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THE ROLE OF SPORT IN NATION BUILDING: A COMPARATIVE
ANALYSIS OF FOUR NEWLY DEVELOPING NATIONS IN THE
COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN

City University of New York

PH.D.

1980

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**THE ROLE OF SPORT IN NATION BUILDING:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF FOUR NEWLY DEVELOPING
NATIONS IN THE COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN**

**A dissertation
Presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate School and University Center
of the City University of New York**

**In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy**

**by
Colin A. Martindale
April 1980**

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty
in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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DEDICATED TO the author's father, the late
Emmanuel Alfred (Mannie) Martindale, ex-West
Indian cricketer, who made in his way a
significant contribution to the development
of the West Indies.

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Chapter 1

THE NATURE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to analyse the role which organized sport plays in the social development of a representative sample of new Caribbean nations. Through field research and in-depth interviews with leaders in the cultural and political sectors of Barbados, Guyana, Trinidad and Jamaica, an "institutional analysis" of the relationships between organized sports and nation building in each of the selected nations was carried out. The research focused particular attention on the role which sports institutions and sports participation plays in nations which follow the more moderate "neo-colonial" path to development versus those which have been influenced by the mass mobilization models exemplified by Cuba and other socialist new nations.

Nation building refers to the complex set of cultural and political processes whereby a population comes to identify with and to accept as legitimate the institutions of the nation state. In every one of the new nations of the world, this is a highly problematic issue. It is one thing for a nation's leaders to proclaim their independence and to struggle for recognition by other nations, and it is quite another thing for the population of that nation to behave as citizens in the modern sense of the term. With few exceptions, the leaders of the new nations have used organized sports and a system of national sports competition as a means of increasing the population's identification with the new nation. In some countries this has been a well planned program, associated with investments in mass media and investments in sports facilities. In other countries, particularly those which follow more moderate or even

neo-colonial paths, sports insitutions have been a type of fraternal organization for the elite members of the society while the masses have been left to participate in sports activities on a more haphazard basis. Between these poles there is a great deal of debate and difference of behavior as individual countries seek to develop approaches to organized sports which best suit the political and cultural needs of the population and of given regimes.

In an earlier period of research on the "new nations", social scientists like Immanuel Wallerstein¹ and David Apter² showed how nationalist movements attempted to mobilize the sentiments of the mass of agrarian peasants and the smaller strata of intellectuals and merchants by enlisting the support of every formal organization which could possibly be recruited into the independence movement. These same processes occurred in the Eastern European countries during the partisan movements prior to and during World War II. Fraternal organizations of every description were infiltrated by party members and mobilized for political action. These confederations of organizations tended to be replaced by party organizations and by officially sanctioned institutions once the independence or liberation struggles were ended. Today this model still exerts powerful influence over the political and cultural leaders of new nations in many parts of the world, and especially in the Caribbean where the success of Cuba has been an inspiration for some leaders and a thorn in the side of others.

This study continues the work of these earlier scholars by narrowing the range of institutions considered to those which

lead a nation's population toward active or passive participation in organized sports. Sport is a critical institution in a nation's attempt to build a national culture in which all citizens can share. Even without conscious efforts at mobilization for sports participation, sport tends to be strongly anchored in a society's political and economic system. Sports participation can create new national heroes, it can provide symbols of national identification which cut across village and regional boundaries, and it can be a means of reaching the mass of the nation's youth and enlisting its support for other policies and programs.

From another perspective, analysis of how sports institutions operate in a nation can reveal a great deal about the ideological and organizational techniques employed by a national elite. The degree to which a given nation's leaders use sports participation in its various forms as an instrumental means toward given ends in nation building is the central question of this thesis. Clearly, the role of sport as an aspect of nation building will vary with the attitude toward this issue taken by a given political elite, but it will also vary as a function of a given nation's level of development of popular sports institutions.

In this study nation building and the development of sport was considered within the perspective of three periods in Caribbean history: two periods during the British colonial era (firstly the crown-colony or pre-self-governing period, and secondly the self-governing period prior to independence), and thirdly, the post-independence period. Besides consideration of a history of the role of sport, such a classification enables us to gauge the importance which has been attached to sport in the various periods.

Protagonists of sport as a developmental medium do not claim that sport directly brings about development. They argue that its importance lies in its capacity to predispose people toward change. Sport's ability to "capture the interest of people in almost all countries no matter what their stage of development," makes it the most suitable medium through which to inculcate desired goals (Anthony 1969³, Uwechue 1978⁴).

Sport by definition refers to "institutionalized social action in a game context, with the outcome of the contest being determined, at least in part, by physical prowess".⁵ Institutionalized games are those where traditions and expectations have developed as a consequence of carefully formulated rules, regularly scheduled contests, continually recorded results, and persistent attendance of a relatively large segment of the population. Involvement in sport refers to social action (role play) within one or more sport situations.⁶ Those persons actually participating in the game as players, are referred to as being primarily involved, and those who participate in all other forms of sport, whether they include consuming or producing sport, a passive role as distinct from an active role, are referred to as being secondarily involved.

Sport is an element of social reality, strongly anchored to the political-economic system in which it is placed, that has significance far beyond the trivial. It provides a means of understanding and exhibiting the major elements of the ideological base of the power structure of society (Petrie 1975, p.190)⁷.

It would appear that the image of sport has been redefined throughout history. There are no indigenous socialist sports, for example;

and as such, the meaning of sport has been redefined for nationalists.

Prior to the so-called socialist period, sports were an elitist pastime originating in England and Europe. Sports eventually became nationalistic and anti-colonial under new governments.

Within the highly developed capitalist states we have seen a primarily commercial interest in sport. In socialist states on the other hand, by means of sport we have seen the development of national consciousness behind a particular regime - nationalism to serve the interests of socialism has been a particular objective of these countries. Consequently, in historical perspective, three stages of development have been evident. In stage one we have seen sport serving class and local loyalties. In stage two, sport serving commercial interests in capitalist countries, and stage three, sports becoming a conscious aspect of nation building and national pride.

After World War II, the development of sport on an internationally competitive basis became a major policy of the so-called socialist countries with vast expenditures and the introduction of political objectives.

In colonial societies, sports reflected the dominance of the class system of the colonial masters and the attempt of local elites to emulate the upper class styles of the colonial powers. These tendencies would appear to persist longer in the colonies than they would in the metropolitan country; depending of course on the type of colonialism practiced. Under American colonialism for example, commercial rather than class interests were observed.

In the new post-colonial societies, the conflict between class sports which reflect the aspirations of even the socialist leaders, because of their

prestigious influence, and mass sports aimed at national involvement, legitimacy and modification of discontent, still continues. However, since many colonial societies still reflect their particular colonial heritage, the various influences in sport are still in conflict, i.e. mass sport versus class sport, is an issue still unresolved. Cuba, for example, still reflects American sports, and the neo-colonial English speaking states still reflect the upper class status sports of the British.

Given the differences in sports derived from the colonial past, and the new planned needs of the neo-colonialists, it would appear that the struggle over what sports will predominate still continues. Another issue of central importance to this thesis then is the observed mass sport involvement in class societies. Horse racing in the United States started as a class sport and became a mass sport, with respect to commercialization. Cricket in the West Indies also started as a class sport and became a mass sport, with respect to general involvement by the masses of the population, in improvised as well as in competitive form.

Today we find the West Indies leading England (the founders of the game of cricket), which they have done for the past two decades. This situation might be due to the fact that mass participation in the game of cricket has matured to such an extent that the restrictive boundaries of the class sport situation, have within recent times, given way to the results of mass participation, under the guise of more liberal policies of government, as the black majority population gained greater political awareness.

