is a powerful suggestion and every school is challenged to work seriously and tirelessly to motivate teachers to show this genuine christian love in all that they do at school.

This christian love has the effect of creating an environment of care which members of the school community would find attractive and conducive for teaching and learning. The other aspect of offering christian love is that students are helped to be committed christians themselves whose advantage goes far beyond the personal and the family horizons. The assumption is that students may not be academically successful in the end of schooling, but at least they leave high school with deeper christian faith and commitment which can contribute toward the "good of all" (lelei fakalākufua).

The second policy measure is "to make teaching attractive and effective". In the context of the causes of early school leaving, it amounts to: "ensuring that teaching is really understood", "making teaching attractive", "using sufficient materials in teaching", "preparing classes before teaching" and "incorporating students' characteristics into teaching strategies". The task is to address professional development and preservice teacher training
which may be directly linked to low levels of student achievement in schools (Husen et al., 1978; Solman, 1986; Chubb and Moe, 1990) or a lack of commitment to teaching itself or both (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1984 and 1993). In so far as it relates to initial teacher training, the problem can be adequately addressed through effective teacher training programs and other forms of inservice teacher development programs. While there is strong evidence that the quality of teachers is important, the solution to the problem in Tonga where there is a constraint on resources, does not necessarily lie in lengthy pre-service training. Rather, research has suggested that greater emphasis on inservice teacher training is more cost-effective, including such approaches as short-term residences, continuous within-school programs and distance education (World Bank, 1988a).

If, on the other hand, ineffective teaching may also be due to a lack of professional commitment. Here, there is a need to explore the feasibility and applicability of: professional approach to school leadership, teacher and student motivation, appropriate decision making processes, job satisfaction strategies, teacher performance and management strategies (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1984 and 1993). A fuller treatment of these factors will be offered in chapter seven. Suffice for the moment to concentrate on the importance of teacher and student motivation as a strategy for improving learning outcomes.

Teacher and student motivation is at the heart of this policy measure. There is a need to develop staff and student development programs to enhance teacher and student motivation. Such programs should be negotiated with staff and students so that there is a gradual transition from Maslow's (1954) "low to higher order needs", to that of Herzberg's (1966) "hygiene and motivator factors" and ultimately to Hackman's, Oldham's and Purdy's (1975) "job enrichment theory". In conjunction with these factors, serious efforts must be made to foster "school culture" and to articulate "school vision" in concrete expressions which will be regularly celebrated. McGregor's (1960) Theory Y on "school management" is highly recommended to be incorporated into the school's teacher and student development programs.
An essential part of the exploration of ways and means of motivating teachers and students is the fostering of the Christian commitment to love which almost every Tongan at least in theory accepts as a powerful motivator (Thaman, 1988). This was often expressed in this study by the five groups of respondents in words similar to these: "ka 'oku kalisitiane mo'oni pe 'a e 'ofa' ia, pea 'oku 'ikai ke toe 'i ai ha me'a ia 'e toe faingata'a" (if love is genuinely Christian, then nothing is difficult). It is generally accepted in the literature that staff and student development programs will be effective when there is willing partnership between staff and students in the development of the programs and their implementation (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1993).

The third policy measure is to "offer special help to the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain)". There is a strong perception among the five groups of respondents that the "kau 'atamai kovi" need special help if they are to experience success at school. The students included under the category of "kau 'atamai kovi" are generally those with learning difficulties which are described in the responses in this study as people who "struggle to understand and gain knowledge", "have trouble learning for one reason or another", "have difficulties in language and communication skills", "feel neglected and alienated in the school environment", "fail the secondary school entrance examination", "come from a difficult family background", "come from poor families", "have hearing and vision impairment", "suffer from emotional and cognitive problems" and finally "are not sufficiently motivated to take their study seriously". In some ways they are the ones who are defined in the literature (Wehlage et al., 1989; Kawakami, 1994) as "students at risk" of leaving school early. The data suggested that at present all students are virtually treated in the same way; they are exposed to the similar type of teaching; they have to face the same academically examination oriented curriculum, they sit the same examinations; and mostly fail to find success in their schooling. What is suggested in this policy measure is that students cannot be treated in the same way if they are to find some rewards for their schooling.
One of the strategies recommended is the incorporation of an enhanced understanding of students' characteristics into the teaching endeavour. It is important for the teachers to know their students, their home and family backgrounds, their academic records, their strengths and weaknesses, and the types of teaching styles that best suit them. There are two basic concerns here: teaching styles and learning styles. The teacher needs to be aware of the different styles of teaching which can be explored in order to be effective with the students. At the same time, the teacher himself or herself needs to discover the students' learning styles. Some may learn better in a group setting while others may find the individual setting to be more conducive for their learning. The exploration of the teaching styles and the learning styles should be made part of the teacher development programs.

The fourth issue is "to provide alternative and effective disciplinary measures to corporal punishment". First, all respondent groups agreed there is a need to ban corporal punishment as it drives fear and violence into students rather than the desired reflection on their action. Teachers argued that since students are given corporal punishment at home, they should be given the same at school. The evidence from this research suggests that corporal punishment has been ineffective both at home and at school. The search for alternatives to corporal punishment need to be considered by the whole schooling communities in the context of their vision for their students.

5.2 Administrator-related policy measures for reducing early school leaving

The 11 policy measures to be implemented by school administrators have been summarised (Figure 5.9) into six issues. The first two recommendations which focus on the need for school administrators to "show genuine Christian love to both students and staff" have been extensively discussed in the previous section. The only important addition is that if both teachers and school administrators genuinely show Christian love in the school environment, it is highly unlikely that students would be pushed out of high school due to any of the four
impediments to school membership: maladjustment, difficulty, incongruence and isolation (Tinto, 1987).

The second policy measure is to "design a curriculum that caters for all students". The curriculum issue has been discussed to some extent in the causes of early school leaving especially in relation to the control played by the Tongan government. The strong belief of the five groups of respondents in this study was that the curriculum plays an important role in students experiencing failure in their schooling. The high school curriculum is perceived in this study to be closely related to the curriculum of the primary schools. This is confirmed from the study conducted by Platt (1988) of primary schools in Tonga in which it was found that 20 to 40 per cent of children in the majority of schools were unable to cope with the content and speed of the present curriculum. The other disadvantage of that primary school curriculum is that the secondary school entrance examination is used as a selection mechanism. With the vast majority of students failing to gain the pass mark, the sense of failure is inculcated unnecessarily into these students even before venturing into high schools.

The challenge for the non-government education systems is either to design their own primary and secondary curriculum and to conduct their own assessment procedures or to seek avenues where they can work together with the government to design a curriculum and assessment process that take into account not only the needs and abilities of the academically oriented students but also of those of the less academically inclined. In effect, it is a quest for the curriculum that provides opportunities for all students to experience successes in their schooling. This is an area that the Advisory Body to the Government Ministry of Education, which was provided for in the Education Act of 1974 can play an important part. While such cooperation is being sought after, each education system can make the task of teaching the current curriculum more effective by improving not only the teaching and learning processes, but also the wider educational components of their school environment.
The third policy measure is to "provide alternative and effective disciplinary measures to corporal punishment". This policy recommendation has been discussed above. The responsibility of school management and leadership is crucial and mandated by the law. There is a need for school administrators, parents and students to reach a consensus on what should be done so that there is an agreement between the disciplinary measures applied in the home and those executed in the school environment.

The fourth policy measure is "to communicate well with staff, students and parents". This is a response to the perception that there was a lack of consultation in the decision making processes in schools. This recommendation is in agreement with research in a number of countries which suggests that where the supplies of trained administrative power allow, decentralisation of educational management to strengthen decision making at the micro level of the individual school can lead to improved system performance (Winkler, 1989). It seems that the main enemy of this strategy is the widespread endorsement of the top down management practice in Tonga at the macro level.

The fifth policy measure is to "produce effective policies". Two factors have been identified, firstly, there is a lack of consultation on issues relating to the policy, secondly, there are resource shortages of personnel and finances to implement the policy. Majchrzak (1984) suggests that the values of those people who are to implement and to benefit from the policy must be incorporated into the policy making. Together with consultation and enhanced resources for policy implementation, the incorporation of the values of the policy users into the making of the policy will go a long way towards securing ownership of the policy and achieving intended outcomes.
5.3 Parent-related policy measures for reducing early school leaving

The 12 policy measures to be implemented by parents have been summarised in Figure 5.11 into four issues. The first issue is "to render strong support for children's schooling" which is expressed as six factors: "encourage students to take their study seriously", "ensure that time, space and lights are available for study", "show real interest in their schooling", "reward them even in small school successes", "attend school functions and meetings" and "often discuss with them what they do at school". It would seem that the six ways in which parents can support their children's schooling are sufficient as long as there are sustained efforts to uphold them throughout the entire length of their children's schooling.

The second recommendation is "to be prudent with the use of money". While the people are generally poor, it is the perception of the respondents that most parents will get the money for their children's schooling if they really apply themselves assiduously to whatever they do. It seems that the problem is not the mere lack of money but the imprudent use of the money. Financial and planning issues and school saving schemes might well be topics at the PTA meetings.

Where parents genuinely lack the necessities of life and are in short of resources for their children's schooling, teachers, parents, and the village community can work on a scheme to help those parents. In the village of Longoteme parents of different high schools fund-raise together for a fund used to pay for the school fees of needy children. This scheme cuts across the village and church differences and is a way of generating community cooperation.

The third recommendation is "to discipline their children and themselves". There is a strong perception in this study that children are not sufficiently disciplined at home in spite of the use of the corporal punishment. The issue of discipline has been discussed already in the causes of early school leaving relating to school administrators and teachers. The only other aspect of this issue is that there was a perception from many of the female respondents in
this study that parents need to discipline themselves. What underlies this recommendation was the view that fathers who cannot spend time with their wives and children as they spend the large part of the night in drinking beer or kava or any other nocturnal activities are regarded as lacking in discipline. There is a lot of truth in this allegation because it is not uncommon for men to think that they have done their share for the family by being the bread winner. As for sharing with the women the responsibility of caring for the children and for supporting their children's schooling, it is largely regarded as the responsibility of the children's mother. Again this is an issue where the school, the home and the church through PTA can work together to arrive at a solution which is helpful for the family and for the schooling of their children.

The fourth recommendation is "to foster the stability of the family life at home". There are circumstances that are beyond the scope of parents e.g. death and sickness. However, "beating of the wife and children", "going overseas to get money for the family", "leaving the house chores entirely in the hands of mothers", "not sharing with the mother the responsibility of caring for the children", "distance between fathers and their children", "lack of discipline in the home" are some of the factors mentioned in the responses of the five groups of respondents as the causes of the instability in the family life at home.

There is a need to ensure that children are not exposed to sickness by raising them in a clean environment and providing them with healthy food. The practice of going overseas to get money for the family seems to do more damage for the family in that one or both partners find themselves unfaithful to each other, resulting in divorces or perhaps uneasy relationships for the rest of their lives (Bishop Finau in Mullins, 1994). As for the men not cooperating with women in the raising of their children, it seems obvious that children need the love and support of both parents. Those issues may be dealt with effectively in the parents' and teachers' meetings (PTA) and in the programs for married couples known as Marriage Encounter and the churches' adult education programs. An example of the
church's adult education programs is the *Education in Christian Living* (ECL) which is conducted by the Catholic Church in Tonga.

### 5.4 Student-related policy measures for reducing early school leaving

The 10 policy recommendations to be implemented by students are summarised in three issues (Figure 5.13). The first issues relate to *school* and there are six school factors associated with early school leaving and correspondingly six measures are recommended towards addressing them: "really seek to understand what is taught", "show genuine christian love to fellow students and teachers", "be faithful to school and christian values", "actively participate in school activities", "observe school rules and regulations" and "select the subjects that you can do". Clearly, it is the interaction between the students and the school that are perceived in this study to have the 'push out' impact on children's schooling.

The concept of "school as a community of support" was identified in the literature to be effective in helping students to remain at school and to be successful in what they do (Kliebard, 1980; Wehlage, 1983; Wehlage, Rutter and Turnbaugh, 1987; Wehlage et al., 1990). The two essential constructs of this concept are effective: *school membership and educational engagement*. The six policy recommendations relating to school can be associated with either of those two constructs. *Educational engagement* is implied in the need "to really understand what is taught" which suggests that ineffective teaching is partly relating to teachers and partly relating to students. While teachers are required to attend to the strategies suggested in this discussion, this study also indicates that students need to ensure that they understand what is taught "by paying attention during class", "by coming to school fully disposed for learning", "by asking questions in class when teaching is not understood" and "by seeking extra help when there are difficulties". The need for students to "select the subjects that they can do" is also tied up with the quest to understand what is taught and it is part of the construct of educational engagement which is also expressed in the need to "actively participate in school activities". The two policy measures relating to the
are to "do your homework, and study at home". These school and home measures will help to foster "educational engagement".

Three impediments to educational engagement are suggested by Wehlage et al., (1990). Engagement is difficult if, first, school work is not motivating for students, second, if the dominant learning process at school is too narrow, abstract, verbal and competitive, third, if teachers are more concerned with coverage of subject matter than with gaining the sense of competence. These impediments are being addressed in the three policy measures of trying "to really understand what is taught", "to select the subjects that they can do" and "to actively participate in school activities".

The construct of "school membership", on the other hand, is enhanced by these three policy recommendations: "to show genuine christian love to fellow students and the staff", "to be faithful to the school and christian values" and "to observe school rules and regulations". There are four steps that help students and teachers to achieve the construct of "school membership": attachment, commitment, involvement and belief. Briefly, "attachment" is expressed when school members care about what other people think and expect; "commitment" relates to what one must do to achieve goals; "involvement" shows the willingness of the school members to participate in the life of the school; and "belief" relates to the fact that one must have faith in the institution. "Belief" is seen as being the bedrock of the other three steps because it is difficult to be attached, committed and involved if school members do not believe in the legitimacy and efficacy of the institution (Wehlage et al., 1990).

The policy measure relating to the home is to "help parents to develop a good family life" and this may promote school membership. The policy relating to the village community is "to encourage fellow students to do what is right" in the context of the village community. Developing a positive "personal attitude" and not "feeling that I am a failure" have been discussed. Overall, the policy recommendations relating to students are perceived to be
powerful in fostering "school membership" and "educational engagement" which are found in the literature to be essential for the formation and development of the "school as a community of support" (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1993).

5.5 Village community-related policy measures for reducing early school leaving

The eight policy measures in Figure 5.15 for the village community to implement have been summarised as follows. The first issue is "to provide facilities for student activities and programs". The perception in the study is that if the community provides facilities where activities and programs suitable for students are conducted, then students will be less likely to be involved in activities that draw them away from their studies. The lack of people who are committed to the supervision and maintenance of those facilities and programs provides a risk because when a community project goes wrong, it has adverse effects on future attempts at community cooperation.

The second recommendation is "to generate more efforts towards community cooperation". From the perception of respondents "individualism" is increasing in intensity. To decrease the intensity of "individualism" and at the same time to increase "community cooperation" requires serious efforts on the part of students, parents, school and the village community. The efforts to increase community cooperation must draw on the strengths of the Tongan culture and the Christian religion which both favour community cooperation.

It seems to the researcher that the best way to trigger off community cooperation is through emphasis on those activities that the village community can identify with (Bray in Bray and Lillis (Editors), 1988). For example, the village football and the netball teams can be a community builder in that players from different churches and backgrounds strive together to achieve a common goal. Individual community projects can help build community solidarity particularly when developed with the cultural and the Christian concern to love and to care for one another. The cultural factor of emphasising social relationships can also be tapped as
a way of developing community cooperation (Thaman, 1988). It is argued that without the cultural and the Christian foundations, individual community projects can only be seen as stopgaps rather than measures for promoting and sustaining community cooperation and solidarity.

Measure "to provide help for students to successfully complete their schooling" is directed more to parents who cannot meet the financial demands of their children's schooling. Some work has been done in some villages but much more can be achieved to enable disadvantaged families to educate their children. In some churches there are Sunday collections (li pa'anga Sapate) to help parents of this kind. Work is done, for example, largely by the Visesio Paulo (St. Vincent de Paul Society) in the Catholic Church and in the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga by the Li-pe-ha-maea (Lifeline). This policy also calls on the community to cooperate in providing incentives to encourage young people to complete their schooling.