In England, on the other hand, transition of the social order appears to have led to a situation in which the elitist sport of cricket has lost ground to the more conducive mass-participation sport of soccer.

Consequently today those involved in the traditionally elite sport of cricket are relatively few.

In Paris, April 1976 UNESCO called the First International Conference of Ministers and senior officials responsible for physical education and sport, "the significance of which is underscored by the fact that reference can be made freely nowadays to "Ministers of Sport".⁸ It would appear that the position of Minister of Sport is a contemporary development in governments, recognizing that no such position existed prior to World War II (Lowe et al 1978)⁹.

Attending the International Conference were delegates from 102 countries testifying to the role that sport plays in the lives of men and women throughout the world. Sport is becoming recognized as a vital cultural force by many nations.

Today the nations of the world rank differently in the amount of interest their governments take in the organization of sport (Natan 1958)¹⁰. On the one hand, there are those states whose sport is fully integrated in the political system and consequently becomes an important instrument in government policies, and on the other hand there are those countries in which sport is organized by independent bodies, and is itself free of any political organization except when it involves international competition. The difference lies not in the organization and the nature of the aim, but above all in the ideological attitude of the country involved.

In his article, "The role of sport in development," D.W.J. Anthony 1969 states:

With the approach of the UN Second Development Decade and its emphasis on human resource development, should not the role of sport and physical education in the process of development receive more careful attention than it has hitherto?¹¹

While it must be recognized that in many developing countries, the cultivation of sport is obviously a less important issue than the

struggle against hunger, unemployment, excessive birth rates, and socially maladapted behavior (Anthony 1969)¹², in recent years several hypotheses have been advanced as to how sport might assist in hastening modernization. It is evident that regardless of their stage of development, sport "captures the interest of people in almost all countries". Cognizant of this fact, it would appear that sport has an important part to play in the development of community and national identity.

With the advent of independence and new economic order in many countries throughout the world, newly developing nations are faced with numerous problems, ranging from the establishment of national ideology or how to reduce unemployment, to the protection of national boundaries and major industries (e.g. fisheries), from the exploitation of larger and more powerful industrialized states. In many of the ex-colonial territories throughout the world, such problems are multiplied by the fact that the colonial mentality, life style and system of values, has become deeply entrenched in the expectations of the people. What is considered to be worthwhile and worth striving for is very often inconsistent with the real needs of a new nation fighting to become self-sustaining. The colonial mentality is evidenced in the ways of the people, who often strive to achieve the status and life style of their ex-colonial masters.

Perhaps those influenced the most by these standards of success and achievement are the middle class predominantly black population, who under colonial domination received the benefits of education in metropolitan centers, and many of whom constitute the leaders of the world's newly emerging nations. Their attitudes, tastes, life styles and values, are more often than not, conservative, and in many respects have filled the breach in neo-colonial fashion, with evident intentions of changing very

little, except their own social status power identity and economic positions. Consequently, in class relationships, analyses have revealed widening gaps between the middle and the working classes. This gap, it has been suggested, has resulted from "the fact that decolonization, without altering certain aspects of the social structure, has succeeded in replacing the colonists with the more educated and assimilated members of the middle classes". (Lloyd Best 1971)¹³ It would seem therefore that such leadership would attempt to maintain the national conservative stance of their predecessors and inevitably perpetuate major characteristics of the old social order, in spite of the so-called independent state.

This is not to say all that evolved out of the old colonial domination was bad, but it would seem that many of the cultural institutions would inevitably have to undergo considerable social change under a new social order. Not only do we see neo-colonial attitudes perpetuated by the new ruling elites and the privileged members of society, but we also see an acceptance of the traditional order by most of the middle-aged and older people of such societies.

To the extent that the new ruling elite are guided by the "old school tie" and conservative influences of their colonial past, we would expect that many of the cultural institutions, including sporting institutions, would be dominated by conservative leadership and consequently their role in the development process of the future would be relatively insignificant, and emphasis would be placed upon perpetuation of the established structure in which sponsorship of a few elitist athletes would continue in relatively few sports, in the hope of bringing some national and international recognition to the country.

Where, on the other hand, there is seen to be a recognized need to establish a national ideology, a change in the social order and an attempt to become self-sustaining, which calls for mass mobilization of the people, then it would appear that cultural institutions, including sport, would play a more significant role in the development of the emerging nations and consequently we would expect to find a greater degree of government involvement, more liberal leadership, greater organization of and expenditure in sporting facilities and a much greater emphasis on the role of sport in the guidance, health and fitness of the youth of the nation, in the establishment of a new social order.

In the English speaking Caribbean most of the newly emerging countries received independent status in the early and middle 1960's. Since that time we have seen drastic changes in the social order of one nation, Guyana, as it pursues a policy of democratic socialism in a cooperative Republic. To some extent Jamaica is also threatening to follow the socialist influence of nearby Cuba; "At the 1962 Caribbean Games in Jamaica, the Cuban Premier Fidel Castro sent his Cuban team on their way with the message that their mission was to win and thereby demonstrate that socialism was superior to capitalism". (Lowe et al 1978, p.203).¹⁴ In Trinidad and Barbados, possibly the most conservative nations in the Eastern Caribbean area, we have seen very little obvious social or cultural change and certainly no radical changes in national policy, as experienced in Guyana and to a lesser extent Jamaica. The observed changes in Trinidad appear to have stemmed from economic changes experienced as a result of the fact that Trinidad has oil refineries, and hence, we see evidence of surplus wealth as the world's demand for oil

becomes more acute. Nevertheless, conservative governmental attitudes appear to have remained.

Cuba, the largest of the Caribbean islands, and Spanish speaking has within recent years, tended to wield considerable influence in the Caribbean area, particularly among the newly emerging nations. This influence would appear to be the result of Cuba's relative success as a socialist state in Plantation America, its geographical and ethnic character, and its historical background, which were generally not unlike the other plantation societies of the Caribbean and Latin America.

The role of sport in the developmental process of the newly emerging socialist countries is quite well documented (Sie 1949)¹⁵, (Riordan 1978)¹⁶, (Ostermann 1978)¹⁷, (Strenk 1978)¹⁸, and others. In socialist countries generally, sport has become a cultural instrument used for political ends and the reinforcement of nationalistic values, international recognition, and the physical health and fitness of the nation's youth. Within these countries there are very few material rewards to be offered for success or achievement and as non-consumer societies other forms of leisure time pursuits (other than sport) are limited. Sport therefore serves as a diversion, as a means of socialization and as a legitimate means of dissipating excess energy by focussing hostility and young male strength toward an outward competitive source. The fact that many sports organizations are linked to the military would suggest a direct link between health and fitness of the nation's youth control, and national defense. Indeed, the military in some states is used to subsidize, and act as patron for promising sports performers. Consequently, even though the manifest function of governmental intervention in sport in socialist countries is the success

and maintenance of "sport for all", the latent function appears to be the establishment of patriotism through international competition, strong identification with the new social system, and successful competition which will give the nation a psychological advantage of superiority as well as honoring the nation by national and international recognition.

To the extent that many of the Caribbean nations are undergoing transition---economic, political, and social---and to the extent that we can see evidence of growing Cuban influence in the Caribbean area because of the close proximity, moderate success and similar social and economic background in Plantation America, it appeared necessary to look at the role and meaning of sport in the developmental process of the emerging nations of the English speaking Caribbean, and determine:

1. the extent to which a given nation's leaders use sports participation in its various forms, as an instrumental means toward given ends in nation building;
2. the extent and type of mass sport involvement in class societies;
3. an institutional analysis of sport in each of the four newly emerging nations in the British speaking Caribbean, chosen on the basis of their differences, rather than their similarities.