5.6 Tongan government-related policy measures for reducing early school leaving

The eight policy measures in Figure 5.17 to be implemented by the Tongan government have been summarised in four issues. "To design a curriculum that caters for students' abilities and needs" has been discussed in a number of sections in this chapter. It is argued that the difficulty with the examination orientated academic curriculum is that it has failed to deliver the national educational objectives which are:

1. to provide a good basic general education for every child;
2. to improve the quality of education at both primary and secondary levels;
3. to provide a balanced programme of education for the full development of the child; and
The first national educational aim of "providing a good basic general education for every child" has not been achieved for the vast majority of the secondary school population. As for the second aim of "improving the quality of education at both primary and secondary levels", this study demonstrates in the sample schools that it has not improved the quality of education at the secondary level because most of the advantages of secondary schooling achieved by early school leavers and unsuccessful completers were more related to the intended outcomes of primary schooling than to those of secondary school education. Platt (1988) has also shown that the failure in the primary school education is due largely to the inability of students to "cope with the content and speed of the present curriculum".

Data from the study indicates that the "balanced programme of education for the full development of the child" is neither balanced nor caters for the full development of the child. The experience of failure, uselessness, frustration and desperation reported in this study by early school leavers and unsuccessful completers could hardly be regarded as characteristics of students who are fully developed. The fourth aim of "achieving a greater sense of pride in the Tongan culture" is shown in this study to be wishful thinking because pride in the Tongan culture was never considered by the five groups of respondents as one of the advantages of secondary schooling. In fact, as Marcus (1980) and Thaman (1988) have shown the Tongan culture has undergone many changes which amount largely to an erosion of the traditional cultural values. In other words, education, be it primary, secondary or tertiary, has done little to help Tongans to achieve a greater sense of pride in the Tongan culture. It seems that the contrary outcome is true in that schooling has been instrumental in changing the culture and in creating a certain dislike for some of the traditional Tongan ways of doing things. In many respects it is the palangi or the Western ways of doing things that have been adopted and valued in Tonga.

While there are other factors impinging on the school systems' failure to achieve those goals, the central place of the curriculum and assessment process in any education system must
bear the brunt of the criticism because its basic function is to enable those aims to be attained. Those failures confirm the finding of this study that the examination and selection driven curriculum has overwhelmingly been responsible for: the failures in the secondary school entrance examination, the problem of early school leaving and the feeling of inadequacy of the unsuccessful completers.

In so far as the non-government education systems participate in the same academic curriculum, they suffer the same consequences. Even if the non-government education systems can design a curriculum of their own, the researcher does not think that it is in the interests of the whole country that one system has one type of curriculum and the other has another especially in a small nation like Tonga. The only viable option is for all the education systems (both government and non-government) to work together to design a curriculum and assessment process that can deliver school successes (be they academic or vocational) and it is only within those successes that the national aims and objectives can be realised. If Tonga continues with its examination and selection driven curriculum which delivers failure for the majority, it will continue to experience with increasing intensity the conflict and violence associated with those failures. With insight one of the respondents expressed a fear of the consequences of these failures: "the disappointments associated with these failures are now working like cancers from within; they are in the long run making the Friendly Islands, the most unfriendly nation in the South Pacific" (ko e ngaahi loto mamahi 'i he lahi 'o e 'ikai lava e ako' 'oku ngâue mei loto hangê ha kanisaa'; te nau liliu 'a e 'Otu Motu Anga'ofa' ke hoko ko e 'Otu Motu Ta'e'ofa taha 'i he Pasifiki Saute').

The second policy measure is "to provide more financial contribution to non-government secondary schools". This policy measure has been discussed in this chapter and it is related to much wider issues than the financial considerations. It is related to social justice in so far as the annual grants to secondary school students are inequitably distributed with $600 allocated to each student attending government high schools, compared to only $50 for each non-government high school student. It is in the interest of the country as a whole that the
vast majority of its students experience success in their schooling. It is also for the good of the country that each church schooling system retains its specific contribution to schooling and development which is beyond the academic curriculum.

The least that the government can do is to provide a more equitable distribution of funds to help non-government high schools to be successful in what they do. It is suggested by some of the respondents in this study that it would be more effective for the government to pay teachers' salaries on a common scale than to continue with the current per capita subsidies because it is the teachers' salaries which absorb most of the running costs of high schools. If the government continues with the annual per capita grants to secondary school students, it must work towards an equitable share in that students of both government and non-government high schools receive the same grants. The other help that the government can give is not to build new high schools where there are existing facilities but to provide other forms of schools (e.g. alternative schools and technical schools) which can complement the work done in the mainstream high schools.

The third policy recommendation is "to provide more job opportunities for school leavers". It is the responsibility of the government to provide policy measures to stimulate employment opportunities for its people either through the services it provides or the incentives to the private sector. A way of doing this is to attract investors to the country who can create employment opportunities through their various enterprises. Incentives to improve the agricultural activities and fisheries where the majority of the people are employed should be a priority. This study shows that early school leavers and unsuccessful completers "dislike manual work including the plantation work". This is one of the unfortunate effects of pursuing academic curriculum. It is in the interest of the country that students are encouraged to recognise the value and the valuable contribution that agriculture and fisheries can make to their own economic prosperity.
The fourth policy recommendation is to "promote good relationship between government and non-government education systems". The first three policy measures will help create better relationships between the government and the non-government education systems. The strong perception of the five groups of respondents in this study is that there is a rivalry between those systems. The researcher is only aware of one project (the secondary school at Niuatoputapu) where there is a joint effort between the Ministry of Education and a couple of non-government education systems. While the project can be hailed as a success in that it gives opportunities to many children to gain access to secondary schooling, it has done little to improve the relationship between the Ministry of Education and the two non-government education systems.

The perception of the researcher is that the relationship is "sensitive" and is often aggravated by personality differences. The data suggests that there are four levels of cooperation that all the education systems in Tonga must explore if they want to work together for the good of the students and the country. In the first level there is a need for all the education systems to find ways of meeting and mixing informally with one another. In most cases the only time that they meet is on competitive levels (e.g. sports, debates, examinations etc). Such occasions are not conducive for building relationships. In fact, they are likely to fuel the fire of rivalry rather than the power of good communication. Joint and collaborative projects in a variety of community based endeavours could be initially considered.

In gaining the confidence of one another through the informal gatherings, they should then move to the second level of exploring ways of genuinely sharing with one another their ideologies, philosophies, views, perspectives, thoughts, hopes and aspirations with regard to education. This sharing has the advantage of getting them to know one another on a deeper level. They will come to know their similarities and differences; they are the realities that they must accept and work with to achieve their goals. The third level is to relate what they know about themselves and their perspectives on education to the situation in Tonga
with the view of finally deciding on the type of education that is most suited to the country. It is assumed that a common search for the needs of the country and its priorities forms an important part of this level. The fourth level deals with the task of formulating and implementing policies to achieve the ultimate aim of catering for and enhancing the good of the country as a whole. The need for all the education systems in Tonga to work together is urgent in view of the failure syndrome that the current systems of education have consistently and accumulatively produced over the years. This is not optional if the stakeholders of education have the good of the students and the country as a priority.

5.7 Church Education Department-related policy measures for reducing early school leaving

The nine Church Education Department-related policy measures in Figure 5.15 are summarised in five issues as follows. All those issues relate to policy. The first one calls on the Church Education Department to "produce and effectively implement a policy to retain all students at high school". The implication is that the schools are committed to provide opportunities for these children to be successful in their schooling otherwise there is no point is retaining them all at school. The second issue is for the Church Education Department to "consult as many of the stakeholders as possible in the process of policy making". This issue has been discussed extensively already in the need for consultation and good communication. In brief, it is a response to the top down management practice which needs to be changed in order for the policy users to endorse the policy and to implement it effectively. The third issue relates to the need for the Church Education Department to "provide adequate resources for effective policy implementation". Again the concern for adequate resources has been discussed previously and it focuses on making available of human personnel and finances which are both in short supply in most Church Education Departments.
The fourth issue is "to produce a curriculum to cater for all students". This issue has been discussed already in a number of sections in this chapter especially in relation to the Tongan government. The only point to make here is that the Church Education Department must leave no stone unturned in their efforts to work together with its government counterpart to design a curriculum and assessment scheme that will provide success for the majority of students. The fifth issue is "to develop job satisfaction for staff". Again this issue has been discussed and the conclusion is that wider consultation and better communication cannot compensate for inadequate salaries which are dependent on a review of government allocations. This issue can only be addressed in the entirety of the school environment which is the focus of the next chapter.

5.8 Policy measures relating to the Tongan culture for reducing early school leaving

The five Tongan culture-related policy measures in Figure 5.21 are summarised in three issues. The first issue calls on stakeholders of education to help people to "be prudent in the allocation of financial resources". This is an enormous demand because it is in contrast to the strong cultural factor of "conformity" to community perceptions or norms (Thaman, 1988). The "slavery to what others might say" which was frequently identified by the five groups of respondents in this study operates very powerfully in the demand of the culture for conformity. People at times would rather go hungry than to go against community expectations. As they often say in Tonga: "tau toki fiekaia ai pe, ka kuo lava hotau fatongia" (we can go hungry afterwards, but we have met our obligations). When people have the courage to make a stand that is contrary to community expectations, they still struggle afterwards to come to terms with what they have done. They continue to wonder and are even worried as to whether they have done the right thing. Thus, it is a tough call for people to allocate their financial resources prudently in that they are challenged to give in proportion to the number and the demands of all their obligations. In other words, it is to ensure that the financial resources are not spent generously on only one or two of the responsibilities but they are proportionately allocated to all of them.
There is a need to be careful here in that there is a fine line between prudence in giving and a possible reaction or misunderstanding of not giving at all. Sometimes when people are restricted in their desire to give, they take it that they should not give. Thus, they feel that they do not need to give at all. This change in attitude need to be negotiated with care and prudence in situations where school administrators, teachers, parents and the wider community seek together to reach a consensus on the types of cultural attitudes to be changed, and the feasibility of the alternatives. This is to avoid the disaster of destroying the desire to give generously by advocating changes to the cultural attitudes. This admonition applies equally to all the three Tongan culture-related policy measures in this section.

The second policy measure is "to treat girls well but not the extent of disadvantaging boys". There is no hint here that parents love girls more than boys. This policy measure calls on the people in Tonga to offer similar treatment to both boys and girls. The criterion for determining similarity in treatment is that girls are not treated to the extent of disadvantaging boys. There are always physical and psychological differences between boys and girls, and in the light of those differences girls will be treated differently from boys. However, this policy is concerned that similarity in treatment will help both boys and girls from an early age to attain high self-esteem and to be successful in what they do.

The third policy measure is for parents "to be happy that their children are doing at school what they can do". This is a response to the perception that parents push their children to do academic subjects at school irrespective of their abilities. It is the belief of the five groups of respondents in this study that by doing the subjects that they can do, they are likely to be successful in their schooling. It also has wider application in that their children are not likely to consider themselves as failures which can be damaging to themselves and to society at large.
5.9 Summary

The policy measures recommended by the respondents are corresponding to the causes that they associate with early school leaving. While each of the eight "agents" have contributed to the problem of early school leaving, it is understood that they would be the same "agents" that would contribute to the solution. Since most of the secondary school students make up the early school leavers and unsuccessful completers, the strategies to the problem of early school leaving cannot be isolated from the schooling system as a whole. A piecemeal solution is too simplistic an approach to a problem that is so complex and inter-related. A holistic approach that calls for the cooperation of both the Schooling and the Community Systems at their macro, meso and micro levels is needed. It is a solution that focuses directly on a systemic reform in which both the schooling and the community systems work together in partnership. Without the close cooperation of both systems, any school reform is not expected to make any significant contribution towards reducing the problem of early school leaving and its related school and societal problems.
Policy Space and Recommendation

Saying that fewer students would drop out if teachers were more supportive may not say much that is actually useful....If teachers frequently fail to extend themselves to the students most in need, that is not because we have a generation of particularly mean-spirited teachers. If student-relationships are formed under structural conditions that are as alienating for teachers as for students, as confusing, as damaging to self-esteem, there is no reason to expect that many teachers will extend themselves.


The direction that Payne suggests above is followed in this chapter on the policy recommendations. The focus is not on a particular component of the schooling environment (e.g. teachers or curriculum), but on the total conditions of secondary schooling and society which are strongly perceived by respondents in this study to be reinforcing one another through the negative impacts that they have on students' secondary schooling. It is clear that the perception of all groups of respondents in this study is that the negative impacts of secondary schooling far outweigh the positive effects. Often high schools get the blame for the negative impacts of schooling. However, this study has clearly shown that non-school agents and agencies (e.g. government policies and culture) are as far-reaching and powerful in their impact on students' school failure as the more immediate agents of school and home. This all-embracing orientation is in accordance with the intent of this study to be as holistic as possible in its search for solutions to the problem of early schooling which is seen here as a crisis in secondary schooling in Tonga.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Before dealing with the recommendations, it is necessary to set out in the first section an explanation of the construct, "policy space", and
then to examine the dimensions of the present secondary schooling policy space. This
naturally leads to the second section which deals with recommendations arising from what
is referred to as the "extended policy space" that takes into account the findings of this
study.

The recommendations are divided into two sub-sections: school reform and non-school
reform. The former encompasses the concerns relating to the eight "agents" identified in the
theoretical framework. The latter relates to the realisation that school reform will not be
successful if it is not accompanied by non-school reform especially in the government's
policy on an exam orientated academic curriculum. The third section suggests a draft terms
of reference for a Review Committee to be set up to address the issues and problems facing
the Tongan education system. The fourth section suggests directions for further research.

1. Policy space

The construct of policy space (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984; Skok, 1990) is employed to
identify the components, actors and factors involved in the formulation of policy. Policy
space is defined as a "heuristic providing guidance to the exploration of causal and
correlational events undergirding a situation addressed by policy, as well as to the particular
format a given policy takes in its formulation and implementation" (Fasano, 1994 : 4). The
use of policy space entails identification of:

- the agents and agencies relevant to the policy to be formulated
- the nature of their mutual relationships in relation to the policy recommendation
- the nature, extent and purpose of decision making activities engaged in by these agents
  and agencies, and the
- constraints (e.g. resources, legislation, values, culture and other policies) to
  possible action by all those concerned.
The importance of the construct of policy space is that it facilitates the exploration of the factors included in the current context and provides the basis for the organisation of the information on which this study can build the "extended policy space" to address its important issues. To that extent it highlights the weaknesses of the existing policy space and points to the direction that this study can take to address those weaknesses and to design the "extended policy space" most appropriate for policy recommendations. This 'extended policy space' must encompass the eight "agents" identified in this study's theoretical framework. These eight "agents" are shown in this study to be impacting on the students in the 'decision space' to either leave school early or remain at school.

1.1 Dimensions of the current policy space

Agents and agencies within the Catholic Education System

First, the agents and agencies operating in the current policy space for the secondary schooling of the Catholic Church include the following in their hierarchical order: Bishop, Education Board, Director of Education, and Principals of high schools and other schools. Parents and students are the two important stakeholders of education that are not included here but they are important components of the "extended policy space" for this study. The Bishop has the highest authority in the Church. Although he consults the Director of Education, Principals of schools, Diocesan priests and members of religious orders on important issues, the final decision is still his prerogative. The Bishop's authority is not his own making but it is inherent in his office.

The fact is that the Bishop can disregard the suggestion from his advisers and consultors. Another area that can be a problem is that schooling is only one of the many responsibilities of the Bishop. Inevitably, there are matters relating to the school that must wait until the Bishop is available. For example, the Board of Education was set up in February 1992
when the current researcher was the Director of Education. Certain members of the Board were supposed to be appointed by the Bishop. Since he was often busy, those members were still not appointed by the beginning of 1993.

The next agency is the *Education Board* whose members includes the Bishop, Director of Education, Episcopal Vicar for schools, Diocesan Chancellor (Church Financier), Principals of schools, Bishop's appointees, representatives of religious orders working in schools, and of parents. One of its basic responsibilities is to design policies for the schools. Members of the Board are assigned to different committees; each committee is given a specific responsiblity. For example, there is a committee for religious studies in schools whose responsibility is to ensure that there is a religion syllabus for all the schools to follow, resources, and qualified personnel to be involved in those studies. The Board is the arbiter and reconciliator in the school-related conflicts.

The data shows that it is strongly perceived by the respondents in this study that the lack of teacher representation is one of the essential weaknesses of the Board and other peak educational bodies. Teachers, the very people who will ultimately implement the Board's decisions, are not involved in the policy making processes. In fact, it is reported in the findings of this study that lack of involvement in decision making is predominantiy responsible for the failure in the implementation of policies. There are some reservations about the composition of the Board members. Its members are said by the respondents to be dominated by priests and members of religious orders working in the schools.