Hypotheses

1. Sport will in the future be used for mass mobilization in the developmental process from capitalism to socialism.
2. The greater the need for social change, the more significant the role of sport in the developmental process.
3. The more neo-colonial and conservative the administration, the less likely that sport will be used for political ends and the reinforcement

of national values (i.e. nationalism, as a diversion, for military or defense purposes, for health and fitness of the youth).

Barbados

Barbados is one of the most densely populated countries in the world. The net increase in population has been lowered significantly in recent years and was only 0.8 percent in 1970. This has been achieved through an energetic family planning program and a relatively high rate of emigration. Barbados was one of the pioneers of family planning, and the government gives financial support to the island's Family Planning Association.

The island was originally populated by Arawak Indians, immigrants from the South American mainland, and at a later stage by the fiercer Carib Indians. From the arrival of the first British settlers in 1627-28 until independence, Barbados was under uninterrupted British control. Its House of Assembly, which began meeting in 1639, is the third oldest legislative body in the Western Hemisphere - preceded only by Bermuda's legislature and the Virginia House of Burgesses.

As the sugar industry developed into the main commercial interest Barbados was divided into huge estates. Slaves were brought from Africa to work on the plantations until slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire in 1834.

The local political scene was dominated by a small group of British plantation owners and tradesmen. It was not until the 1930's that a movement for political rights was begun by the educated descendants of the emancipated slaves. One of the leaders of this movement, Sir Grantley Adams, founded the Barbados Labor Party in 1938.

Significant progress toward more democratic government for the island was made in 1951 when universal adult suffrage was introduced. This was followed by steps toward increased self-government which culminated in 1961 when Barbados achieved full internal autonomy.

From 1958 to 1962 Barbados was one of the 10 members of the West Indies Federation and Sir Grantley Adams served as the first and only Prime Minister of the Federation. With the termination of the Federation, Barbados reverted to its former status as a self-governing colony. Following several attempts to form another federation of Barbados and the Leeward and Windward Islands, Barbados negotiated its own independence at a constitutional conference with the United Kingdom in June 1966. After years of peaceful, democratic and evolutionary progress toward self-rule, Barbados attained independence on November 30, 1966.

Barbados, the most easterly of the Caribbean islands, lies immediately east of the Windward Islands, about 270 miles northwest of Venezuela. Average temperature is about 77°F, rarely rising above 89°F, even during the summer months.

The island is coral in origin and comparatively flat. The highest point is Mount Hillaby at 1,104 feet above sea level.

According to its constitution, Barbados is governed by a parliamentary democracy modelled on the British system. The Governor General is Queen Elizabeth II's representative, who essentially exercises protocol functions. The general direction and control of the government rests with the Cabinet, consisting of the Prime Minister and the other ministers, who are collectively responsible to Parliament.

The bicameral parliament consists of a House of Assembly and a Senate.

The 24 members of the House are elected by universal suffrage to a 5-year term. However, elections may be called by the ruling party at any time it wishes to dissolve parliament and seek a new mandate. It is also customary to call for elections if the ruling party receives a vote of "no confidence" in parliament. The Senate's 21 members are appointed by the Governor General - 12 with the advice of the Prime Minister, 2 with the advice of the Leader of the Opposition, and 7 at his own discretion.

The highest court in Barbados is the Supreme Court, whose Chief Justice is appointed by the Governor General on the recommendation of the Prime Minister.

The island is divided into 11 parishes and the City of Bridgetown. There is no local government and all these divisions are administered by the central government.

The two main political parties are the Barbados Labor Party (BLP) and the Democratic Labor Party (DLP). The BLP was formed in 1938 by Sir Grantley Adams. The Democratic Labor Party was formed in 1955 by a group of dissidents from within the BLP. The DLP won the 1961 election and its leader, Errol Barrow, became Prime Minister. In November 1966 the DLP won its second election and a mandate to lead Barbados into independence. On November 30, 1966 Barbados was formally declared independent and Errol Barrow became its first Prime Minister. Barrow was re-elected for a third term in 1971, when his party won 18 of the 24 seats in the House of Assembly. In 1976, however, the government changed hands; the BLP won 17 seats and J.M.G. "Tom" Adams became Prime Minister.

It is claimed that both parties are moderate with a socialist orientation and a philosophy similar to that of the British Labor Party. The DLP is closely allied with the island's principal labor union, the Barbados Workers' Union. The two major parties are divided not so much on

basic objectives as on the means of achieving those objectives. Consequently, electoral contests and political disputes are essentially partisan encounters often with personal overtones. The major political problems facing Barbados today are economic, i.e. maintaining economic growth, coping with inflation, encouraging agriculture, attracting small industry and achieving a balance among the sugar, tourist and small industries.

Since its foundation, Barbados has based its economy on sugar, but in 1969, tourism became the island's largest foreign exchange earner. Trade with the United States has increased every year since 1960 and in 1976 the United States became the island's leading supplier of imports.

Unlike Guyana or Trinidad, the East Indian population of Barbados is very small. The predominant ethnic group is Black (of African extraction), with a sizable number of white and mixed people.

To this day the aristocratic whites still occupy an upper class social position, although only a few remain as plantation owners. The poor whites, whose ancestral background was similarly of British origin, still constitute a recognized portion of the peasant lower class social structure.

In as much as the island's population is predominantly black, the government, judicial and medical services are now dominated by a black ethnic group. Consequently, using education, occupation and income as indices of social status, it appears that Barbados, Guyana, Trinidad and Jamaica, all have an upper middle class black bureaucracy. Beneath the black bureaucracy, a much larger lower class black population exists, which together with the lower class white population constitute what can be called "the peasantry".

Martindale's 1971¹⁹ research conclusions suggest that sport involvement in Barbados is a function of social class and ethnic group

background. The Barbados national swimming team, for example, and the clubs which supported them, consisted of persons of middle and upper class white background, in spite of the fact that the vast majority of the population is black. The Royal Yacht Club, a relic of the colonial era, has very few black members and those members who have been accepted are those of the upper classes.

Traditionally, the sport and social clubs consisted of members who had been accepted on the basis of color and social status, for where else would one find eleven white cricketers playing against eleven black cricketers of completely segregated clubs, in regular Saturday afternoon competition?

Guyana

Guyana is situated on the northeast coast of South America. It is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, Brazil, Surinam and Venezuela. The country is divided into three areas: an inland forest covering about 85 percent of the total area, a grass-covered savannah of some 8,000 square miles in the hinterland, and a coastal plain varying from 10 to 40 miles in width. The climate is tropical, with temperatures between 72°F and 90°F.

The ethnic composition of Guyana is varied, comprised of East Indian, African, Chinese and Portuguese groups. Ninety percent of the inhabitants live along the coast, where the population density is more than 300 persons per square mile.

The original area of Guyana, which included present-day Surinam, French Guiana, Guyana and parts of Brazil and Venezuela, was sighted by Columbus in 1498. Voyages by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1595 and others increased European interest, and the first European settlement, in what is now Guyana was made late in the 16th century by the Dutch. For the next 150 years the territory alternated between Dutch and British rule apart from a short period of French rule. Although the British exercised effective control after 1796,

the area was not ceded to the United Kingdom by the Dutch until 1814. In 1831 the settlements were consolidated into the colony of British Guiana.

Following many years of gradual preparation of British Guiana for home rule and ultimately for independence, the British Government in 1945 extended the franchise to include all literate adults with small incomes or property qualifications. In 1953 a new and advanced constitution was introduced with universal adult suffrage, a bicameral legislature, and a ministerial system of government.

The British Government, believing there was a threat of Communist dictatorship, suspended the constitution on October 9, 1953; an interim government, composed wholly of nominated members and senior officials of the civil service, was established. A constitutional amendment of 1956 allowed the inclusion of elected members to the Legislative Council. The 1961 elections were held under a new Constitution, which provided for internal self-government and in 1964 officials were elected under a system of proportional representation.