One of the main problems with the Board is that it is difficult for the members to find the time to meet because they live in different island groups. Hence, only two or three meetings can be held in a year. There seems to be little commitment from some of the members because it is a voluntary work and it takes up part of the little time that they have for their own weekend activities especially as meetings are held at weekends as all the Board members are full-time workers. The irregularity of its meetings means that decisions about
certain school matters are invariably delayed. Such delays have already caused conflicts at school. A clear example of this was the petition from the teachers from 'Apifo'ou College for a salary rise in 1995. The Board was not able to meet, and the response from the Director of Education was not satisfactory because it amounted to a refusal. The staff was disappointed firstly because the Board was not able to meet, and secondly because the reply from the Director was obviously not to their satisfaction.

The Board does not have any control over finance. This means that if the Diocesan Chancellor does not approve what the Board endorses then there is little that the Board can do about it. In his capacity as the Director of Catholic Education, the current researcher experienced this difficulty. The Diocesan Chancellor is constrained by the same budget limitation.

The next agent is the Director of Education whose main responsibility is to work closely with the Board and the schools in implementing policies approved by the Board. The Director works closely with the Bishop and sometimes with other members of the Board in drafting policies to be discussed and approved by the Board. With respect to the schools, important matters and events are reported to the Director who is expected to be in attendance either for moral support or for assessing the educational viability of such programs. He or she can always intervene in the running of the schools if he or she thinks that a particular input is necessary. For example, in 1995 the Director told the principals that the salaries of teachers in 1995 would remain exactly the same as in 1994. Thus, there were no increments or any other additions to their 1994 salaries. There was a strong reaction to this decision from all the school staff.

The Director is the official representative of the Catholic schooling system. Meeting and negotiating with other schooling systems including the government's are among his or her responsibilities. He or she is also responsible for the training of teachers and for working with the Government Scholarship Committee on the selection of members from the Catholic
schools to be sent for further studies overseas. Thus, it is important for the post of a Director that he or she is acceptable not only to the Catholic schooling system but also government and other schooling systems.

The Director works closely with school principals in the implementation of those policies. He or she is consulted by principals in the major decisions that they take at school, and sometimes his or her approval is needed before action is taken. From time to time the Director either talks to principals in their respective schools or writes them a circular letter about a particular school concern. For example, the Director wrote an article to school principals and schools in 1994 on how to build up teachers' and students' self esteem. The trouble with this type of communication is that the initiative comes from the Director's office, and it is expected to be taken on board by teachers. Unfortunately, it is clear from this study that teachers adopt a rather hostile attitude to decisions and directives handed down from the Director's office. This could be a reflection of the type of disappointment that teachers have in their dealings with the Office of the Director and the Education Board.

The principals of schools are appointed by the Bishop in consultation with the Director and the Board. The data shows that the five groups of respondents perceived this procedure as a weakness in that the selection of principals should be based predominantly on merit rather than on other qualities. The implication is that past principals were selected not on merit but on other grounds e.g. members of a religious order. The principals' basic responsibility is leadership and the daily running of schools. As with the administration of schools, the principal of each school works closely with his or her two deputies in deciding on most of the school matters e.g. timetable, class size, teachers' responsibilities, the number and length of teaching periods, the number of subjects to be taught, the transfers in or out, recruitment of teachers, class size and the number of classes in a particular year. Some of these issues are discussed in staff meetings but in most cases, it is the decisions made by the principal and his or her deputies that are implemented. There are two important perceptions of the five groups of respondents of this study about this type of administrative
practice. Firstly, the principal and his or her deputies were strongly perceived to be arrogant because staff members should be involved in all the steps leading up to the final decisions. Secondly, when there was consultation, it was always conducted within the terms and boundaries of decisions provided by the principal and deputies. Overall, the approach was perceived to be ineffective in securing support for action or change.

The parents and students are the important stakeholders of schooling who are conspicuously left out in the current policy making processes. This probably explains the finding of this study that their relationships with the schools and the Board is problematic. Although parents are represented in the Board, there is a strong feeling in this study that their true opinions are not expressed because they are "overwhelmed by the presence of those in higher positions" (lahi ange 'enau 'a'apa ki he kau ma'olunga'). The fact that they are not consulted by the schools in their decisions and, as it were, overwhelmed by the other Board members clearly suggests that the top down management strategy is still pervasive in the schooling system. Parents can be said to be consulted in PTA meetings but in most cases those meetings are often related to what parents can do for the school (e.g. fund-raising activities) rather than on policy matters. As for students, their contribution to policy making is non-existent.

Relationships within and between stakeholders

The second focus of the policy space is the relationships within and between those agents and agencies which were generally perceived by the five groups of respondents in this study to be problematic. This study has shown that the relationships between teachers and school administrators are often counterproductive. There is a strong agreement among the respondents in this study that the relationship between teachers, principals and the Director are poor in staff management, teacher motivation, salaries and teaching. Teacher dissatisfaction has been expressed in the low motivational level through, for example, not preparing their lessons before teaching, and for others "being at school..."
because there is no better options somewhere else" (ko e 'apiako pe koe'uhi ko e 'ikai ke toe 'i ai ha me'a kehe 'oku salange'). The salary level has been a thorny issue and it is perceived to have contributed as well to staff dissatisfaction. Inevitably a dissatisfied staff is not likely to be seriously committed to what they do at school.

The relationships between the staff and students were also found to be problematic. The strongest perception of the five groups of respondents is that "there is a lack of genuine concern for students". This response forcefully sums up all the other responses relating to teachers' insensitivity to students' dignity: "putting down students in front of their peers is becoming a common practice" (ko e tuku hifo 'a e ngeia 'o e tokotaha ako 'i he ha'oha'onga 'o e kau ako' kuo faka'au ke hoko ia ko e me'a anga maheni). Teaching approaches were strongly perceived in this study to be ineffective; together with the frequent use of corporal punishment at school they were seen as expressions of a lack of concern. It is little wonder that students are found in the research to be often truant and troublesome not only at school but also at home.

The relationships between the staff and parents were also found in this study to be counterproductive. The five groups of respondents strongly agreed that parents have not been consulted in the decisions that the staff made for the school. In fact, it is found in this study that there are real tensions in the relationships between parents and the staff. It is not uncommon to find some parents "running to school to hit the teacher who hit his son or daughter" (lele ki 'apiako ke taa'i 'a e faiako na'a ne taa'i hono foha' pe 'ofefine'). Teachers were also found at times to swear at the students' parents when students play up at school or when parents do not cooperate in school fund-raisings. Sadly, there was a general feeling among parents that teachers and administrators were exploiting them. This was clearly expressed by one of the angry parents: "they only know us when they want something to be done for the school but they do not give a damn about our children" (Toki 'ilo pe kitautolu he kaveinga, ka 'oku 'ikai ke nau pehē mai ko e hā 'etau fānau').
There are real tensions in the relationships between parents and students. The strong perception in this study is that parents find it hard to discipline their children. There have been some suicide cases of children hanging themselves over some disagreement with parents. Thus, some parents were strong in the interviews that they were reluctant to discipline their children, and some children took advantage of parents' reservation and became disruptive in the home. The absence of the discipline father role (either overseas or in the country) was perceived to be one of the problems because very often children would obey when their fathers (probably out of fear) speak to them. The other cause of tension was the perception of some children that some parents were not supportive of their schooling because there was little physical and psychological space for learning at home. This was well expressed by one of the students: "how can we be successful at school if we eat at eight at the earliest". ('E lava féfé ke mau poto he ako', kapau ko e vave taha 'emau kai' ko e valu'). The implication was that there was no time for study after the evening meal.

The hostile rivalry in the relationships between government and non-government school systems was counter productive to collaborative change. The five groups of respondents strongly suggested that the volcanic fire of hostility may appear to be dormant but it was still burning fiercely. This was clearly expressed by this school principal: "The government education system wants to kill our (mission) schools but we will fight to the end". ('Oku fiema'ua ia 'e he potungaue ako 'a e pule'anga' ke tamate'i 'etau ngaahi ako', ka te tau tau pe ki he 'ulu pokó). One can almost identify a somewhat militant relationship between the two systems. The inequity of the annual grant to non-government school remains a very sensitive issue. The government's insistence on the announcement over the radio of the exam results of every high school in Tonga and their publication in the government paper were reported to be the typical way in which the government wants "to publicly put to shame and humiliate its Church counterparts" (ke fakamaa'i mo fakamo'ulalo'i 'aki 'a e ngaahi ako Siasi").
There is a strong feeling among the five groups of respondents that there is a need for the Church Education Department to create better relationships not only with its government counterpart but also with the schools, parents and students. As for the schools, the perception is that the Department is handing down directions and policies from the Head Office without consulting the teachers. Teachers on their part do not own those decisions and thus they do not implement them effectively. Parents are also perceived to be in the same boat as teachers because they are not well represented in the Board and they are not consulted by the schools. The Director of Education is perceived by some respondents to be hard to approach. Personally, the researcher does not share this view. However, he attributes this perception to differences in educational perspectives. If the views of parents and teachers are not sought by the Department, it is more unlikely that it will consider consulting students.

In summary, the relationships within and between micro level of the school and the home, the meso level of the Church and Government Education Departments, and the macro level of the Government and Church have been found in this study to be fraught with difficulties. Some of them are only recent (e.g. problems relating to the Board) and they can easily be overcome, while others are as old as the education system itself (e.g. rivalry between government and non-government schooling systems). These problems pose real challenges to policy makers of today to exercise their utmost ingenuity and rare genuine depth of goodwill to address them ultimately for the good of the country.

Nature, extent and purpose of decision making activities

The third concern of the policy space is the nature, extent and purpose of decision making activities in which these agents and agencies are engaged. The overall poor relationships found within and between micro, meso and macro levels of the schooling and community systems in the preceding section have serious implications for decision making.
It is clear from the findings of this study that the nature of the decision making activities was characterised by a general lack of consultation within and between the homes, schools, government and non-government schooling systems and the Tongan government. This is, as previously indicated, a reflection of the traditional top down management strategy which has been practised widely in the patriarchal society in Tonga. This approach is in contrast to the clear demand in this study from school administrators, teachers, parents and students for better communication and active participation in the decisions that affect their lives.

The strong perception of all the five groups of respondents in this study was that the decision making activities do not deal with the large important issues. Thus, the extent of the decision making activities was perceived to be rather narrow in that they are pragmatically focusing on a particular issue without taking into account other ramifications. One important way in which narrowness was expressed in this study was the insistence on a policy that is known to be ineffective. Examples on the national level were found in this study but none more potent than the obsession with academic successes which have been identified to be nothing more than a dream for the vast majority of high school students. An example on the school and the home level was the insistence on the use of corporal punishment in spite of the fact that it was widely perceived in this study to be ineffective and technically illegal. The other way in which insularity in decision making was expressed in this study was the rivalry between schooling systems which works against their efforts to be successful in what they individually and collectively do for Tongan youth. The third way in which this insularity was shown was the failure on the part of both the government and non-government schooling systems to address the unproductive rivalry between systems, and the need to be constructive about it.

The central outcome of the government's decision making activities is to maintain a school system and to produce a small 'elite'. The expressed purpose of secondary schooling indicated by the current Government Director of Education, Paul Bloomfield (1980) is: "to give all students a chance to show if they are amongst those best fitted for higher
education". This has been clearly demonstrated through the use of examination as the selection mechanism at these four exit points and particularly at the end of primary schooling at Class 6, and at the end of the 'general education' at Form 5. There has been a close link made in this study between the establishment of an 'elite' and the 'exam orientated academic curriculum' which has been put in place in the schooling system in Tonga since its inception. It is only when the aim is to enable students to find success in their learning that the "sense of failure and uselessness" (ongo'i ta'e 'aonga mo ta'e lava ha me'a) experienced by the vast majority of high school students in this study can be substantially reduced.

There are three inter-related points made in this study about the purpose of a particular activity and the lack of consultation. First, the purposes of the decision making activities are in most cases determined from "above" by policy makers. Second, the purposes of those activities are not clear to the implementers and hence they did not own them. Third, the non-involvement of the implementers (mainly teachers) often results in failure to implement decisions. Teachers were very strong in the study for them to be involved in the decision making processes rather than to be just entrusted with the task of implementing decisions. The data indicated in this study that policy implementation was bound to fail if the implementers do not at least in part own the decisions.

*Constraints to possible action by the agents and agencies*  

The fourth focus is the constraints (e.g. resources, culture, policies, decision making activities, other policies) to action by the agents and agencies. It is clear from the research that one of the major constraints to actions from the agents and agencies was the shortage of finance in the home, schools and village communities, and government’s inequitable allocation of funds to non-government schools. This was expressed as lack of resources for schools, inability of parents to pay for their children's schooling, inequitable allocation of funds from the Ministry to non-government schools and lack of community cooperation to help parents who have genuine difficulties paying for
their children's schooling. The inability of Church Education Systems to design and implement their own 'relevant' curriculum and assessment procedures was also reported among other influences which were related to the lack of financial resources.

*Lack of consultation* is a serious constraint on the effectiveness of policy implementation. This was best illustrated in the fact that teachers complained that they were not represented on the Catholic Education Board. The Board's decision to exclude teachers' representation was based on the assumption that Principals were the official representatives of the schools. In spite of their complaint, the Board remained firm in their decision. The respondents in the study agreed that teachers' lack of representation was one of the essential weaknesses of the Board. The very people who are charged to implement the Board's decisions are not involved in the policy formation processes.

The other important constraint on Church secondary schools identified in this study relates to the *education policies of government and the non-government schooling systems*. The government's insistence on an exam oriented academic curriculum to produce a small elite in spite of the enormous academic failure that it produces is a serious constraint on any attempt for students to experience success at school. It is argued that the constraint that prevents the academic curriculum from being changed, is the conservative culture within the education hierarchy and the government's policy that schooling system in Tonga is for producing sufficient manpower (elite) to meet its needs in terms of providing competent people for its own service. As long as the government sees schooling only in terms of providing personnel for its service, it is not likely to change its policy on examination oriented curriculum. The building of government of high schools in areas where there are existing Church high schools currently catering for the needs of the local area is another example of this conservative and elitist culture. There is a tacit government assumption here that its high schools provide the schooling for the best, and the non-government schools provide a necessary service for the others.
The non-government schooling systems are found in this study to be unrealistic in their goals. One example of this unrealistic aspiration is the insistence of some Church schooling systems to continue to only teach the exam based curriculum which cannot provide satisfactory outcomes for most of their students. Perhaps, their predominant outcome is the inculcation of their doctrines and morals but this study has demonstrated that students certainly want greater rewards than that. The schooling authorities of the sample schools are found in this study to be limited in creating job satisfaction for the staff and in consulting widely in its policy making. Staff are dissatisfied with the working conditions and the salary levels. Lack of consultation on policy matters was singled out as a major failure within all levels of the system.

In summary, this study has shown that the existing 'policy space' is limited in a number of ways. The agents and agencies identified for the Catholic schools are the Bishop, Education Board, Director of Education and School Principals. As for the schooling system to which the other sample high school belongs, the agents and agencies may be identified under different terms but their number and functions are similar to those found in the Catholic schooling system. Parents, students, Government, Government Education Department, the village community, the Tongan culture, and the community leaders are undoubtedly recognised to be important players in the existing policy space but unfortunately they have not been included in the decision making processes. In its holistic approach this study takes all these agents and agencies into account in its theoretical framework in what is considered to be the "extended policy space" for the consideration of policies to address the schooling problems in Tonga.

The strong perception found in this study is that the relationships between the agents and agencies in the Catholic schooling system and by analogy only in those in the other schooling systems have not been effective. The decision of the researcher to include all the agents and agencies identified previously in the "extended policy space" is toward creating
better relationships within and between the agents and agencies in each schooling system, on the one hand, and with the Government and the Ministry of Education, on the other.

The decision making activities in the existing policy space has been found to be limited in their nature, extent and purpose. This is addressed in the "extended policy space" by its intent to consult widely in its policy making with a special emphasis on school practitioners who are going to implement those policies. Many of the constraints identified in the existing policy space will continue to challenge this new school reform. However, it is argued that the pressure of maintaining the 'status quo' in the face of a society that is dynamic and changing will force policy makers to change those policies which are perceived in this study to be the mechanisms for producing a small 'elite' and a disenfranchised majority.

In the following section the policy recommendations are put forward in the context of an "extended policy space".

2. Policy recommendations

The policy recommendations are divided into two sections: school reform and government policy reform. In the first section a systemic school reform takes into account the research data relating to school administrators, teachers, students, village community, Education Department (government and non-government), Tongan Government and the Tongan culture. This reform calls not for a fragmented conception of the problem which separates the problems of early school leavers and the unsuccessful completers from those who are successful or which separates the problems of teachers from those of students or school administrators. Thus, it is not a matter, for example, of controlling students or making teachers accountable or dealing with any particular component of the school environment, rather it is a matter of focusing on the larger context in which those components play themselves out. This is clearly borne out in this study in the similarity of perception found
among the early school leavers, unsuccessful completers, teachers, school administrators and community leaders.

Although the people working at the school level may appear to be antagonistic or willing to lay blame on one another, the more closely the data was scrutinised, the clearer it became that the behaviour of one often informs and mirrors the behaviour of the other. For example, the tendency of students to skip as many classes as they think they can get away with, finds its equivalent in the behaviour of those teachers who come to work as late as they can, leave as early as they can, take off as many days as they can, put in as little efforts as required for a day's work, and steal as much time as possible from the working day. What is implied is that each component sees the negative behaviour of the other more clearly than they see themselves and the social context in which that behaviour evolves, even though both are partly responding to the same situation. As Payne (1989) aptly expressed it: "Thus, they go on in their uneasy partnership, jointly helping to create schools that satisfy no one" (p. 117).

In the second section, suggested changes to government policies are considered. The strong perception found in this study is that school reform will not produce its intended effects if the government refuses to review its stand on some important issues. For example, if the government continues to insist on the examination orientated academic curriculum and its mechanisms for producing a small elite, the consequence from the enormous failure rates of high school students in the public examinations will not change significantly. Thus, the effectiveness of what is proposed for school reform is closely related to changes to some of the government policies on education.

2.1 School as a community

The concern of school reform is that a good school is not only good for students but also for teachers and school administrators, and ultimately for parents and society. What is
envisaged is a radical change which is not directed at doing the same things better but at altering the basic tenents of schooling in the values, goals, beliefs, working arrangements and the distribution of power and authority. The concept of "school as a community" is offered here as the overall focus of the school reform because it encompasses the major school-related findings of this study. 'School as a community' is viewed to be different from 'school as an organisation'.

'School as an organisation' is an amalgam of the scientific management strategies proposed by Taylor (1911) and modified by Mayo (1933). Taylor's scientific management style can be summed up in that teachers are heavily supervised to ensure that good teaching takes place. There are rules and procedures to be followed closely in order to achieve the pre-determined outcomes. Mayo modified this management strategy by including job satisfaction into the equation for making workers more willing to conform to the rules and procedures set in place for producing the intended outcomes. This modification focuses more on the person's satisfaction than that of Taylor but ultimately the purpose is the same which is to make workers conform to the rules and procedures set in place by the schooling hierarchy.

For 'school as an organisation' to work it must assume that hierarchy equals expertise. Teachers are presumed to know more than do students. Principals and supervisors are presumed to know more than do teachers. People in the education office are presumed to know more than the principals and supervisors, and the Director of Education and the Minister of Education presumably know more than any of the others. Supervisory procedures testify to this because each hierarchical level is responsible for the supervision of the people at the level immediately below. In brief, 'school as an organisation' is a pre-determined system into which everyone and everything at school is supposed to fit. To do otherwise is to be counterproductive to the system. The schools surveyed in this study are perceived to be organised in the framework of 'schools as organisations'. However, it is probably more aligned with the Taylor type model because school adults are generally
perceived in this study to be dissatisfied workers and school children are also generally perceived to be dissatisfied students.

'School as a community', on the other hand, is not based on a management system but first and foremost, on the beliefs, values, norms and assumptions that teachers, school administrators and parents share (Wehlage et al., 1990). It is this set of beliefs, values, norms and assumptions which defines what a 'school as a community' is and how it works. It also provides a set of norms to guide behaviour and gives meaning to the life of the school community. Thus, it is the community norms, and the norms and values that define teachers and administrators as professionals which substitute for the management control, instructional systems and the close supervision of 'school as an organisation' (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1993).

The refocus of 'school as a community' suggests that teachers and school administrators are helped to become self-managing rather than being managed. 'School as a community' is recommended because it is seen as a more viable alternative to 'school as an organisation' which has produced that type of schooling found in this study. There are still some organisational principles and procedures in the 'school as a community' but they are not determined by the hierarchy but by the school practitioners in association with the other stakeholders of schooling in light of their agreed-upon perspectives, norms and values.

2.2 Professional norms

There was much criticism of the behaviour of education professionals from all the groups of respondents in this study. In confronting this issue, it is important to establish at the outset the professional norms that are perceived to be the foundation for the other norms that characterise the life of the school as a community. A professional is sometimes defined in terms of the expertise that he or she has acquired. People expect more than competence from professionals. In fact, they expect them to earn their status through the trust that
people have in their skills and in the trust that they apply those skills for the good of their clients (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1993: 48).

Sergiovanni and Starratt (1993) identify four professional norms or dimensions:

- a commitment to exemplary practice,
- a commitment to practice toward valued social ends,
- a commitment not only to one's own practice but to the practice itself and
- a commitment to the ethic of caring”.

These four professional norms directly address many of the school-related causes of early school leaving identified in chapter five. To that extent they have explicit relevance for the school administrators, teachers and students in the "extended policy space".

**Commitment to exemplary practice**

The strong perception of the respondents is that teachers are not committed to their work because they are not given the resources and opportunities to be responsible for their own actions and development. The professional norm of "commitment to exemplary practice" is recommended as a measure for addressing this problem. Teachers and administrators who are committed to exemplary practice are said by Sergiovanni and Starratt (1993: 49) to be 'staying abreast of the latest in the practice of teaching, experimenting with new approaches, and sharing one's craft insights with others'. The concern of professional development is not with "training" but with providing opportunities for self-renewal, for interacting with others and for learning and sharing. What is advocated here is that teachers and school administrators be 'self-managed' rather than being managed from "above". One of the weaknesses of the sample schools found in this study was the lack of involvement of teachers in the decision making processes. They were predominantly controlled and managed from "above". Aspiring to this professional norm will challenge teachers and administrators to work together according to their shared values and conviction rather than
to a system controlling their actions. This recommendation may be too demanding but it is
the ideal that teachers should strive to achieve.

*Commitment to practice toward valued social ends*

Some of the most serious concerns found in this study are associated with "teachers' lack of
genuine concern for students", "lack of commitment to teaching" and "administrators' lack of
genuine concern for teachers and students". These problems are directly addressed by
the professional norm of "commitment to practice toward valued social ends". The focus of
teachers' and administrators' commitment here is to be at the service of the students and
parents. At the same time they are committed to the agreed-upon school values and
purposes. They do things not because they are made to but because they believe that they
are the right things to do and they need to do them for the good of the school as a whole.
Thus, the authority for action resides in teachers' and administrators' conviction and
commitment rather than in forces from outside themselves. It is this kind of authority,
which is termed 'moral authority', that transforms the work of the school from something
technical and secular to something verging on the sacred. Thus, this professional norm is
directly addressing the negative interactions between administrators, teachers and students
that were often found in this study. Clearly there would be widespread support from the
respondents in this study for this type of commitment.

*Commitment not only to one's own practice but to the practice itself*

The strong perception reported in this study is that there is little cooperation among teachers
and between teachers and administrators, and between school personnel and the students
and parents. The professional norm of "commitment not only to one's own practice but to
the practice itself" goes a long way toward addressing that problem. Teachers and
administrators are seen to be concerned not only with the broad issues of teaching policy
and practice but also with the practical problems and issues of teaching and learning. In this
context it is not sufficient that a particular teacher is teaching competently while the others have difficulties with their teaching. Teachers who are committed to their practice and that of the others are willing to share their insights and expertise with their fellow teachers. The concern is that the totality of the teaching profession is effective rather than only some sections of it or for only some of the teachers. The concern for one another and for the effectiveness of what they collectively do for the school (e.g. in terms of teaching and learning) is essential to the concept of collegiality which is one of the important norms of 'school as a community'. Collegiality is understood as a feeling of sharing and a set of actions for the common good. Thus, this professional norm can directly address the lack of cooperation among school practitioners which was apparent and crippling to the sample schools.

Commitment to the ethic of caring

One of the serious criticisms that the five groups of respondents level against teachers and administrators is "lack of genuine concern for students". The respondents are also concerned that "there is no special help to the 'kau atamai kovi' (ones with no brain)". To rectify this problem, the professional norm of "commitment to the ethic of caring" is recommended. The focus here is that students are not seen as cases, products, commodities, clients or other labels but as "persons" who need to be loved, appreciated and treasured as persons first and foremost before they are taught, and as they are taught, they continue to be seen and treated in that context of loving and caring. Students are viewed in their entirety as persons with dignity, feelings, hopes, aspirations and a variety of physical, social, psychological and spiritual needs which are entrusted to the care of the school to be developed, enhanced and fulfilled. Thus, it is heartening to find that the solution recommended by respondents in this study for teachers' "lack of genuine concern for students" is that they must "combine teaching and caring in their profession".
2.3 Distribution of power and authority

One of the most serious concerns identified was the hierarchial distribution and the exercise of power and authority in the schooling system. The logical application of this conception of authority is expressed in this study in the "lack of consultation" which is found in the homes, schools, Board of Education, Education Department (government and non-government), and the Tongan Government. The failure and ineffectiveness of decisions have been attributed in this study to the lack of ownership of decisions by those who are given the responsibility of implementing them, and whose lives are affected by those decisions.

This situation calls for a process of change in the authority base of schooling from the current bureaucratic base, on the one end of the continuum, into what is referred to here as a professional base, at the other end of the continuum. In brief, the bureaucratic base relies heavily on the hierarchy, rules, regulations and mandates to achieve its intended outcomes whereas the professional base uses the professionalism of its workers to achieve its outcomes. Between these two extremes are the personal base and the technical-rational base (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1993). The former is based on the personality and skills of the leader while the latter is derived from the logic and scientific research in education. Each of the five sources of authority is legitimate and should be used, but the impact on teaching and learning processes depends on which source of authority or a combination of sources is paramount.

In the "bureaucratic base" of authority teachers are expected to respond appropriately or face the consequences. The focus is on legal and organisational mandates, rules and regulations which are put in place to produce intended outcomes. The strong emphasis of the operations in the sample school is on bureaucratic authority, and this has been strongly perceived by all the groups of respondents in this study to be ineffective. In the
"professional base" of authority administrators and teachers are expected to respond to obligations and duties which are derived from their widely shared values, ideas and ideals. The focus is on experience, knowledge of the craft and personal expertise. The "professional base" is the recommended authority base to be used in the sample schools in Tonga because it directly addresses most of the authority-related problems identified in this study.

When professional authority becomes the primary source of operation in a school, the following assumptions are paramount (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1993):

- There is no one best practice. Thus, there is a constant search in each situation for the best way of doing things.
- Scientific knowledge is to inform practice but not to prescribe the work of teachers and administrators.
- Professional knowledge is created in the practice of administrators and teachers.
- Professional authority is not external but it is exercised within the teaching and administration context, and from within the teachers and administrators.
- Authority in context comes from teachers' and administrators' training and experience.
- Authority from within is derived from teachers' and administrators' professional socialisation and internalised knowledge and values (p. 31).

With the use of professional authority, the schools are expected to be transformed from being 'organisations' to being 'communities'. The focus is to promote dialogue among teachers and administrators to make explicit the professional values and accepted tenets of practice. These are then translated into professional practice standards. With the practice standards being put in place at school, teachers and administrators are given as much discretion as they want and need. When professional authority is sufficiently developed, teachers and administrators with internalised accountability will hold one another accountable to meeting those practice standards. The four professional norms explained in the previous section are paramount in the exercise of the professional authority. Thus, the power base of the professional authority is located in the professionals (teachers and administrators) working in the school environment.
The poor relationships at school that this study clearly indicates, shows that there is a need for empowering of staff and students to relate meaningfully to one another. The concern of "empowerment" is not with a 'power over' someone but a power 'to be oneself and to act'. Although this power is totally yours, it is at the same time given in relation to the community. Thus, to 'the extent that school adults and students are giving, thankful, celebratory and affirming in their actions, they receive life, grow and are nurtured, and so are the others in the school community. If, on the other hand, they are taking, hoarding, complaining and denying in their actions, they hurt themselves and also those around them' (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1993 : 56).

When administrators create a trusting and supportive relationship with teachers and students, they enlarge the relational space which teachers and students need so as to become fully themselves and to be ready for meaningful actions. That space allows for mutual discovering of what it means to be and to act in a particular school environment. This process of empowerment involves the following:

- a mutual respect, dialogue and invitation among school practitioners to enter into meaningful relationship with one another,
- a recognition that each person is endowed with talents, competencies and potentials which are being exercised for the benefit of those at school, and
- the life of teachers and administrators becomes the living example of genuineness in the way they relate to one another and to students, and in the way they engage students in learning (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1993 : 59)

The 'professional authority' and its associated arm of 'empowerment' is addressing directly the authority and communication difficulties involved in the relationships found in this study between administrators and teachers, and between them and the students and parents.
2.4 Motivational rules for teachers and administrators

The motivational level of school practitioners is strongly perceived to be low in this study. This is indicated by the complaint that "there are no incentives at school for teachers and students to work hard". Good salaries which are often considered as incentives for greater application of efforts are perceived by the five groups of respondents to be inadequate. The resources in general and teaching materials in particular are also perceived to be in short supply and of low quality. These factors could hardly be regarded as incentives for improving teachers' motivation, commitment and performance. The overall poor relationships between administrators and teachers, and between them and the students and parents have not been conducive for greater commitment and involvement. Thus, there is a need to address the motivation of school practitioners especially administrators and teachers.

The three motivational rules identified by Deci and Ryan (1985) are explored here as the means for motivating school practitioners. They are:

• what gets rewarded gets done,
• what is rewarding gets done, and
• what is good gets done.

"What gets rewarded gets done" emphasises the exchange of rewards or punishment for compliance with organisational rules and procedures. This motivation strategy is predominantly extrinsic to school practitioners. The emphasis placed by "what is rewarding gets done" is on compliance which arises from school practitioners experiencing satisfaction from the work itself. This motivation category is heavily oriented towards forces that are intrinsic to the work itself and to the school practitioners themselves. The third category of "what is good gets done" is a moral judgement which relies on the connection of teachers to the professional norms and school community norms (e.g. collegiality) which have already been identified and others that will emerge in the course of this chapter.
"What gets rewarded gets done" demands a close examination of the school experiences that are rewarded in Tonga. The successes as teachers, parents and students in schooling in Tonga are measured predominantly by academic achievements at the public examinations. Thus, it is not surprising to find teachers of primary and secondary schools concentrating their teaching on those who are likely to pass the public examinations. Since only a very limited few can earn this reward, the schooling experiences pose a strong motivational difficulty for teachers and students. In spite of their efforts only about 10 per cent of the total school population because of Ministry control will secure the academic rewards at the secondary school level. It follows that teachers' and students' motivation remains low until the education system especially the examination and selection driven curriculum is changed to allow for a greater variety of school successes. Thus, school successes must be made available and accessible to most students before they can become powerful as motivators for teachers and students. In view of the concern for future early school leavers and unsuccessful completers, there should be school rewards for teachers who are genuinely concerned for and successful with learners with different skills.

The motivational rule of "what gets rewarded gets done" has acute relevance to the situation in the sample schools in Tonga because the strong perception of the respondents is that 'what gets done at school does not get rewarded'. A school that is characterised by inadequate salaries, majority of students having lower academic abilities, limited and low quality resources and poor working relationships cannot be regarded as a rewarding working environment. As long as those school components are perceived to be inadequate, little can be done to motivate them. Thus, the first recommendation for the improvement of school practitioners' motivation is for school authorities to ensure that salaries are adequate, teaching materials are sufficient and of good quality, and working relationships are supportive. In so far as they are supplied sufficiently, the first motivational rule of 'what
gets rewarded gets done" can work effectively. School practitioners would then agree that 'what gets rewarded gets done'.

What is rewarding gets done

This study clearly shows that many teachers feel that their work is not only insufficiently rewarded but it is also unrewarding. The motivational rule of "What is rewarding gets done" is recommended here as a means toward motivating teachers to feel that their work is rewarding. Since the reward is internal to the work itself, the main focus of motivation is self-management. Thus, it does not require supervision to motivate the work and to sustain it over a long period of time. This motivational rule is addressing directly the "lack of job satisfaction" which was identified by the five groups of respondents in this study.