In a constitutional conference held at London in November 1965, the leadership of the coalition parties (People's National Congress and United Force) and the United Kingdom Government agreed on the provisions of a Constitution and set May 26, 1966, as the date for independence. Although invited to do so, the opposition (People's Progressive Party) did not participate at the conference.

Guyana became a Republic on February 23, 1970, the 207th anniversary of a slave revolt in Guyana.

Guyana has a parliamentary form of government. The President is elected to a 6-year term by the National Assembly. He appoints as Prime

Minister the leader of the political party which is able to form a government following an election.

The unicameral National Assembly is composed of 53 members who are elected to 5-year terms. The highest national judicial bodies are the Court of Appeals, headed by the Chancellor of the Judiciary, and the High Court, presided over by the Chief Justice. The Chancellor and the Chief Justice are appointed by the President.

For administrative purposes, Guyana is divided into 10 regions. Heading each region is a Regional Minister who is appointed by the Prime Minister. The local communities are administered by elected village or city councils.

Guyana has three major political parties, each of which claims to be multiracial, but in fact draws the bulk of its support from one of the major racial groups. The People's National Congress (PNC) has been in power since 1964, at first in a coalition with the United Force (UF). In the 1973 election, the PNC increased its parliamentary majority to two-thirds with 37 of a total of 53 seats in the Assembly. The leader of the PNC, Prime Minister Forbes Burnham, was once a leader of the People's Progressive Party but broke with it in 1955. He describes the ideology of his party as Marxist-Leninist. The PNC draws its principal support from the African and mixed groups, which are concentrated in the urban areas.

The party that gained the second largest number of seats in the Assembly is the People's Progressive Party (PPP) led by Dr. Cheddi Jagan. The PPP, which won elections in 1953, 1957 and 1961, received 14 seats in the 1973 elections. The PPP charged the PNC government with electoral fraud and boycotted the National Assembly. Dr. Jagan, an East Indian, also described himself as a Marxist-Leninist. The bulk of PPP support comes from East Indian rice farmers and sugar workers. In late 1975, the PPP announced its critical support for

the government, and in May 1976, the party assumed its parliamentary seats.

The United Force (UF) was first organized in 1961 and in 1973 merged with the small Guyana Anti-Discrimination Movement (GADM) to form the Liberator Party. After the election, the UF, led by Feilden Singh, broke away from the LP but took up the two seats in the Assembly won by the LP in the 1973 election. Support for the UF comes mainly from the Portuguese, Chinese and East Indian middle-class business interests and Amerindians.

Prime Minister Burnham has stated that he intends to establish Guyana as the first "orthodox socialist state" in South America. He has announced that, henceforth, the Guyana Government will utilize Marxist-Leninist principles, with the cooperative as a vehicle to move the nation from capitalism to socialism. In recent years, Burnham has indicated that his government's party should play a more important role than the government itself. He is attempting to organize his People's National Congress (PNC) Party into a disciplined, elite group to mobilize Guyanese society for rapid development.

Burnham has said publicly that private enterprise has only a limited future in Guyana, and all major segments of the economy have either been or are about to be nationalized. The Guyana National Service accommodates 1,500 Guyanese youth, aged 14 to 24, in camps in the hinterland for 18 months of land clearing, agricultural pursuits, and some paramilitary training. Although most trainees are volunteers, a few have been inducted to satisfy an obligation, now required of all University of Guyana students. It is generally believed that this training will eventually be compulsory. The government also controls the media, with the exception of one opposition newspaper, which is Communist.

The Guyana Government is writing a new constitution, saying that the present document is a "replica of the ethics and ideologies of the former colonial masters".

The Government has sent all key civil servants to indoctrination courses which include Marxist-Leninist ideology and a period of residence with Guyanese farmers. PNC ideology asserts that both capitalism and traditional communism centralize power, the first in the hands of business oligarchs, the second in the hands of civil servants. But through the cooperative, Burnham claims, "the little man can become a real man" as he enters into economic planning and decision-making. Burnham describes the cooperative as an organization in which the consumers own the means of production, which are managed "by direct and indirect representatives of the consumers and producers" in association with the state.

Guyana's economy is basically agrarian and has depended historically on sugar. Rice has become a major crop in recent years. Bauxite mining and alumina production are Guyana's principal industries. Gold, diamonds, hardwood timbers and shrimp, play lesser roles in the economy. Per capita income, estimated at \$582, is fairly evenly distributed. Unemployment, however, continues to run at a rate of about 15 percent.

The Guyanese economy is almost entirely in the Government's hands. The nationalization of the bauxite industry was completed in 1975 with the takeover of the US-owned Reynolds bauxite mines. The last major foreign investment, the British-owned Bookers Ltd. corporation, was nationalized in May 1976, a move which put the Guyana sugar industry under Government control. Of the major sectors of the economy, only rice growing remains in private hands, although the marketing of rice is Government controlled.

Guyana as a member of the Caribbean Common Market (head-quartered in Georgetown) and the Caribbean Development Bank, is a strong supporter of Caribbean economic integration. Guyana is also a charter member of the International Bauxite Association (IBA) and the Latin American and Caribbean Sugar Producers and Exporters Association.

In reference to culture in nation-building in Guyana, A.J. Seymour 1974 states that:

Culture is a wide term embracing the way of life of a people; and in developing nations achieving independence it has proved necessary to mobilise the total resources of the community in order to move from former institutions and structures of colonial dependence to improve the quality of life and to project a new national image of dignity and self-worth. Some indices of this process are traditionally the social changes in food and dress, while others are reflected in the visual and performing arts.²⁰

Seymour is further of the opinion that "identity must not only be assumed, it must be assimilated and grow by conscious exercises in nation-building".²¹

Sport in Guyana, like other countries of the English speaking Caribbean, has been influenced by the traditional sporting club system, indicative of its British colonial past. As a result of independence however, the original club system which had been a factor in maintaining segregation along racial and class lines was eliminated. The prestigious golf courses were transformed into national parks and the sporting and social clubs which were identified according to one's racial identity (i.e. the Chinese Club) were forced to change their membership selection policy.

Jamaica

Jamaica is the third largest island in the Caribbean. Mountains cover about 80 percent of its surface. It has a tropical, humid climate most of the year but temperatures from November to March are cooler, particularly along the north shore where the range is between 70°F and 80°F.

Rainfall is seasonal, with striking regional variations.

The island was discovered in 1494 by Christopher Columbus and settled by the Spanish during the early 16th century. In 1655 British forces occupied the island and in 1670 Great Britain gained formal possession through the Treaty of Madrid.

Sugar and slavery - important elements in Jamaica's history and development made Jamaica one of the most valuable possessions in the world for more than 150 years. Slavery was abolished in 1838, some years before emancipation was declared in most other parts of the New World.

Jamaica's people are primarily of African origin, with a diversity of other groups. Traditionally, Jamaica has enjoyed harmonious racial and cultural relations. Within recent years class distinctions which have lingered from colonial times are being reduced through education and direct governmental policies.

After a long period of British colonial rule, Jamaica began to achieve a semblance of local political control in the late 1930's. This period of development was marked by social unrest and occasional violence. During this time the groundwork for Jamaica's leading political parties was laid by Sir Alexander Bustamante (Jamaica Labor Party - JLP) and later his cousin, Norman W. Manley (People's National Party - PNP).

These two political parties having their roots in well organized and powerful rival trade unions, have dominated the Jamaican political scene since the institution of adult suffrage in 1944. The JLP formed the first government under adult suffrage in 1945 and won again in the 1949 elections, but it lost to the PNP in the 1955, 1959, 1972 and 1976 elections.