The focus should be the satisfaction of the workers' need for self-esteem, autonomy and self-fulfillment. To the extent that these needs are satisfied, work is said to be rewarding. Thus, the second recommendation to improve motivation is for school authorities to create conditions within which individuals are encouraged to realise their full potential, and to enjoy deep satisfaction with their work and themselves. The steps to be taken towards realising the second motivational rule are set out by Sergiovanni (1990) as follows:

- Allow for discovery, exploration, variety and challenge.
- Provide high involvement with the task and high identity with the task enabling work to be considered important and significant.
- Allow for active participation.
- Emphasize agreement with respect to broad purposes and values that bond people together at work.
- Permit outcomes within broad purposes to be determined by the workers.
- Encourage autonomy and self determination.
- Allow persons to feel like "origins" of their own behaviour rather than "pawns" manipulated from outside.
- Encourage feelings of competence and control and enhance feelings of efficacy (p.129).
In terms of the schools in Tonga, this motivational rule cannot be operative until the major school related problems indentified in this study are directly addressed e.g. school working conditions and teachers' salaries. The strong perception of the respondents was that it is very difficult for teachers to feel that their work is rewarding if the working conditions and their salary levels are inadequate. It seems that this motivational rule is dependent on equity in conditions and salary.

*What is good gets done*

The view from the study was that school practitioners are not as committed today, and they are more concerned about money than their work. There is no better expression of this than what this respondent said about teachers of today: "In the olden days teachers were paid almost nothing, and yet they were committed workers. Nowadays, teachers get much more money but their commitment level is very low". (*I he taimi fuoloa*, na'e 'ikai ke loko 'i ai ha vahenga ia 'o e kau faiako', ka na'a nau mateaki mo'oni, 'i he ngaahi 'aho ni' 'oku lahi ange honau vahenga', ka 'oku mā'ulalo ange 'enau fai fatongia'). Teachers have been expected to do their best because their work was often viewed as "doing God's will" (*fai e finangalo 'o e 'Otua*). For them to look for higher pay is to, as it were, "lose their blessing" (*mole ai honau tapuaki*). Thus, it is in the interest of having God's blessings in their lives and of helping others that teachers were committed to their work. The only other reward was some acknowledgement and recognition from the community that they were teachers.

The implication of 'what is good gets done' is that if administrators and teachers believe that this is a good and worthwhile work to do, they will do it, irrespective of whether they will find any external reward in it. The fact that it is a good cause should be sufficient to motivate them to act. The first two motivational rules emphasise the importance of self-
interest. This third rule goes beyond self-interest; in fact, it sacrifices self-interest for other more worthwhile interests.

There is evidence in the study of a decrease in the impact of Christianity on the life of the people and a rise in importance of the "mighty dollar". Both have worked against this third motivational rule. The data clearly suggests that people in Tonga today need more than the attraction of the blessings of God and the 'desire to do good to others' to motivate them. There seems to be a need to fulfil the major demands of the first and second motivational rules before 'what is good gets done' becomes powerful as a motivator. An important part of reviving this motivational rule is to foster the christian commitment of school practitioners and students. Bishop Finau's concern that teachers be first and foremost "witnesses" (to their christian beliefs and commitment) may be seen as a means for promoting this motivational rule. Since most secondary schools are controlled by Churches and people in general are practising Christians, the fostering of this third motivational rule can still be done with some success.

2.5 School membership

It is clear from the responses of the five groups of respondents that teachers and students did not feel that they "belonged" to the school. This was identified in the strong agreement that many teachers have been at school "only for what they get out of it" and simply because "there is no better options somewhere else". Teachers' lack of commitment to teaching, staff development programs and voluntary work for the school were expressions of their lack of attachment and commitment to the school. The students' feeling of being neglected, not being cared for, and not connected to school were associated with truancy and troublesome behaviour at school. In this study, feelings of alienation are summed up in these three telling responses: "I didn't like schooling" ('Oku 'ikai ke u sai'ia au he ako'), "No one cared about me" (Na'e 'ikai pehe mai 'e ha taha ia ko hai au) and "I could have done well if I felt that I belonged there" (Na'e mei lava lelei pe 'eku ako', ka pau na'a' ku
As a response to this situation, the concept of what is called "school membership" is recommended as a measure toward helping school adults and students to feel that they belong to the school.

The concept of 'school membership' is defined partly in the social bonding that students must have to feel that they really belong to the school and partly in the overcoming of the impediments to school membership. The impediments are those factors that work against students' need to be attached, committed, involved and believed in the school. The assumption is that students will find it difficult to be attached, committed and involved in the school if they do not believe in the legitimacy of the school. In that context 'belief' comes before 'attachment', 'commitment' and 'involvement'. The notion of impediments is particularly important in that school practitioners can identify them and directly address those conditions which hamper teachers' and students' bonding to the school. Essential to the construct of 'school membership' is the reciprocity between school adults and students which facilitates warm personal relationships between them.

**Overcoming impediments to school membership**

As a preface to the task of overcoming impediments to school membership or maintaining the attractiveness of school, it is important to remember that the principle underlying the recommendations that follow is that the school is going out of its way to help students feel that they are accepted and that they truly belong to the school. The underlying assumption here is that all students are important and they can all be helped to experience success in their schooling. Students are helped to adjust to the school demands and at the same time schools are constantly challenged to adjust to the needs and abilities of students. Students in this type of school environment are considered winners, and they will continue to be winners if they cooperate with the school in its efforts to make them viable and effective members of the school. Whatever the students' past has been, they are made to understand...
that they are at school for successful learning. They are at school for something worthwhile for them now and for their future.

The first impediment to school membership identified by all the five groups of respondents in this study is the "use of corporal punishment as the major form of disciplining children". Corporal punishment is perceived to be applied "without love" (tā ta'e 'ofa). Not only is it physically painful but it is also psychologically degrading especially when it is applied in front of others. Thus, it is highly recommended that corporal punishment be banned completely from schools. To simply ban it is not expected to be effective. What is expected to be effective is a change in teachers' and administrators' values and attitudes to corporal punishment because it is these changes which will bring about the change in behaviour. The data suggests that strategies for change of attitudes and for an alternative plan for discipline must be generated by those people whose attitudes are going to be changed. To be handed down from 'above' is to fail from the outset.

The second impediment to school membership is, for want of a better term, referred to as the "putting students down in front of others". Corporal punishment is the extreme form of putting down students but there are a host of others which were identified in this study: "making students 'pay' for the faults of parents", "letting students sit outside the classroom when they come late", "telling students off in front of their peers", "unfavourable comments on their physical appearance", "swearing at students in front of others" and "calling them names in front of their peers". The school environment is then perceived to be hostile to students. Thus, it is recommended that this type of behaviour must be removed from the school environment. As with the banning of corporal punishment, change in the values and attitudes of teachers and administrators must accompany the removal of such behaviour if it is going to be sustained for a long time. Strategies for changing behaviour must be negotiated among staff, school administrators, parents and students.
The third impediment to school membership is the perception that there is "a lack of genuine concern for students" on the part of teachers and school administrators. The response to this impediment is found in these recommendations. First, concern must arise from a knowledge and understanding of each individual student. As a first step, there must be a learning of names for it is personally satisfying for people to know that they are known and called by their names. Teachers and administrators must also know the background and the ability levels of students in order to adjust their teaching and approaches accordingly. Second, there should be meetings between school practitioners and parents throughout the school year. School-related and home-related problems should be discussed as needed together in these meetings with administrators, teachers, students and parents in order for them to reach real solutions. It is the solutions that they would all arrive at together that are most likely to be effectively implemented. Third, the school rules and regulations must be negotiated by the school practitioners, students and parents as the agreed-upon guidelines for the building up of rapport between school adults, students and parents. Fourth, students must constantly be encouraged and helped to behave accordingly as a way of responding to the concern extended to them by the school.

The fourth impediment to school membership is the "difficulty" relating to: academic counselling, sustaining interest and effort, and inappropriate teaching and learning methods and styles. Overcoming difficulties in a number of these areas is essential if students are to become socially bonded to the school. There are various measures that can be explored. First, the breaking down of courses into shorter units. The assumption is that a regular term may be too long for students to sustain their interest and effort. Shorter units are perceived to be more manageable by students in that they can successfully attend to the goals and requirements of those courses. Second, cooperative learning experience is an alternative to the individualistic and competitive learning which characterises most of the learning done at the sample schools. Individualistic learning is viewed as being educationally disengaging for some students and is not commensurate with community
orientation of the Tongan culture and the socially cooperative experiences in the world of work. Third, assessment of students' work is not based on a comparison of their work with that of others but on their achieved outcomes. Their current achievements should be compared only with their previous efforts. The assumption is that comparing with others creates the arena of winners and losers whereas comparing one's work with one's previous efforts focuses on one's own development and growth. Fourth, monitoring of students' progress on a regular basis and helping students to check and assess their own progress can help students who find it difficult to cope with their studies and develop a sense of responsibility.

The fifth impediment to school membership is "isolation" which students feel in their relationship with adults at school and to some extent with their peers. It is clear from this study that students came to high schools enthusiastic to learn but the subsequent interaction within the schools resulted in isolation and alienation which were largely derived from failure on the part of both teachers and older students to establish personal and meaningful relationships. Isolation is well expressed by one of the respondents in this study: "Teachers could not be bothered with us" ('Oku 'ikai ke pehē mai 'e he kau faiako' ia ko e hā kimautolu).

Whatever measure is recommended, it should focus on adults going out of their way to express explicit and genuine interest in the students' school and personal matters. Such interest shows that students are important and worthy of love and interest. Counselling and peer mentoring are among the important means for reaching out to students. Opportunities for adult interaction with students must not be left to informal and unplanned occurrences. They must be built into the school curriculum and programs so that there is a caring and supportive environment in which adults and students are constantly interacting on a daily basis.
In summary, effective school membership is seen as the immediate foundation for academic and non-academic success. It is of particular importance for students who are likely to experience what the vast majority of students in this study have gone through: "academic failure, poor relationships with fellow students, teachers and school administrators, unsuccessful disciplinary problems, loss of dignity, feeling of frustration and a general feeling of uselessness".

2.6 Educational engagement

The most striking finding in this study is that many of the problems associated with early school leavers and unsuccessful completers are related to the failure of about 90 per cent of the secondary school population to be academically successful through the examination in their schooling. This problem has been addressed indirectly in the preceding policy recommendations but there is a need to focus on it directly. The construct of 'educational engagement' is defined as the effort that school adults and students must make in order for students to acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes that are explicitly offered at school. It is a shared responsibility of school practitioners and the students.

For students, educational engagement is expressed in their efforts to really understand what is taught in class through attention, asking questions when there is a need for clarification, actively participating in classroom activities, discussing issues and engaging in problem-solving activities, submitting classwork and homework on time. Students may also seek extra help outside school hours so that they can master, for example, some aspects of a subject that were not clearly explained in the classroom. For school practitioners, engagement is expressed through their sense of personal and professional accountability for students.
Overcoming impediments to educational engagement

The impediments identified in this study included: a lack of intrinsic and extrinsic rewards for learning expressed in the feelings of uselessness, of failure and frustration derived from schooling (see Table 5.7), ineffective teaching and academically oriented curriculum (see Tables 5.11 and 5.12). Extrinsic and intrinsic rewards are perceived as necessary factors for generating sustained efforts in academic pursuit (Wehlage et al., 1990). The recommended 'extrinsic rewards' that emerged from the research to help students to be educationally engaged call on parents: to pay school fees and to meet the other school expenses on time, to encourage and reward students even in small school successes, to make available the physical and the psychological space for students to study and do their homework and to show clear support by attending school meetings and by a general interest in what students do daily at school (see Table 5.21).

The measures that are recommended for teachers are: to ensure that students understand what is taught by: preparing their lessons before teaching, using different teaching styles to suit the variety of student's learning styles, monitoring closely students' progress, willingness to help out when other teachers are absent, willingness to do voluntary work for the school and ensuring that students are well disposed for learning. The perception in this study is that the Education Department and school administrators must help the educational engagement of the "kau 'atamai kovi" (ones with bad brain) by attending to the strategies identified above or by specifically putting programs in place to help them.

It is suggested in the research data that simply stopping student from involvement in bad peer groups in school or in the village community is not sufficient. Some of the measures to help student to be involved in supportive and challenging peer groups are found in the strategies for bringing about school membership at school. To sustain the efforts at school, there must be support from home and the village community through interesting and suitable
sport, cultural and personal development programs organised for students on the village and
district levels.

The final reward for effort that is suggested from the research data is the prospect of a good
job and its associated status and lifestyle. The perception of the five groups of respondents
in this study is that there is little reason to work hard because paid town job opportunities
for the vast majority of early school leavers and unsuccessful completers are almost non-
existent. This has been confirmed by Bishop (1987) who found that low educational
engagement was a direct result of the labour market's failure to reward effort and
achievement in high school. The research found that efforts of early school leavers and
unsuccessful completers make no difference in the job market. Thus, it is perceived in this
study that what most students do at school, since most of them are early school leavers and
unsuccessful completers, has little to do with their employment prospects and their life
outside the school.

Given the current massive failure rate in the public examinations, and the fact that attainment
of paid job is closely connected with academic successes, this reward of a good paid job is
not an incentive for future early school leavers and unsuccessful completers. However,
with the unemployment among youth being found in this study to be very high and its
associated consequences for society being perceived to be both economically and socially
costly, it is a problem that cannot be left unattended. This problem is addressed partly in the
policy recommendation that follows and partly in the section dealing with curriculum
change.

The challenge for the schooling systems is to develop courses (academic and vocational)
that more directly connect students' schooling with prospective employment. Although this
connection is largely in the hands of the job market, schools can focus on particular training
for immediate employment. For example, the establishment of the Hospitality School at
'Ahopanilolo in Ma'ufanga (Tonga) is an example of how the direct training for jobs in the
hospitality and the tourist industries in Tonga accounts for the popularity of that school. Similar efforts are made in the establishment of the Monfort Technical School in 1996 in Ma'ufanga (Tonga) and in the existing agricultural, domestic and commercial schools.

There is an increasing demand for vocational opportunities in Tonga. However, the inherent problem of these efforts is the limited scope for paid employment. The fact of the matter is that only a few engineers, builders, carpenters, bricklayers, joiners, electricians, hospitality workers, plantation workers and other traders that can find paid jobs in Tonga. The objective of 'education for export' indicated among the government's educational objectives can absorb some of these qualified workers but again only a very selected few will have that opportunity. Only a few can migrate and there is no guarantee that they will find jobs in the host country. What is clear is that schools cannot work alone on the problem of matching what they do with the availability of jobs for their clients, even if schools are successful in providing students with appropriate credentials.

The policy recommendation here is that schools must form a "partnership" with other employment-related sectors of society. This partnership is envisaged to bring together schools, the economic structure represented by major business and industry, the government, the political structure, higher education and the services provided by voluntary organisations especially the Christian Churches. This should be easy in Tonga because of the community oriented nature of the culture. The problems of schooling in Tonga are so daunting that it is only the concerted efforts and commitment of the community at large that have the strength and the resources to resolve them. Four principles are suggested in the data to guide the operations of the partnership.

First, the partnership must establish a broad 'ownership' of the problems facing youth. This principle is in accordance with the perception in this study that the ownership of decisions is powerfully instrumental in the effective implementation of those decisions. The ownership of the problems facing youth calls for accurate information about how many,
who, and why students are leaving high schools prematurely or completing high school studies unsuccessfully such as that contained in this thesis. This is badly needed in Tonga because when the current researcher asked the principals of the sample schools about early school leavers, everyone knew that there were many of them but no one had any idea of how many, who, and why students were leaving school early. An essential part of this ownership is the recognition that something must be done to help the students who are likely to leave high school early or to complete schooling without traditional academic success.

The second principle focuses on the need to establish 'community membership' among the disadvantaged students and their families. This is an extension of the concept of 'school membership' previously identified. Youth and their families must believe that they are an important part of the community, that they have a legitimate part to play in organisations, that they can share in decisions affecting their lives, and most importantly, that there is an economic future for them in the community. One of the outcomes of the 'community membership' is the support that the youth and their families would have, and the realisation that they are not alone in their search for meanings and successes.

The third principle is that there must be an integration between the schools and the community. This means that community resources and experiences are brought in to the schools and at the same time students undertake community work experiences. This helps the process of educational engagement in that students can connect what they learn at school with what they may do in the workplace. Schools can suggest areas where the community can contribute employment opportunities for students. The community at the same time can suggest areas where the school can focus in order that students acquire the knowledge and the skills required in the workplace.