In 1958 Jamaica joined nine other British territories in the formation of the West Indies Federation but withdrew in a national referendum held in September 1961, in which Jamaican voters rejected membership. As a result of this defeat for the PNP which had supported membership in the Federation,

was ousted, and a general election was held in April 1962, which saw the return of the JLP to power.

Jamaica attained its independence from the United Kingdom in 1962 and remained a member of the Commonwealth. The Jamaican constitution established a British-type parliamentary system of government, and as Chief of State Queen Elizabeth II appoints the Governor General on the advice of the Prime Minister. His role is largely ceremonial, however, and executive power is vested in the Cabinet, led by the Prime Minister.

Parliament is composed of an appointed Senate and an elected House of Representatives. Thirteen Senate members are nominated on the advice of the Prime Minister, eight on the advice of the Leader of the Opposition. House elections are held at the discretion of the Governor General on the advice of the Prime Minister, at intervals no longer than 5 years.

The Prime Minister and the members of the Cabinet are selected from the Parliament, not less than two nor more than three members of the Cabinet must be selected from the Senate.

The Judiciary is modelled on the British system. The Governor General appoints the 7-member Court of Appeal on the advice of the Prime Minister in consultation with the Leader of the Opposition.

Each Parish has an elected Parish Council which exercises limited local government responsibilities.

Initially, the two major political parties in Jamaica were the political arms of the nation's two major trade unions, formed in the late 1930's - the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) and the National Workers Union (NWU).

The Jamaican Labour Party (JLP) is at the center/left of the Jamaican political spectrum. Its leaders endorse a platform they describe

as "Nationalism". The party's support comes largely from the 100,000-member BITU, and its policies are subject to strong labor influence. During its tenure from 1962-72, it steadily promoted foreign investment and a rapidly expanding economy. When it left office in 1972, it was actively promoting a policy of "Jamaicanization" (majority Jamaican ownership of financial institutions and some other foreign-owned enterprises). Over the years, the JLP has generally been strongly supported by the business community and agricultural interests.

The People's National Party (PNP) is to the left of center, relative to the JLP. It embraces a political philosophy called "Democratic Socialism". The party's leaders believe that an activist government role in the national economy, including equity and management participation will help to solve many of Jamaica's developmental problems. The party believes strongly in social justice, and its attempts to improve social and educational conditions in Jamaica have formed a basis for its platform. The PNP has historically drawn its support from the NWU - which generally represents a higher skill level of labor than the BITU, and from the urban middle class. More recently it has evolved into a mass-based populist party.

There are other political movements, including some with strong Marxist orientation, but as yet they do not play a significant role in Jamaican politics.

In the general elections of December 1976, the PNP won 47 seats and the JLP won 13 in the House of Representatives. Two central issues in the campaign were the JLP's charges that the PNP government had lost the confidence of the people because of its flirtations with socialism and Cuba and the PNP's allegations that the JLP would roll back the major

social programs introduced since 1972.

At the present time Jamaica faces severe economic problems. Its high unemployment rate (25 percent) is fuelled by a high birth rate and an educational system that has not been able to meet the needs of a growing population and a developing and modernizing economy. The concentration of unemployment and under-educated people in urban areas has produced vast shanty towns which contribute to a high crime rate, especially in Kingston, the capital city.

Sport has a long and varied history in Jamaica. The aborigines played a ball game, fished and hunted small, indigenous wild animals. Little is known of the sporting activities of the Spanish settlers. The introduction of formal sport occurred early in the English conquest when military and naval competitions were held, then as civilian settlements progressed, social games that were popular in England and Europe were brought to Jamaica. Understandably, even today, English preferences predominate not only in the types of sports, but also the rules and terms of play.

Cricket is immensely popular, being as energetically played by small boys using a roughly shaped coconut board bat with sticks for wickets, as it is in the fashionable clubs.

Instruction in track and field as well as in such sports as cricket, netball and tennis, was restricted to schools for upper class children until about the middle of the twentieth century. Since then, these sports as well as swimming have been gradually introduced in all schools.

Polo, golf, yachting and horse racing, mainly because of the financial barriers, remained the preserves of the well-to-do. At the popular level in all rural settlements, mule and donkey races attract large local crowds and in most fishing villages canoe and boat races are popular.

Track and field and ball games as well as boxing at the national level take place at the National stadium, erected by the Government in 1962, with seating accommodation for over 30,000. It has an Olympic sized swimming pool and a covered arena, which is used mainly for night time competitive events, tennis and badminton specifically. The erection of the National Stadium marked the beginning of substantial official recognition of sport as an important ingredient of public life. Although in the past there has been no budgetary commitment of funds for specific events or other purposes.

The Ministry of Youth and Community Development encourages bona fide efforts to improve the standards of recognized games and also supports the participation of Jamaican teams in overseas competitive events.

In June 1969, an advisory sports council was appointed by the then Ministry of Youth and Community Development, to advise the Minister on the development of sport in Jamaica especially with regard to the involvement of the Ministry in a) the discovery of sporting talent, b) the training of sporting talent, and c) the expansion of physical education facilities in the island.

The Council advised the Government through the Ministry on Policy, connected with playing fields and sports equipment, training and development, coaching and methods of obtaining maximum participation. The Council also advised sporting bodies, through the Ministry, on aspects pertaining to the selection of national teams and the organization of sport in general. The chairperson of the sports advisory council was Dr. Arthur Wint MBE, and his committee consisted of twenty other prominent sporting personalities whose appointments expired on June 30, 1971.

More recently under Prime Minister Michael N. Manley's administration, a Ministry of Youth and Sport has been established which would suggest greater governmental involvement in the organization and sponsorship of sport in Jamaica.

Trinidad and Tobago

Trinidad and Tobago are the southernmost islands of the Lesser Antilles chain in the Caribbean. Trinidad, the largest island of the chain, has an area of 1,864 square miles and it is separated from Venezuela by the 7 mile-wide straits of the Gulf of Paria. Geologically it is an extension of the South American continent.

Port of Spain is the principal commercial center in the Eastern Caribbean, located on the major sea and air lanes between South America and the United States and Europe. San Fernando, Trinidad's second largest city, is located on the south western coast and is a center for the petroleum and petrochemical industries. Pitch Lake, also on Trinidad's south western coast, is the world's largest natural asphalt bog and measures 100 acres. It was used in past centuries for caulking the sailing ships of Sir Francis Drake and other explorers.

Tobago lies 19 miles northeast of Trinidad and has an area of 116 square miles. It has cooler temperatures than Trinidad due to more constant exposure to the trade winds. Small scale farming is the principal occupation and Scarborough is the major town.

Trinidad has a cosmopolitan English-speaking society with blacks (43%) and East Indians (40%), and Syrian, Chinese and European elements. Most of the blacks live in urban and industrial areas. The East Indians, who arrived in the last century as indentured agricultural laborers, have

for the most part stayed on the land as independent farmers, although they are also prominent in business and the professions. Tobagonians are mostly blacks.

Trinidad and Tobago were discovered by Columbus on his third voyage to the Western Hemisphere in 1498. At that time Trinidad was inhabited by several tribes of Arawak Indians who were killed by the early European settlers. The first successful attempt to colonize Trinidad was made in 1592 by the Spanish. Although it attracted Frenchmen and other foreign settlers, Trinidad continued under Spanish rule until it was captured by the British in 1797. Trinidad was ceded formally to the United Kingdom in 1802.

The abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire in 1833 resulted in many liberated Blacks leaving the estates where they worked, causing a serious disruption in the agricultural economy. In 1854 indentured agricultural laborers came from India. This immigration continued until 1915. At the end of their indenture, most of the immigrants decided to remain.