The fourth principle is the need to establish accountability for possible early school leavers and unsuccessful completers. Accountability means that individuals or organisations are
held responsible for attaining agreed-upon outcomes. Accountability is most likely to work when the ground rules within which people work are established. Inside knowledge of the youth and their problems is important for determining what is appropriate for them. Schools and community can help one another in these areas. This is why it is important for accountability that there is data available on the extent to which goals have been met regarding the schooling of students who are likely to leave school early or to complete schooling without academic credentials.

The 'intrinsic rewards', on the other hand, are internal to the student and they are enhanced when students are interested in what they are learning. Such satisfaction drives students to continue learning and to master new areas of competence. There seems to be a snowballing effect here in that as students find personal satisfaction in their learning, they are encouraged to learn more, and as they achieve more, they derive greater satisfaction (Newmann, 1988). The findings of this study strongly suggest that the vast majority of students who have derived very little from their secondary schooling could not have found their studies intrinsically rewarding. This leads to the consideration of the important role that an exam orientated curriculum plays in students' schooling outcomes.

2.7 Curriculum change

One of the strongest agreements among the five groups of respondents in this study is that the "exam orientated academic curriculum" in Tonga is for the benefit of the successful secondary school population. The reasons that the respondents gave for the failure of this curriculum are given in their entirety to show what it really means to the respondents: "the syllabus is exam-oriented and teachers teach to the exams", "students are individualistic and competitive in their learning with little room for cooperation", "most subjects are abstract and have little to do with the life 'outside' (of school)", "there are far too many materials to cover in each year", "some of the materials are covered while others are not", "some of the materials from the previous year are covered in the following year", "there is little time for
revision and for monitoring student progress because of the race to cover materials on
time", "lack of text books and other equipment has not helped the coverage of the
materials", "there is little knowledge gained and it is superficial", "the majority of students
know little of what is taught", "there is only one examination and those who are not
successful in it are regarded by themselves and by society as failures", "exams are too
difficult for most students because most of them fail them", "some teachers find it difficult
to cover the materials", "the syllabus is over the top of their (students') heads", "there is
little choice of subjects and the vocational subjects tend to be disliked by students and
parents" and "the syllabus in primary school was not mastered by most students and thus,
they begin secondary schooling with an academic level that is well below what is required
for their level at high school".

All the responses subsumed under the category of an 'exam orientated academic curriculum'
are listed above to illustrate clearly the problems that respondents associated with what is
regarded as an 'academic curriculum'. Those responses can be summed up in these nine
issues:

• teachers race to cover materials and thus the speed of the curriculum is too fast for the
  majority of students,

• the content or the materials to be covered is too much and too difficult for most students,

• most subjects are perceived to be abstract and have little relevance to 'real life' in the
  world,

• all the teachers teach to the examinations,

• public examinations produce more failures than successes,

• some teachers find it difficult to teach the curriculum materials in the time given,

• lack of text books and other equipment make it difficult to teach the syllabus,

• there is little choice of subjects, and

• vocational subjects are looked down on both by students and parents.
In view of these issues, all stakeholders must put pressure on the Tongan government to review and develop new curriculum options and teaching strategies which are designed for students with diverse abilities. The focus should not be on producing the "few to meet the country's needs" or a small 'elite' but on enabling the majority of secondary school students to find success in their schooling. There is much to be done in creating the kinds of curriculum that are likely to produce 'educational engagement' within diverse groups of students. Such curriculum should develop what is generally regarded as basic skills and knowledge but in the context of a broad range of human activities and interest. This requires a move away from the competitive and individualistic approaches to learning which dominated the current academic curriculum. Instead of all students being subjected to the same exam orientated academic curriculum, new curriculum options are envisaged to be diverse in scope so that it can cater for the diverse abilities and needs of students.

Curriculum must move away from superficial coverage of materials to a focus on in-depth understandings that produce a sense of competence and an intrinsic satisfaction in learning. Without this essential change, curriculum will fail to produce satisfaction in learning and cultivate the dispositions toward further learning. This is a response to the perception that students did not learn much at school and the little that they learned was of little significance for what they expected to do in "real" life. Thus, the learning that has been largely defined in terms of the ability of students to respond to teachers' questions is hardly the type of learning that will help someone to deal with the complexities of the life after school. McNeil (1986) found that students regarded that type of school learning as 'useless and even invalid'.

The school practitioners are challenged to provide learning experiences where students work in a cooperative framework to acquire the knowledge and skills which will enable them to produce outcomes which are valued by themselves, their peers and society at large. Students who have been motivated by such qualities in learning have found learning to be
intrinsically rewarding for them. The concern for students to be able to apply knowledge and skills is implied in the concept of 'authentic achievement' developed by Archbald and Newmann (1988) which is associated with the twin purposes of being intrinsically rewarding for students and of connecting their knowledge and skills to practical outcomes in the world beyond school. Again this is closely related to the concerns expressed in the formation of partnership between schools and the other employment-related institutions previously identified.

The concern over the obsession with the "coverage of materials" figured prominently in the responses in this study. It is taken here to mean the racing through a series of topics so as to cover as much as possible of the key concepts and ideas within a given period of time for the examinations. This type of approach was found in the study to have resulted in the: fragmentation of knowledge, superficiality of understanding and lack of competence which ultimately hampers any intrinsic interest that the subject might hold for students. Newmann (1988) looks upon coverage as an 'addiction' which destroys the curriculum and is responsible for wasting of valuable time and resources since most of what is covered 'passes to oblivion' after the public examinations. Coverage also produces student passivity as teachers pour materials into their students' heads to be stored for future use. The enormous student failure and dissatisfaction found in this study was clear evidence that 'coverage' failed to achieve its intended outcome (students are able to answer teachers' questions) as well as other unfortunate educational and social consequences.

Newmann (1988) suggests that a more viable alternative to 'an academically oriented curriculum' is a curriculum designed to treat selected topics in depth. This type of curriculum is exemplified in what Sizer (1984) referred to as 'less is more'. This 'less is more' curriculum design needs to be considered seriously as one of the major changes to the curriculum that is in place for the high schools in Tonga. The demand is for 'less' mindless coverage which predominantly results in superficial knowledge. There is also a demand for 'less' wasting of a vast amount of time at school on acquiring knowledge that is destined to
be forgotten after the examinations. 'More' relates to the following: greater mastery of selected and fewer topics, greater complexity of understanding and thoughtfulness about those topics, and greater competence in the knowledge and particularly the skills acquired during the in-depth study of those topics. The assumption is that the curriculum that facilitates learning which is characterised by thoughtful understanding and greater competence in the use of skills and knowledge is intrinsically rewarding for students and more educationally engaging.

The revised curriculum needs to reduce the over-regulation of content that produces 'standardized, lock-step requirements, textbooks and course content' and the reason for this is to force educators not to teach to the examination. Instead they should focus on the development of indicators of students' ability to use information and think carefully and constructively for themselves (Newmann, 1988). Teachers must be helped to develop and implement a variety of ways for students to indicate mastery and competence. Other ways of assessing and evaluating students' work should be explored. They should, for example, include student exhibitions such as portfolios, and public displays through performances, presentations and products, as well as peer and self assessment. The emphasis is on what students can do as a result of their studies, rather than just focusing on the mastery of a pre-specified body of knowledge and skills. This style of evaluation requires students to master certain information and skill levels in sufficient depth to use them in applied and problem-solving situations in a variety of ways.

The revised curriculum calls for a high priority to be given to professional development and motivating teachers to believe that they can and should be successful with all students. The Ministry and the other schooling systems should explore a variety of ways of providing in-service training for their teachers. There is a need in these in-service training programs to focus on the need for teachers to play the 'extended role' and to establish the 'ethic of caring' and optimism with all students, especially the 'kau 'atamai kovi' (ones with bad brain) or the slow learners. It seems to be a truism that unless teachers and administrators
believe that they can and should be successful with students especially the ‘slow learners’, other efforts at school reform will ultimately prove unsuccessful.

2.8 Link between school failures and the social problems facing Tonga

As previously indicated, school reform agenda will produce little effect if government schooling policies do not change. The essential concern of school reform is that the vast majority of secondary school students experience success in their schooling. Since ‘secondary schooling success’ for most Tongans means ‘passing the public examinations’, it becomes mandatory for the schooling systems in Tonga to ensure that the vast majority of students complete what is termed ‘general education’ and actually gain the pass marks to obtain the Tonga School Certificate Examination. The present schooling systems fail to achieve those two purposes for the majority of students.

The current researcher does not agree that ‘schooling success’ can only be interpreted in terms of ‘examination success’ because there are many students leading good and successful lives in spite of their failure in the Tonga public examinations. The overwhelming evidence of this study suggests that the vast majority of the ‘early school leavers’ and the ‘unsuccessful completers’ feel that they are "failures" and they are "useless" to themselves and to society. What is strongly suggested is that the failure to complete the ‘general education’ and to pass the ‘Tonga School Certificate Examination’ has serious consequences for the lives of the majority of students. Thus, this data clearly indicates that the government cannot remain unmoved by the enormity of the problems arising from the current schooling structure.

It is important as a preface to the policy recommendations that follow to make the connection between the feelings of ‘failures’ and ‘uselessness’ of the majority of secondary school students and the social problems facing the country today. There are many "unheard of" events occurring increasingly in Tonga today, and it is suggested here that they are not
totally unrelated to the "explosive feelings" found in the data relating to early school leavers and unsuccessful completers. For example, it was never heard before that anybody could think of assassinating a Minister of the Crown nor was it imagined that anyone could openly criticise the King, as it is sometimes said in Tonga, without his or her mouth "being gagged by a junk of burning firewood" (*humaki 'aki ha fu'u potii'afi*). Instances of this kind and others are increasingly occurring, and policy makers must address these underlying frustration and conditions.

### 2.9 Government policy reform

The first recommendation for a change of government educational policy is to design and implement a revised curriculum whose overriding aim is to enable the students to experience success in their learning. This type of curriculum must begin at the primary school level. One of the crucial changes that must be brought about at the primary school level is that teachers are committed to enabling and helping every student to experience success in their studies. In generating a sense of success in students in their early age, teachers enable students to feel that their schooling is rewarding and to aspire for further successes in learning. Every student must be helped to believe that he or she has the potential to become a successful learner. Teachers must also believe that they can be successful with every student, and that every student can be a successful learner.

This is vastly different from the current practice in which teachers devote most of their time to teaching students who are likely to pass the secondary school entrance examination. With the reform, teachers' promotion must be related to their ability to engage as many students as possible in successful learning. Thus, the focus is more on students who are less academically oriented because they are the ones who are mostly in need of more time, attention and perhaps special help to stop them from thinking that schooling is not for them.
The second concern of the reform process is the examinations. The overriding aim of the public examinations, be they at the primary or secondary school level, as far as the government is concerned, is to select those who are academically capable and to give them special privileges in terms of subsidies and overseas studies. The underlying rationale is to produce a small 'elite' who are destined to provide the intellectual manpower that the country needs for its growth and development. The justification for this is that the government can afford to educate only a few. The injustice of this system is that the opportunities and the wealth of the country are heavily concentrated on this elite, and the gap between them and the rest of the population is increasing. Twenty five years ago the differences between the rich and the poor were not so clear. Today, the differences are much more marked, and the poor are more acutely conscious of their disadvantaged positions. Thus, the plight produced by an elite curriculum and its assessment procedures cannot be hidden any more.

The basic reform for the examination is to assess the success levels of what the teachers and students have done at school. It is not to determine what students do not know or to show who the brightest students are. With regards to the primary school level, the examination should not be to select students into categories of successes and failures but to determine the success levels of students' learning. It is about determining the range of competencies that the teachers and students have achieved in given course of study within a set period of time. The format that this new type of examination will take in the situation in Tonga is best to be negotiated and decided upon by both the government and non-government education systems. However, the assessment must always be seen as promoting success in learning rather than instilling a sense of success in a few and of failure in the majority.

What is recommended here is that teachers must be given all the help they need to develop and implement a variety of ways for students to achieve a range of competencies. There are some recommendations offered about assessment procedures in the previous section on
'curriculum change' but the basic focus of the assessment at the primary school level is that teachers and students must work together towards an achievement of a range of competencies which will be further developed at secondary schools. Similar steps must be taken at the secondary school level to enable students to pursue further vocational, technical and university education, either to become self-employed or to gain employment opportunities in the villages and the wider community. This work is not envisaged to be easy; it needs time, will power, conviction and resources to develop it; it must be done through community partnership for the good of the country.

The third policy recommendation for the government relates to the allocation of funds. This study has shown that the rivalry between the schooling systems in Tonga has crippled any attempt for the systems to work together effectively. The recommendation is to put the money where the most urgent student needs are. This recommendation calls on the Ministry of Education to work together with all the schooling systems in Tonga to design strategies which focus directly on the equity for students to enable all to 'experience success in their learning'. One of the important functions of this schooling partnership is to determine and prioritize the needs and allocate funds accordingly. This partnership is not envisaged to do away with the specific character of a particular school. Some of its terms of reference must include: the successful learning of all students in Tonga, the allocation of funds according to priority needs, preserving the particular character of each schooling system, and the breaking down of barriers to effective cooperation.

3. Draft terms of reference for review of the education system

This thesis has highlighted a wide range of issues and problems facing the Tongan education system. The final recommendation of this thesis is that a Review Committee is set up to address these issues and problems. For this Committee to be effective, it must be representative of the following main stakeholders of secondary schooling identified in this study: school administrators, teachers, students, parents, village communities, Department
of Education (government and non-government), School Controlling Authority (government and non-government). The draft terms of reference for the Review Committee are summaries of the main issues raised by this study, and they include the following:

1. Explore the model of "school as a community" as an alternative to "school as an organisation". In particular examine the suitability of the notions of professional norms, distribution of power and authority, teacher motivation, school membership and educational engagement.

2. Make recommendations on new curriculum options and teaching strategies which will be designed for students with diverse abilities both at the primary and secondary levels, and whose ultimate objective is for all students to experience success in their schooling.

3. Propose revised assessment processes whose overriding aim is not to select students into categories of successes or failures but to determine the range of competencies that the teachers and students have achieved in a given course of study and within a given period of time.

4. Make recommendations for Teacher Education programs (both preservice and inservice training) to ensure that the school administrators and teachers are specifically trained to be able to successfully implement the demands of the revised curriculum and assessment processes. These programs should ensure that teachers recognise that in their profession the caring for students is as important as the task of teaching them.

5. Examine ways in which schools and classroom teaching can be transformed so that students are encouraged to really understand through meaningful engagement in a variety of classroom processes and activities outside the classroom e.g. in the homes and villages.
6. Suggest staff and student welfare policies to inculcate in them the ethic of caring for one another and to provide an alternative to the use of corporal punishment at school.

7. Suggest ways in which parents can be assisted to be more directly involved in their own children's schooling e.g. meeting school expenses, providing the physical and psychological space for their children to study at home and fostering of a good family life.

8. Examine ways in which the village communities can be helped to support students in their schooling by providing facilities for students and through interesting and suitable sport, cultural and personal development programs organised for them on the village and the district levels.

9. Make recommendations on ways in which school administrators, teachers, parents, students and other schooling stakeholders may form a partnership with other employment-related sectors of society in the decisions relating to the review of the system and in the implementation processes of these decisions.

10. Examine the relationships between the government and the church education systems and suggest ways in which these relationships can be made more effective for the improvement of the schooling systems.

11. Make recommendations on ways in which the government distribution of funds for secondary schools can be equitable to enable all students to gain access to and success in their schooling.

12. Suggest ways that will enable each education system to maintain its specific character as one of its major contributions to society.
4. Directions for further research

1. There is a need for a wider representation of data than the current sample of only four Catholic high schools and one non-government high school. This is a clear limitation of the present study. It could be that the findings of this study are only characteristic of those sample schools. With a wider representation of the secondary school population in Tonga, the conclusions of this study may perhaps be modified.

2. This study focuses only on the 'early school leavers' and the 'unsuccessful completers' because of the perspective it takes but it would be more encompassing to find out the advantages and the disadvantages that the 'successful completers' associate with secondary schooling. It is quite possible that 'successful completers' experience might not be as successful as originally assumed.

3. There is a need for a study to evaluate the school reform process recommended in this study. The result of such study will help to identify the reasons for the failure or success of the school reform.

Concluding remarks

There is no doubt that Tongans are aware of the importance of secondary schooling for their children and for the development of the country. Thus, education has promised so much, but it delivers so little to so many. The data from this study has clearly demonstrated that the secondary schooling system in Tonga has been a failure for the vast majority of students. It has also revealed the reasons for this failure. It is not just the fault of either the school administrators, teachers, students, parents, village communities, Department of Education (both government and non-government), Tongan Government or the Tongan culture. In varying degrees, it is the fault of each and all of them together. All have
contributed in some ways to the failure syndrome that has been part and parcel of the secondary schooling in Tonga for more than a century.

This study has been entitled - "Early school leaving: a crisis in secondary schooling in Tonga". The research data has consistently shown that there are serious schooling problems in the sample schools. It has also indicated that the failure of students to find success in schooling is not unrelated to the social problems that the society in Tonga is facing today. Thus, the addressing of the problem of early school leaving is not just an option to be taken or not. It is an option that must be taken seriously and immediately. There is too much at stake for the students themselves and for the society at large.
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Appendix 1†

Questionnaire for an early school leaver
(Ngaahi fehu'i ki he tokotaha ako kolisi na'e nofo mai 'oku te'eki ke a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga)

This research is concerned with 'early school leavers' or the students in our secondary schools who leave schooling before sitting the Tonga School Certificate Examination. The purpose of this survey is to obtain information that can help:
• our secondary schools to be more effective in their work,
• more students in our schools to successfully complete their schooling,
• the researcher to do his study.

The honesty of your answers will be absolutely important for the success of this work. Information from this questionnaire will be confidentially treated, and your anonymity will be guaranteed. May I sincerely thank you in advance for completing this questionnaire because without it the success of this work would be very difficult to achieve.

Sincerely yours
Makafalani Tatafu

1. Personal Characteristics
(Ngaahi fehu'i kau kia koe)

1.1 What is the name of the high school you attended?: ________________________________
[Ke hā 'a e hingoa 'o e kolisi na'a ne ako ai?]

1.2 In what year did you start high school? _______ and when did you leave? _______
[Ke ta'u fe na'a ke kamata kolisi ai? pea ke nofo he ta'u fe?]?

1.3 What class or form were you in when you left school?: __________________________
[Na'a ke kalasi fiha 'i ho'o nofo mei he ako?]

1.4 Are you a boy or a girl?: ____________________________________________________
[Ke fefine koe pe tangata]

1.5 What was the occupation of your father/guardian when you were at school?: ______
[Ke hā 'a e ngaue 'a ho'o tamai pe ko ho tauhi' lolotonga ho'o kei ako?]

1.6 What was the occupation of your mother/guardian while you were at school?: ______
[Ke hā 'a e ngaue 'a ho'o fa'e pe ko ho tauhi' lolotonga ho'o kei ako?]

† English and Tongan copies of the questionnaire were printed separately for the survey but they are placed alongside one another for ease of comparison if needed.

Sincerely yours
Makafalani Tatafu

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1.7 What was the highest educational achievement of your father/guardian?: ________________________________________________
[Ke ha 'a e tu'unga fakaako ma'olunga taha 'o ho'o tamai pe tauhi?]

1.8 What was the highest educational achievement of your mother/guardian?: ________________________________________________
[Ke ha 'a e tu'unga fakaako ma'olunga taha 'o ho'o fa'e pe tauhi?]

1.9 How many brothers and sisters at home when you were at school?: ________________________________________________
[Na'ae toko fiha ho fangatokoua mo e tuofa'ine lolotonga 'a ho'o kei ako?]

1.10 Did you live with your parents when you were at school? (yes or no): ________________________________
[Na'a ke nofo mo ho'o ongo mātua, lolotonga ho'o kei ako?]

1.11 If not, what was your relationship to those with whom you lived?: ________________________________________________
[Kapau na'e 'ikai, ko e ha ho kāinga mo kinautolu na'a ke nofo ai?]

1.12 Was any of your parents overseas at that time? (yes or no): ________________________________________________
[Na'e 'i muli ha taha 'o ho'o ongo mātua' lolotonga ho'o kei ako?]

1.13 If so, how many years was he or she away from home?: ________________________________________________
[Kapau na'e pehe, ko e tā'u e fiha na'e mavahe ai mei 'api?]

1.14 Did you pass the secondary school entrance exam before entering high school? (Yes or no) [Na'a ke passi he sivi hū ki he kolisi', pea ke toki hū ki he kolisi?]  

1.15 How many friends did you have while you were at school (boys and girls)?: ________________________________
[Ko ho kaungam'e 'e tokofiha lolotonga ho'o kei ako' (tangata mo e fefine)?]

1.16 Indicate with a tick [✓] the highest education level of your friends. If you have two or more friends in the same category, put two or more ticks in it. 
[Fokotu'u ha tiki he palaketi 'i lalo' ke ne fakahā 'a e tu'unga fakaako ma'olunga taha 'o ho ngaahi kaungāme'a'. Kapau 'oku toko ua pe lahi ange 'i he kolumu 'e taha, pea ke fokotu'u ai ha tiki 'e ua pe lahi ange]

- my friend left school before completing primary school.(______________________________)
  [Na'e nofo hoku kaume'a ko 'eni' te'eki kakato 'ene ako lautohi']

- my friend left before completing high school.(______________________________)
  [Na'e nofo hoku kaume'a ko 'eni' te'eki 'osi 'ene ako kolisi']

- my friend left after passing the School Certificate or higher examination or higher exams.(______________________________)
  [Na'e nofo hoku kaume'a ko 'eni' kuo lava 'ene Sivi Fakamoniako Tonga pe ko ha toe sivi ma'olunga ange]

2. Advantages and disadvantages of your secondary schooling
[Ngaahi ola lelei mo e ola kuo ke ma'u mei ho'o ako kolisi]

1. What are the three major advantages in order of importance that you have derived from your secondary schooling? 
[Ke ha ha 'a e ngaahi ola lelei tefito 'e tolu 'i honau fakahokohoko' 'oku ke pehe kuo ke ma'u mei ho'o ako kolisi?]

1. ________________________________________________

2. ________________________________________________

3. ________________________________________________
2. What are the three major disadvantages in order of importance that you have derived from your secondary schooling?

1. 
2. 
3.

3. Assessment of the high school which you attended

Please, use the scale given below to rate the 35 statements about the school you attended.

Scale for rating the 35 statements about the school you attended


1. The school buildings were generally in good conditions. 1 2 3 4 5

2. There was a shortage of classroom facilities (e.g. desks, chairs). 1 2 3 4 5

3. There was no shortage of trained teachers. 1 2 3 4 5

4. There was a shortage of qualified teachers. 1 2 3 4 5

5. There was no shortage of instructional materials (e.g. textbooks) 1 2 3 4 5

6. Instructional materials were generally poor in quality. 1 2 3 4 5

7. Fairly often the administration did not work well with the staff. 1 2 3 4 5
8. In general teachers' salaries sufficiently catered for their needs.  
[Tokolahi iaha 'o e kau faiako, na'e feau 'e honau vahega 'a 'enau fiafia 'a']

9. There was a general lack of incentives for teachers to work hard.  
[Na'e siisi'i e ngaahi me'a ke faka'ai'ai'aki 'a e kau faiako ke nau ngaue malohi.]

10. The Education Department (government or church) was not sufficiently effective in its policies.  
[Ko e Potungae ako (Siasi pe Pule'anga) na'i 'ikai ke sai 'enau ngaahi fa'ufa'u ke fakalele 'aki e ako]

11. There was special help available at school for the "intellectually slow" students.  
[Na'e 'i ai 'a e tokoni makehei 'i 'apiako ki he kau "atamai tuai" he ako]

12. Corporal punishment was used fairly regularly at school.  
[Ko e tautea ta'a na'e lahi hono ngaue'aki 'i 'apiako]

13. Teachers and students were rarely given opportunities to celebrate anything at school.  
[Na'e tataitaha ha taimi ke fai ai ha fa'akafisiai 'e he kau faiako mo e fana'u ha me'a 'i 'apiako]

14. The emphasis was mainly on passing exams and little on others.  
[Na'e to 'a e fakamamafa 'ki he fengi ke lava he sivi' kae siisi'i ha toe tokanga ki ha toe me'a kehe]

15. The curriculum was catering for the needs of all students.  
[Na'e feau 'e he silapa ako 'a e fiafia 'a e tokofaha ako kotofa pe]

16. The "good" teachers were heavily concentrated on the higher classes.  
[Ko e kau faiako lelei 'na'e faiako pe ia ki he ngaahi kalasi ki 'olunga', kae tuku e toenga 'ki he kau leka']

17. There was little time for revision before exams because many teachers could not complete their syllabi on time.  
[Na'e siisi'i e taimi ke toe vakai'i fakakatoa ai e ngaahi lesoni' koe'hi' ko e tomui 'a e faiako 'a e kau faiako]

18. Most teachers were satisfied with the school administration.  
[Ko e tokolahi 'o e kau faiako na'a nau fiafia 'ki he fakalele 'o e 'apiako']

19. Teachers were generally unwilling to do voluntary work for the school.  
[Na'e siisi'i ha loto lelei 'a e kau faiako ke nau toe nofo mai 'o fai ha ngaue 'ofa ma'a e 'apiako ke 'osi 'a e ako]

20. Very rarely that teachers came late to school.  
[Na'e tataitaha pe ke tomui mai ha faiako ki he ako']

21. When teachers were absent, their classes were not well supervised.  
[Ko e taimi na'e li'a'aki ako ai 'a e kau faiako, na'e 'ikai tokanga'i lelei 'a 'enau ngaahi kalasi']
During their free periods teachers were unwilling to help out. [Lolotonga e taimi na'a nau 'ata ai mei he faiako', na'e 'ikai ke fia tokoni e kau faiako' ia ki he ngaue 'a e ako']

Teaching a class of more than 40 students was no difficulty. [Na'e 'ikai ke faingata'a ke faiako'i 'a e kalasi ia 'oku tokolahi ange he toko 40']

Quite a number of teachers were at school because there were no other or better options somewhere else. [Ka na'e 'i ai ha ngaue 'oku totongi lelei ange mo sai ange, kuo 'osi alu ki ai 'a e tokolahi ia 'o e kau faiako']

Teachers' teaching styles varied according to student needs. [Ko foungai faiako 'a e kau faiako' na'e fullifulihi ke hohoa mâle mo e siemâ' 'a e tokotaha ako]

Most teachers were willing to take part in staff development programs. [Tokolahi 'o e kau faiako' na'a nau fia kau he ngaahi polokalama makehe ke tokoni i 'aki 'enau ngaue']

Some teachers hardly prepared their lessons for their classes. [Ko e ni'ihi 'o e kau faiako' na'e tataaitaha pe 'enau teuteu 'enau lesoni' ki mu'a 'enau faiako]

The students in general were sufficiently motivated to learn. [Ko e tokolahi 'o e kau ako' na'e fai honau fakaiotolahi 'i ke nau tokanga ange ki he ako']

A good number of students regularly came late to school. [Tokolahi e tamaiki ako na'a nau angamaheni 'aki 'a e tomui mai ki he ako']

Quite a number of students came but ran away from school. [Tokolahi e tamaiki na'a nau ha'u ki he ako' pea toe hola mei he ako']

Rarely were students absent from school. [Na'e tataaitaha ha li'aki ako ia 'a e tamaiki ako']

Some students were not even willing to come to school. [Tokolahi pe foki mo e tamaiki ako na'e 'ikai pe ke nau friako kinautolu ia]

A number of students found it hard to follow what was taught. [Tokolahi e tamaiki ako' na'e 'ikai ke mahino kia kinautolu ia 'a e faiako 'a e faiako]

Students were generally willing to do voluntary work for the school. [Tokolahi 'o e tamaiki ako' na'a nau fie ngaue ko e tokoni makehe ma'a' e 'apiako']

Student misbehaviour at school was becoming a problem. [Na'e kamata ke hoko ko e palopalema fakaako 'a e 'ulungaanga 'o e tamaiki ako']
4. Reasons for leaving school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate
["Uhinga ne nau nofo ai mei he ako kolisi' te'eki ke nau a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga"]

4.1 What were the three "things" in order of importance that school administrators at school did which could have caused students to leave school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?
[Ko e hā ha ngaahi me'a 'e tolu 'i honau fakahokohoko' 'oku ke pehē na'e fai 'e he kau fakalele ako 'i he kolisi' na'e tupu ai ha nofo 'a ha taha mei he ako kolisi', te'eki ke a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]

1. 
2. 
3. 

4.2 What were the three "things" in order of importance that teachers did which could have caused students to leave school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?
[Ko e hā ha ngaahi me'a 'e tolu 'i honau fakahokohoko' 'oku ke pehē na'e fai 'e he kau faiako' na'e tupu ai ha nofo 'a ha taha mei he ako kolisi', te'eki ke a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]

1. 
2. 
3. 

4.3 What were the three "things" in order of importance that other students at school did which could have caused students to leave school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?
[Ko e hā ha ngaahi me'a 'e tolu 'i honau fakahokohoko' 'oku ke pehē na'e fai 'e he tamaiki ako' na'e tupu ai ha nofo 'a ha taha mei he ako kolisi', te'eki ke a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]

1. 
2. 
3. 

4.4 What were the three "things" in order of importance that parents did which could have caused students to leave school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?
[Ko e hā ha ngaahi me'a 'e tolu 'i honau fakahokohoko' 'oku ke pehē na'e fai 'e he mātua tauhi fānau' na'e tupu ai ha nofo 'a ha taha mei he ako kolisi', te'eki ke a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]

1. 
2. 
3. 

4.5 What were the three "things" in order of importance that people in the village did which could have caused students to leave school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?
[Ko e hā ha ngaahi me'a 'e tolu 'i honau fakahokohoko' 'oku ke pehē na'e fai 'e he kakai 'o e kolo' na'e tupu ai ha nofo 'a ha taha mei he ako kolisi', te'eki ke a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]
4.6 What were the three “things” in order of importance that Church Department of Education did which could have caused students to leave school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?

[Ko e ha ha ngaahi me’a ’e tolu i honau fakahokohoko’oku ke pehé na’e fai ’e he Potungāue Ako ’a e Siasi’ na’e tupu ai ha nofo ’a ha taha mei he ako kolisi’, te’eki ke a’u ki he Sivi Fakamo’oniako Tonga’?]

1. 

2. 

3. 

4.7 What were the three “things” in order of importance that the Government Department of Education did which could have caused students to leave school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?

[Ko e ha ha ngaahi me’a ’e tolu i honau fakahokohoko’oku ke pehé na’e fai ’e he Potungāue Ako ’a e Pule’anga’ na’e tupu ai ha nofo ’a ha taha mei he ako kolisi’, te’eki ke a’u ki he Sivi Fakamo’oniako Tonga’?]

1. 

2. 

3. 

4.8 What were the three “things” in order of importance that the Tongan Government did which could have caused students to leave school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?

[Ko e ha ha ngaahi me’a ’e tolu i honau fakahokohoko’oku ke pehé na’e fai ’e he Pule’anga Tonga’ na’e tupu ai ha nofo ’a ha taha mei he ako kolisi’, te’eki ke a’u ki he Sivi Fakamo’oniako Tonga’?]

1. 

2. 

3. 

4.9 What were the three “things” relating to the Tongan culture in order of importance which could have caused students to leave school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?

[Ko e ha ha ngaahi me’a ’e tolu i honau fakahokohoko’oku ke pehé na’e fekau’aki mo hotau anga fakafonua’ na’e tupu ai ha nofo ’a ha taha mei he ako kolisi’, te’eki ke a’u ki he Sivi Fakamo’oniako Tonga’?]

1. 

2. 

3. 

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5. Things to be done to reduce the problem of students leaving school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate

[Ngaahi me'a ke fai ke sisi'i ange ai 'a e palopalema 'o e nofo mei he kolisi' te'eki ke a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga”]

5.1 What are the three “things” in order of importance that school administrators at school should do to reduce the problem of students leaving school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?

[Ko e ha ha ngaahi me'a 'e tolu 'i honau hokohoko, 'oku ke pehe 'oku totonu ke fai 'e he kau fakalele ako 'i he kolisi' koe'ahi' kae sisi'i ange ai 'a e nofo 'a e tamaiki mei he ako' te'eki ke nau a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]

1. ____________________________

2. ____________________________

3. ____________________________

5.2 What are the three “things” in order of importance that teachers should do to reduce the problem of students leaving school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?

[Ko e ha ha ngaahi me'a 'e tolu 'i honau hokohoko, 'oku ke pehe 'oku totonu ke fai 'e he kau faia'ko 'i he kolisi' koe'ahi' kae sisi'i ange ai 'a e nofo 'a e tamaiki mei he ako' te'eki ke nau a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]

1. ____________________________

2. ____________________________

3. ____________________________

5.3 What are the three “things” in order of importance that students at school should do to reduce the problem of students leaving school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?