In 1888 Trinidad and Tobago were merged to form a single colony, which obtained full independence in 1962 and became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. The first real political party in Trinidad and Tobago with a continuing organization and program, emerged in 1956 - the People's National Movement (PNM) under Dr. Eric Williams. It has held control of the Government since 1956.

In 1976 Trinidad and Tobago adopted a new constitution and became a Republic. The country severed its links to the Queen and elected a President.

The 36 members of the House of Representatives are elected to 5 year terms, although elections may be called by the ruling party at any time it wishes to dissolve parliament and seek a new mandate. It is also customary to call for elections if the ruling party receives a vote of "no confidence" in Parliament. The Senate's 24 members are appointed by the Governor General, some on the advice of the Prime Minister and others on the advice of the Leader of the Opposition.

During the pre-self-governing (the crown colony period) stage in Trinidadian history, organized sport was greatly influenced by the club and elitist school systems. Membership in sport and social clubs within the society was based on economic and social status factors, as well as color categories. Very often the color of one's skin was the determining factor of one's social class and consequently, by a system of automatic exclusion from the more prestigious clubs, lesser clubs were established and the color of one's skin remained a determining factor in selection for membership. This situation was typical of the colonial experience in the British speaking Caribbean.

Cricket which has remained the major sport in Trinidad was until recently (within the last 4 years) dominated by the members of the white expatriate club at the Queen's Park Oval. Members of the club selected the representative team for intercolonial cricket, and even to this day the club still holds a certain number of votes for the selection of the Trinidadian national team.

Labor agitation in the 1930's led to self-government legislation in the 1940's, but the sporting organizations under the jurisdiction of the club system, appeared to change very little.

Evidently influenced by the national and international recognition gained by Hasley Crawford, the first Trinidadian to win an Olympic Gold Medal (100 meters track event at Montreal in 1976), the Government recently appropriated \$2,251,226 for improvement and development of village and regional recreation grounds in the country in an attempt to provide facilities to develop the wealth of sporting talent that abounds in the nation. Hasley Crawford is now special adviser to the Government on sport and industrial education.

In a government public relations circular entitled Info, (April-May 1978 p.15)²² reference is made to the government "attaching as much significance to the administration of sport in the country as it is to the overall program of improvement of existing sporting facilities".

Sport in the West Indies has been regarded as one form of symbolic dialogue between the masses and the minority planter class. Traditionally, "the appeal of sport has long been acknowledged as universal and its power to communicate significant". (Murray 1978)²³.

It may be claimed that in the West Indies, tradition has merged with a better standard of living that has created extra dimensions of leisure time. The climate remains constant, open space is available, and the media of public communication has elevated sport to such prominence that the social effects have multiplied. Sport has attained a position of centrality in popular culture, and it has become commonplace for people to be involved either actively or vicariously. To divorce oneself from sport means to isolate oneself from a whole area of communal interest.

In adopting a largely historical perspective to sport in the ex-British colony of Australia, Dunstant (1973)²⁴ suggests that the

"obsession" with sport is essentially attributed to such criteria as:

- a) an interest derived from a sport-conscious nation i.e. Britain;
- b) an attempt to improve their conditions of poverty by using sport as a social substitute and c) a suitable expression of "masculinity" in a climate which is ideal.

By definition an institution manifests some stability or continuity over time. The rather unique institutional features of sport, which include, clearly defined rules and procedures for equalizing competition, stratified levels of power and authority external to the playing arena, bureaucratic hierarchies of administration at national coaching level etc., have been pre-eminent in regulating the degree to which behavioral values within the sphere of sports could legitimately vary from strongly emphasized social ideals. Generally such features have provided the institution of sport with stability in times of incipient change. However, it could also be argued that they contribute to an inflexibility to alter internal structures to accommodate newer, external social reality. It would appear for example, that the needs of newly emerging nations are such that the old established and deeply ingrained colonial mentality are no longer consistent with the developmental requirements of nations which were once the protectorates of much larger and more powerful industrial states.

Within the context of sport, the needs of the people themselves, and the modern day opportunities that present themselves are such that the traditional complexion of sport is undergoing social change. The game of cricket for example with a religious-like following in the West Indies, has been greatly influenced by the departure of several of their players to play as professionals in England and Australia. Such a situation has recently led to promising amateurs in other sports such as soccer, looking

at sport as a means of employment and an avenue to upward social mobility. This internal change in attitude toward sport, which has traditionally been all amateur, and played for its intrinsic value, has led to attitudes of professionalism and extrinsic rewards. Such was the case with the Barbadian national soccer team, when in 1977, many of the players claimed that they would be unable to take part, because they could no longer financially afford the many hours of training and practice which international competition requires.

Methodology

An elite sample of 100 subjects was selected, consisting of 25 persons from each of four newly developing nations in the Commonwealth Caribbean: Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The 25 persons in each nation consisted of leaders in the decision-making process of sport and in addition, those persons who represented the various cultural institutions that have a bearing on the role of sport and its influence in the development process.

The select sample therefore, consisted of the following persons:

- 1) key informants in the institution of government, and people who are influential in this organization, including those in opposition to the government;
- 2) labor organization leaders;
- 3) leaders in police, prisons and military forces;
- 4) journalists and the press;
- 5) radio and television officials;
- 6) intellectuals - historians and local scholars in the developmental area;

- 7) leaders of youth movements such as boy scouts, girl scouts, YMCA, YWCA and pioneer groups;
- 8) leaders of women's organizations;
- 9) custodians of local museums, archives and libraries;
- 10) educators;
- 11) members of the private business sector;
- 12) officials in sporting clubs and organizations;
- 13) senior citizens who have taken an active part in community affairs.

This group was collapsed to produce five major categories of respondents as follows:

- 1) national politics;
- 2) civic voluntary;
- 3) intellectuals;
- 4) business and the press;
- 5) defense and social control.

Data were collected by the investigator during the months of January and February 1979, in each of the four Commonwealth Caribbean countries, selected on the basis of difference rather than similarity. The data were collected by means of an information inventory, using standardized instruments and procedures formulated at the onset of the study. Responses to the questionnaire and interviews (both personal and telephone interviews), were carefully recorded, and whenever possible a tape recorder was used. Data were also collected from archives, local museums, government documents and old newspaper articles.

Five in-depth interviews were conducted in each country, and responses from the remaining subjects were obtained both within each country and at

their Embassies in New York.

In Guyana of the 25 subjects selected, 17 responses were received.

In Trinidad of the 25 subjects selected, 18 responses were received.

In Barbados of the 25 subjects selected, 17 responses were received.

In Jamaica of the 25 subjects selected, 16 responses were received.

In all of the four countries, of those that failed to respond, questionnaires were taken, but promises to return them at a later date were not met. Of those that did respond, some were suspicious of the research and were reluctant to give their names.

Table 1

Background of key experts interviewed
in four Commonwealth Caribbean nations

	Barbados	Guyana	Jamaica	Trinidad	Total
Civic voluntary	4	5	4	5	18
Defense and social control	1	1	1	1	4
National politics	5	5	4	5	19
Intellectuals	4	3	4	4	15
Business and the press	3	3	3	3	12
Total	17	17	16	18	68

Chapter 2

THE DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES OF SPORT UNDER DIFFERING SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Sport Serving Class and Local Loyalties

The origin of sport in class societies begins with the British who have had greater influence upon the spread of sport throughout the world than any other European nation:

If, as many think, England is now at the zenith of her power and greatness, where will the traces of her paramount influence upon the nineteenth century be sought by the Buckles of two centuries hence? Not so much in the imitation by other nations of our representative institutions of trial by jury, of freedom of the press, or even in the wide diffusion of English books, as in the reproduction all over the world of some of our lighter social peculiarities...most of all, in the contagious passion for our national pastimes.

(Anthony Trollope 1868, cited by Betts 1974:191)

McIntosh (1963:58) makes the point that the British aristocracy in the 1800's enjoyed the country life as much as, if not more than, they enjoyed town life. An essential part of this life was sport. The vast number of sporting prints and pictures dating back to the early nineteenth century give testimony to a love of outdoor life and pursuits. Indeed there was a tendency for the word "sport" to be identified with field sports while the word "game" was used to denote the birds and animals which provided the sport. The aristocracy, according to McIntosh were only partially successful in appropriating these words for their own exclusive use. Nevertheless, the word "sport" still has in the twentieth century an association with the old field sports.

In another category of sport came golf and cricket. Both games had been adopted from the countryside by the aristocracy and were organized under their patronage. The Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) and

the Royal and Ancient Golf Club at St. Andrews in Scotland, were not organized to govern or organize their respective sports, but because of the prestige of their members they were called upon to settle disputes or to draw up agreements on rules or etiquette, and gradually they assumed control. Neither cricket nor golf was exclusively aristocratic, but at the beginning of the century, there were but a few participants, either as players or spectators.

At this time in history, the sports which drew the crowds were horse racing, prize fighting and pedestrian walking and running races. Horse racing had risen to fame at Newmarket under the patronage of King Charles II. Throughout the eighteenth century racing grew in popularity and other courses and meetings were modelled after Newmarket. Thousands would assemble to watch, to trade and to gamble, yet the sport of horse racing was well controlled by the Jockey Club. The Club was founded in 1750 as an informal dining club of gentlemen, who had an interest in racing and gradually it became an arbiter of all disputes.

Prize-fighting also drew large crowds and there was a complete mixture of classes, but the lower ranks of society had a number of indigenous and local sports of their own. At fairs up and down the country, there would be athletic competitions of various kinds for young men and women. In some parts of the country mob football was popular, a violent and dangerous game, unregulated by rules and often played using the main street of the village, after closing hours. Such was the pattern of sport in Britain, just prior to industrialization.

By the end of the eighteenth century the pattern of sport was vastly different. Field sports still had their narrow aristocratic following, but the aristocracy had been augmented by many new members,

as a result of the industrial revolution. Horse-racing flourished as it had always done, cricket and golf were being played by many more people from all ranks of society, and both games saw the beginnings of professionalism, both as players and teachers.

The middle class form of organized sport was different from that developed by the aristocracy earlier. The latter exercised authority through the "club". Clubs were not primarily sporting organizations; as an institution the club dates back to about 1659, but became distinctly an upper-class institution at the end of the eighteenth century. They were exclusive and confined to "gentlemen" and often they were named after the proprietor of the premises where they met. The aristocracy used the same form of organization for controlling their sports, and in cricket the same nomenclature. The cricket ground opened by Mr. Thomas Lord in 1787 and patronized by the MCC became known as Lords.

At the beginning of the century all that was prominent and all that was organized in British sport was upper class, but no attempt was made to hand down their sports to the masses, nor to organize them for participation by a wider public. The first signs of revolutionary change in sport appeared in the public (private) schools and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In 1832, the year of the first Reform Bill, Dr. Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby from 1828-1842, wrote of the plight of "the education of the middle class," pointing out the woeful deficiency of schools. New schools were founded and old grammar schools were developed and expanded until by 1860 the middle class had by "invasion and imitation," forced their way into the educational preserves of the aristocracy. By the end of the

century, the pattern of sport was predominantly middle class. They had produced their own team games, such as soccer and field hockey, their own form of track and field athletics and their own swimming competitions and racket games. They organized rowing and cycling, and into cricket they infiltrated in such large numbers that they made it almost middle class.

The successful sports were all those that could be organized and practised in or around the growing towns and cities. Moreover, the upper class reluctance to embrace the lower class in their sports did eventually break down, providing that they could conform to the standards of etiquette and conduct of play.

During this same period in history, the colonial territories of the British West Indies saw the abolition of slavery in 1804 and the emancipation of slaves legislated by Parliament in 1832, and the middle of the nineteenth century saw an end to the so-called "Golden Age of Sugar." Such parliamentary action was not however, the result of any humanitarian sentiment in Great Britain. To quote McDonald:

On the contrary, British manufacturers, labor unions and politicians lobbied for the development of free trade and free labor because they were convinced that protectionism and slavery prevented the expansion of Britain's markets and trade with other European powers.

(McDonald 1971:130)²⁷

Consistent with this period of domination, sport in the Commonwealth Caribbean was inevitably influenced by British standards and patterns of behavior. In the second half of the nineteenth century the export of games and sports reached significant proportions. Golf and cricket were only two of a list of many sports that had been organized in

Britain and were further enjoyed and practised by those who travelled to the colonies. These early exports however, were not intended for foreign consumption and initially did not attract the people of the countries where they were introduced. McIntosh (1963)²⁸ is of the opinion that few attempts to impose British sports on the native people were deliberate moves in colonizing large parts of the world. He contends however, that some missionaries and colonists no doubt, introduced football to parts of Africa as curates and industrialists had done in the midlands and the industrial north of England, but generally sports were very much a part of the leisure time activities of the expatriot colonists.

In the America's, elitism in sport was maintained through the formation of private clubs, which restricted membership to those with specific ascribed or achieved criteria. Reflecting the English tradition, the earliest clubs in the West Indies were founded by the local aristocracy and the role of the blacks within these clubs was one of domestication: to serve, clean and cater to the needs of the upper class white members.

For most people in the Commonwealth Caribbean, the word "sport" means cricket, the national game. The English game of cricket, which had an accepted code of rules by 1744, was taken to varying corners of the earth by colonists and others. It was in the British Empire that cricket found its devotees. To quote Orlando Patterson in his "The Ritual of Cricket:"

What the former colonial subjects have done is literally to beat the masters at their own game...Cricket is the game we love, for it is the only game we can play well, the only activity which gives us some international prestige...How better to express our pent-up rage, our

agonizing self-contradiction, than to acquire and master this culture, then use it to beat the group that forced us into acquiring it?"

(Patterson 1978:115)²⁹

In Plantation America cricket was very much a class sport which predated slavery. The Commonwealth Caribbean is characteristically British by way of culture, and it is not surprising that the small island of Barbados is often referred to as "Little England," by those who care to make the comparison. Neither is it surprising that in the tropical heat of the Western Hemisphere, we find a reflection of British society. It is therefore reasonable to assume that cricket became a leisure time pursuit of the old plantocracy, and British government and military personnel, who made temporary or permanent homes in the colonies. The freed slaves who, in spite of their legislated freedom in 1832, were still dependent upon the plantation owners for their livelihood, and no doubt copied, in improvised fashion, their own version of this elite English sport.

In the late nineteenth century, the need for competitors evidently provided the motivation for the local aristocracy to encourage the blacks and the descendents of indentured servants to participate in cricket. However, not until as recently as the nineteen sixties, did the local club system become integrated, allowing free access of membership, to people of the lower class. Nevertheless, in spite of the considerable changes within recent years, class consciousness and class divisions still persist.

Traditionally, elitism in sport was maintained through the formation of private clubs, which restricted membership to those with specific ascribed or achieved criteria. The society was clearly divided

along class and color lines, and very often the domestic role of the blacks within these clubs was extended onto the field of play. It was not uncommon to find numerous black observers who were not members of the domestic staff, assisting with the practice sessions of the white sportsmen. They would enthusiastically retrieve the ball hit by the condescending batsman, or hail words of appreciation for the good shot. Those who had sufficiently mastered the skill of bowling (pitching) would be encouraged to bowl at the aristocratic batsmen, who would confidently and with an air of self-worth, place coins on the stumps as an incentive to the blacks, to try harder and so to earn money by displacing the coins. As a result, we are able to see the motivating factors which led blacks into the role of fast bowlers, which would earn them not only some degree of recognition, financial reward and a semblance of upward social mobility, but also a feeling of power from their own ability to intimidate those in a much more privileged social position. The white aristocracy enjoyed what was considered to be the "sweetest" aspect of the game, which was batting, and from the enthusiastic blacks they gained rewarding practice.