[Ko e ha ha ngaahi me'a 'e tolu 'i honau hokohoko, 'oku ke pehe 'oku totonu ke fai 'e he kau ako 'i he kolisi' koe'ahi' kae sisi'i ange ai 'a e nofo 'a e tamaiki mei he ako' te'eki ke nau a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]

1. ____________________________

2. ____________________________

3. ____________________________

5.4 What are the three “things” in order of importance that parents should do to reduce the problem of students leaving school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?

[Ko e ha ha ngaahi me'a 'e tolu 'i honau hokohoko, 'oku ke pehe 'oku totonu ke fai 'e he kau matu'a tauhi fanau' koe'ahi' kae sisi'i ange ai 'a e nofo 'a e tamaiki mei he ako' te'eki ke nau a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]

1. ____________________________

2. ____________________________

3. ____________________________

5.5 What are the three “things” in order of importance that the people in the village should do to reduce the problem of students leaving school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?

[Ko e ha ha ngaahi me'a 'e tolu 'i honau hokohoko, 'oku ke pehe 'oku totonu ke fai 'e he kakai 'o e kolo' koe'ahi' kae sisi'i ange ai 'a e nofo 'a e tamaiki mei he ako' te'eki ke nau a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]
5.6 What are the three “things” in order of importance that the Church Department of Education should do to reduce the problem of students leaving school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?

[Ko e hā ha ngaahi me'a e tolu 'i honau hokohoko, 'oku ke pehē 'oku totonu ke fai 'e he Potungaue Ako a e Šiasi' koe'uhi' kae sīisi'i ange ai 'a e nofo 'a e tamaiki mei he ako' te'eki ke nau a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]

1. __________________________

2.______________________________

3.______________________________

5.7 What are the three “things” in order of importance that the Government Department of Education should do to reduce the problem of students leaving school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?

[Ko e hā ha ngaahi me'a e tolu 'i honau hokohoko, 'oku ke pehē 'oku totonu ke fai 'e he Potungaue Ako 'a e Pule'anga' koe'uhi' kae sīisi'i ange ai 'a e nofo 'a e tamaiki mei he ako' te'eki ke nau a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]

1. __________________________

2.______________________________

3.______________________________

5.8 What are the three “things” in order of importance that the Tongan Government should do to reduce the problem of students leaving school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?

[Ko e hā ha ngaahi me'a e tolu 'i honau hokohoko, 'oku ke pehē 'oku totonu ke fai 'e he Pule'anga Tonga' koe'uhi' kae sīisi'i ange ai 'a e nofo 'a e tamaiki mei he ako' te'eki ke nau a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]

1. __________________________

2.______________________________

3.______________________________

5.9 What are the three “things” relating to the Tongan culture in order of importance that the people of Tonga should do to reduce the problem of students leaving school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate?

[Ko e hā ha ngaahi me'a e tolu 'i honau hokohoko, 'i hotau anga fakafonua' 'oku ke pehē 'oku totonu ke nga'eaki 'e he kakai Tonga' koe'uhi' kae sīisi'i ange ai 'a e nofo 'a e tamaiki mei he ako' te'eki ke nau a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]

1. __________________________

2.______________________________

3.______________________________
Appendix 2

Questionnaire for an unsuccessful completer
[Ngaahi fehu'i ki he tokotaha ako kolisi ne nofo hili 'ene to 'i he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga']

N.B. This questionnaire was exactly the same as the questionnaire for an 'early school leaver.'

Appendix 3

Questionnaire for parents of early school leavers
[Ngaahi fehu'i ki he Mātu'a 'a e kau ako na'e nofo te'eki au ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga']

This research is concerned with 'early school leavers' or the students in our secondary schools who leave schooling before sitting the Tonga School Certificate Examination. The purpose of this survey is to obtain information that can help:

• our secondary schools to be more effective in their work,
• more students in our schools to successfully complete their schooling,
• the researcher to do his study.

The honesty of your answers will be absolutely important for the success of this work. Information from this questionnaire will be confidentially treated, and your anonymity will be guaranteed. May I sincerely thank you in advance for completing this questionnaire because without it the success of this work would be very difficult to achieve.

Sincerely yours
Makafalani Tatafu

1. Personal Profile
[Ngaahi fehu'i fekau'aki mo koe]

1.1 What school did your child first attend?:__________________________________________
[Ke hā 'a e hingoa 'o e kolisi na'e ako ai ho'o tamasi'i (pe ta'ahine')?]

1.2 In what year did your child enter that school?:__________________________________________
[Nā'e hū ki he kolisi ko ia' he ta'u fē?]

1.3 What year did your child leave school?:__________________________________________
[Nā'e nofo mai he ta'u fē?]
1.4 What class was your child in when he or she left?: __________________________
[Na'e kalasi fiha 'i he'ene nofo mai he ako?]

1.5 Was your child a boy or girl?: __________________________
[Ko ho'o tamasi'i pe ta'ahine?]

1.6 Are you one of the parents or guardians?: __________________________
[Ko e mātu'a totonu koe pe ko e tauhi pe?]

1.7 What was your occupation at that time?: __________________________
[Ko e hā ho'o ngaue na'e fai he taimi ko ia?]

1.8 How many children were living in your home at that time?:
[Na'e tokofiha 'a e fanau na'a nau nofo homou 'api' he taimi ko ia?]

1.9 Was any of the parents/guardians away from home at that time?: (Yes or No): ______
[Na'e mavahe nai ha taha 'o e ongo matu'a pe tauhi mei 'api he taimi ko ia' ('io pe 'ikai)?]

1.10 If so, for how long?: __________________________
[Kapau na'e mavahe, ko e hā hono fuoloa?]

1.11 Was it the mother or Father?: __________________________
[Ko e tamai nai pe ko e fa'ee' na'e mavahe?]

1.12 How many relatives with good education who could have been taken as role models for your children's schooling?:
[Na'e tokofiha nai ho kainga na'e ako lelei, na'e lava ke hoko ko e fa'ifa'itaki'anga lelei ki he ako 'o ho'o fanau?]

2. Sources of Income for the Family
[Ko e ma'u'anga pa'anga 'a e famili']

2.1 Did you have any piece of land when your child was at school?: (Yes or No): ______
[Na'e 'i ai hamou 'api' uta he taimi na'e kei ako ai ho'o tamasi'i pe ta'ahine' ('io pe 'ikai)?]

2.2 If so, how big was it?: __________________________
[Kapau na'e 'i ai ko e hā nai hono lahi?]

2.3 Did you have commercial crops at that time?: __________________________
[Na'e 'i ai ha'amou ngoue fakatau he taimi ko ia?]

2.4 If so, what was the annual financial returns?: __________________________
[Kapau na'e 'i ai, ko e hā nai hono lahi 'o e pa'anga na'e ma'u fakata'u mei ai?]

2.5 What other plantations did you have at that time?: __________________________
[Ko e hā ha'amou toe fa'a'athinga ngoue kehe he taimi ko ia?]

2.6 Was it big enough for the family?: __________________________
[Na'e lahi fe'unga ki hono tauhi 'o e famili?]

2.7 If you were employed, what was your monthly salary?: __________________________
[Kapau na'a ke ngaue pa'anga, na'e fiha ho vahenga he mahina?]

2.8 If there were others employed, what was their total monthly salary?:
[Kapau na'e ngaue pa'anga mo ha kakai kehe, ko e hā 'a 'enau vahenga fakakatoa he mahina?]

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2.9 If there was financial help from overseas, what was the amount in a year?:

[Kapau na'e 'i ai ha tokoni fakapa'anga mei muli, ko e hā hono lahi he ta'u?]

2.10 Were there any other types of help? How much?:

[Na'e toe 'i ai mo ha fa'ahinga tokoni kehe? Ko e hā hono lahi?]

2.11 If there were other sources of income, how much money did you get from them?:

[Kapau na'e toe 'i ai mo ha ma'u'anga pa'anga kehe, na'e ke ma'u na'i a e pa'anga 'e fiha mei ai?]

2.12 If there was a loan to be paid, how much did you pay in a year?:

[Kapau na'e 'i ai mo ha no ke totongi, na'e fiha 'a e totongi fakata'u 'o e noo'?]

2.13 How much money or any other did you allocate annually to the following?

[Ke hā hono lahi 'o e pa'anga pe ko ha tokoni kehe fakata'u ki he taha 'o e ngaahi me'a 'oku tuku atu 'i lalo']

- Home ['api]:
- Education [ako]:
- King [tu'i]:
- Government [pule'anga]:
- Nobles [nopele]:
- Church [Siasi]:
- Others [me'a kehe]:

3. Is 'early school leaving' a problem for Tonga?

[Ko e palopalema nai 'a e nofo vave mai mei he ako kolisi'?]

1. Do you think that leaving high school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate a problem for Tonga?

['Oku ke pehe nai ko e nofo mei he ako kolisi', te'eki a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga', ko e palopalema ia ki Tonga?]

2. If so, what have been the three major problems associated with early school leaving in order of importance?

[Kapau 'oku ke pehe ko e palopalema, pea ke tuhu'i mai mu'a 'a e ngaahi palopalema tefito 'e tolu 'i honau hokohoko fekau'aki mo e nofo mai mei he kolisi te'eki sivi he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]

1.

2.

3.

N.B. Sections 4 and section 5 of the questionnaire are exactly the same as sections 4 and 5 in the questionnaire for 'an early school leaver' in Appendix 1.
Appendix 4

Questionnaire for teachers and school administrators
(Ngaahi fehu'i ki he kau faiako mo e kau fakalele ako 'i 'apiako')

This research is concerned with 'early school leavers' or the students in our secondary schools who leave schooling before sitting the Tonga School Certificate Examination. The purpose of this survey is to obtain information that can help:
• our secondary schools to be more effective in their work,
• more students in our schools to successfully complete their schooling,
• the researcher to do his study.

The honesty of your answers will be absolutely important for the success of this work. Information from this questionnaire will be confidentially treated, and your anonymity will be guaranteed. May I sincerely thank you in advance for completing this questionnaire because without it the success of this work would be very difficult to achieve.

Sincerely yours
Makafalani Tatafu

1. Personal Characteristics
(Ngaahi fehu'i kau kia koe)

1.1 What is the name of the school in which you taught for at least one year between 1988 & 1994?
(Ko e hingoa 'o e Kolisi na'a ke faiako ai 'i ha taha 'o e ngaahi ta'u 'o e 1988 ki he 1994?)

1.2 Male or female:
(Ko e tangata koe pe fefine):

1.3 Circle in one of the answers below your age in 1994.
(Siakale'i 'a ho'o tohi fakafaiako ma'olunga taha 'i he 1994]
a. < 20 b. 20 - 25 c. 26 - 31
d. 32 - 37 e. 38 - 43 f. >43
1.4 Circle in one of the answers below your highest teaching qualification.
(Siakale'i ha taha 'o e ngaahi tali 'i lalo 'a ho'o tohi fakafaiako ma'olunga taha?)
1.5 Circle in one of the answers below the number of your teaching years.

Siakale'i ha taha 'o e ngaahi tali 'i lalo 'a e lahi 'o e ta'u kuo ke faiako ai'.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>&lt; 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>5 to 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>11 to 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>17 to 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>23 to 28</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>more than 28</td>
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1.6 Circle in one of the answers below your monthly income ($) in 1994.

Siakale'i ha taha 'o e ngaahi tali 'i lalo 'a e lahi 'o ho vahenga fakamahina he ta'u 1994.

<p>| | | |</p>
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<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>less than $300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>301 - 400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>401 - 500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>501 - 600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>601 - 700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>more than 700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Is 'early school leaving' a problem for Tonga?

Ko e palopalema nai 'a e nofo vave mai mei he ako kolisi te'eki ke a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?]

1. Do you think that leaving high school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate a problem for Tonga?

'Oku ke pehe nai ko e nofo mei he ako kolisi', te'eki a'u ki he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga', ko e palopalema ia ki Tonga?]

2. If so, what have been the three major problems associated with early school leaving in order of importance?

Kapau 'oku ke pehe ko e palopalema, pea ke tuhu i mai mu'a 'a e ngaahi palopalema tefti 'e tolu 'i honau hokohoko' teka'aki mo e nofo mai mei he kolisi' te'eki sivi he Sivi Fakamo'oniako Tonga?

N.B. Sections 3, 4 and 5 of this questionnaire are exactly the same as sections 3, 4 and 5 of the questionnaire for 'an early school leaver' in Appendix 1.
Appendix 5

Questionnaire for community leaders
[Ngaahi fehu'i ki he kau Taki 'o e Fonua']

This research is concerned with 'early school leavers' or the students in our secondary schools who leave schooling before sitting the Tonga School Certificate Examination. The purpose of this survey is to obtain information that can help:

• our secondary schools to be more effective in their work,
• more students in our schools to successfully complete their schooling,
• the researcher to do his study.

The honesty of your answers will be absolutely important for the success of this work. Information from this questionnaire will be confidentially treated, and your anonymity will be guaranteed. May I sincerely thank you in advance for completing this questionnaire because without it the success of this work would be very difficult to achieve.

Sincerely yours
Makafalani Tatafu

1. Personal characteristics
[Ngaahi fehu'i kau kiate koe]

1.1 What is your current occupation?: ____________________________
[Ko e ha ho'o ngaue lolotonga?]

1.2 What other important jobs that you did in the past?: ____________________________
[Ko e ha ha toe ngäue mahu'inga kehe na'a ke fai he kuohili?] 

1.3 Are you a male or female?: ____________________________
[Ko e tangata koe pe fefine?]

1.4 What is your highest educational level?: ____________________________
[Ko e ha ho tu'unga fakaako ma'olunga taha?]
2. Is 'early school leaving' a problem for Tonga?

[Ole palopalema nai 'a e nofo vave mai mei he ako kolisi?]

1. Do you think that leaving high school before sitting the Tonga School Certificate a problem for Tonga?

['Oka ke pehe nai ko e nofo mei he ako kolisi', te'eki a'u ki he Sivi Fakamoo'oniako Tonga', ko e palopalema ia ki Tonga?]

2. If so, what have been the three major problems associated with early school leaving in order of importance?

[Kapau 'oku ke pehe ko e palopalema, pea ke tuhu'i mai mu'a 'a e ngaahi palopalema tefito 'e tolu 'i honau kokohoko' fekau'aki mo e nofo mai mei he kolisi' te'eki sivi he Sivi Fakamoo'oniako Tonga?]

1.  

2.  

3.  

N.B. Sections 3 and 4 of this questionnaire are exactly the same as sections 4 and 5 of the questionnaire for 'an early school leaver' in Appendix 1
27 January 1997

Fax: (042) 214-657

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

MAKAFALANI TATAFU worked for the Catholic Diocese here from 1975 until 1992 in various capacities. His most recent employment was as Director of Catholic Education from 1990 - 92, during which time he was also Co-ordinator of the Environment for the Tonga National Council of Churches, and a co-opted member of the Committee in Tonga for Protection Against AIDS.

Prior to that he was studying in Wollongong in 1989 - 90, after completing his term as Principal of the newly co-educational 'Api Fo'ou College from 1986 - 88, one of the constituent Colleges of the school being St John's High School, of which he had been Principal from 1984 - 85.

As a Catholic Priest in the Diocese from 1975 - 88, he had many responsibilities. He was Principal of Takoula College in 1977, and Director of the Adult Education Programme and Catechetics Programmes for Sunday schools from 1978 - 79. From 1990 - 92, he was on study leave, completing a BA degree.

He was involved in many additional works over the years - a radio preacher over the years 1976 - 88; a host of the Catholic radio programmes from 1977 - 79; Composer and Director of Music for the Catholic Church and others from 1982 onwards; a regular Adjudicator of various singing and brass band contests since 1976; Deputy Director of Catholic Education from 1984 - 88; Regional Superior of the Marist Fathers and Brothers in Tonga from 1985 - 88; Co-ordinator of candidates for Priestly Training from 1982 - 85; Delegates to the General Chapter of the Society of Mary in Rome, 1985; Delegates for Tonga to a Commonwealth Meeting in Ottawa (Canada) in 1978; a select member of the Tonga Government Scholarships Committee from 1985 - 88; President of the Principal's Association for secondary schools in Tonga from 1986 - 88.

Makafalani's competence in carrying out many responsibilities he has held has been very great. His many abilities and wide experience make him a particularly suitable person to undertake research into the educational situation in Tonga.

Yours sincerely.

+ Soane L Foliaki, SM
BISHOP OF TONGA & NIUE