In Barbados, the blacks and poor whites, could not gain access to clubs as playing members and so they started their own clubs. The result was clubs that were not only class based, but also based on the color of ones skin; so with these two criteria for membership the club system became clearly defined along these lines. Where else in the world could one find eleven black men participating against eleven colored men or eleven white men in regular Saturday-afternoon competition? In the other islands the situation was very much the same, although in the

more cosmopolitan areas ethnicity became a major factor to be considered.

It would appear that following the mid-nineteenth century, the game of cricket became very popular in the Commonwealth Caribbean for several reasons, amongst which were ideal climatic conditions conducive to its development, the seasonal nature of the sugar cane crop leading to vast amounts of leisure time, an aristocratic leisure class, and a school system that catered to the needs of the elite. For the education of the poor blacks there was the church. Consequently, the church and sporting institutions became major socializing institutions within early West Indian society.

Throughout the countryside, poor people of all ages could be found playing the game of cricket. Perhaps because of their ingrained desire to rid themselves of social inferiority or because of their physical strength as descendents of emancipated slaves, the first representative teams of the islands consisted of the predominantly white upper class members, who were batsmen, and one or two black fast bowlers who literally did the hard work. However, being able to bowl fast was not the only criterion for selection. They were expected to refer to the whites as "Sir" or "Mister" so-and-so, and even as members of the team in the early days, they were segregated to prevent embarrassment of the white upper class members. Teams taking part in inter-colonial matches in the early twentieth century, which were integrated on the field of play, were very often segregated off the field. E.A. Martindale, a world renowned West Indian cricketer of his day, recalled his first tour to Trinidad in the early nineteen hundreds as a member of the Barbados cricket team. Sir Harold Austin was Captain of the team, and the author's father, E.A. (Mannie) Martindale, was one of the two black members of the team. On their

arrival in Trinidad, the whites were accommodated at the prestigious Queens Park Hotel, and the blacks were housed in the Annex across the street.

This situation prevailed for many years, the blacks always having to take a "back seat" to the privileged whites. The captaincy of the territorial and international West Indian teams was reserved for a member of the white aristocracy, and very often of inferior playing ability. In fact, it was not until 1961 that Frank Worrell, the first black man ever to be selected official captain of a West Indian touring team, brought change to the traditional system (see Table 2).

Of course in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there were no professionals in representative West Indian cricket. The fact was, that those members of the team from the white upper class certainly did not need financial assistance, and it was not unusual for one or two of their group to assist financially with travelling expenses and equipment, in support of the poorer members of the team. Consequently, members of the team who could have benefited by professionalism, saw their selection as an honor and privilege, and at that time, did not associate their success with financial rewards. Test players on the 1933 and 1939 tour to England, for example, received 30 shillings per week allowance. Cricket was evidently played for the love of the game and the honor of representing one's country. So it was, that in the early days, teams were selected predominantly on social standing, and many young cricketers in the West Indies with exceptional ability were never chosen to play representative cricket because they were of unacceptable social standing as determined by the controlling elite.

Social Origins of West Indian Cricket Captains 1928-1976

Year	Captain	Country	Social Origin
1928	R.K. Hunes	Jamaica	Portuguese ancestry, white, wealthy
1929-30	E.L.G. Hoad	Barbados	English planter background, white wealthy planter.
1933	G.C. Grant	Trinidad	French Ancestry, white, Geddy's Grant Company (companies throughout the West Indies to this day). Aristocrats - Cambridge Blue.
1934-35	G.C. Grant	Trinidad	As above
1939	R.S. Grant	Trinidad	Brother of G.C. Grant. White aristocrat - Cambridge Blue. Religious conviction - went into religious order.
War - World War II			
1947-50	J.D.C. Goddard	Barbados	Family of local poor white origin. Son of businessman (merchant) and founder of commercial empire. Director of family business. 3 married daughters: 1st to Dr. Decaries (Guyana) Portuguese mixed 2nd to Dymoe (Barbados) White, Shipping and Trading Co. 3rd to Hoyos (Barbados) Local white, Electrical Engineer.
1952-54	J.B. Stollmeyer	Trinidad	French Creole, white, wealthy land owners. Plantation owner, trained in agriculture - director of many companies. Brother Victor also played for the West Indies. Today he is a prominent lawyer in Trinidad.
1957	J.D.C. Goddard	Barbados	As above
1958-60	F.C.M. Alexander	Jamaica	Local white, Cambridge Blue - veterinary surgeon.
1961-63	F.M. Worrell	Barbados	The first West Indian Black to be officially named captain of a West Indian Team - tour to India. Son of a seaman (mother a seamstress who emigrated to the United States). He was raised by grandparents, with parental support. Frank Worrell attended a leading secondary school (Combermere). As a successful athlete,

Social Origins of West Indian Cricket Captains (Cont'd)

Year	Captain	Country	Social Origin
	F.H. Worrell (contd)		he was chosen to represent the West Indies and later, left the West Indies to play professional cricket in England. He attended Manchester University and graduated with a Bachelor's Degree in sociology. On retiring from professional cricket, he became Dean of Students at the St. Augustine Campus of the U.W.I. in Trinidad. Frank Worrell has one daughter who attended one of England's most prestigious girls public schools.
1966-71	G.S. Sobers	Barbados	African Ancestry - Black. Son of a seaman who died early which inhibited his schooling. Sobers became the world's greatest cricketer in his day, with several world records to his credit. He played as a professional in English League and Country cricket. He married an Australian white and has two young children. On his retirement from First Class cricket he received a financial testimonial from government, and is employed by the Caribbean Secretariat as a Sports Director.
1973-1974	R.B. Kanhai	Guyana	East Indian Ancestry - Black. Son of plantation worker. Kanhai was the product of a rural plantation coaching scheme and became one of the West Indies finest cricketers. He turned professional and played in North of England League cricket, and married an English white girl. He still resides in England and has retired from First Class cricket.
1974-76	C.H. Lloyd	Guyana	African Ancestry, Black. Son of a local chauffeur. Received secondary education in Guyana. Became a great cricketer, and turned professional in English County cricket. He still represents the West Indies as a professional.

power structure. The gap between the aristocratic leadership and the lower status players was wide.

The self-governing period in West Indian history was a period of tremendous social change. In 1934, the price of sugar fell to an all-time low of five shillings a hundredweight, a situation which led to massive unemployment and food shortages, and increasing discontent spread throughout the Caribbean. This was the motivating factor for change. From 1936 to 1938 in St. Kitts, Trinidad and Jamaica and many of the other islands, a wave of unrest, demonstrations, riots, and strikes, showed that the breaking point had finally been reached (McDonald 1971:131).³⁰

The discontent spread, and West Indians in every island, from the lower and middle classes, sparked off these spontaneous uprisings. "Whoever had enough charisma, courage or ability who could reach the pulse of the people's nationalism, became hero for the crowds."³¹ Thus, out of the social disturbances, arose the natural leaders and the initial development of men such as Grantly Adams in Barbados and Alexander Bustamante in Jamaica, who began to channel the nationalistic energy of the masses into trade union movements. Over the following seven years, more than sixty trade unions were formed, in a sequence of events that ultimately led to the formation of political parties and subsequently governments.

Consistent with these events, the club system in Barbados, for example, was such that owing to the exclusion of persons on the basis of color and class, new clubs were being established consisting of middle class and lower class members in clearly defined color categories from similar social backgrounds. The situation was such that from within one

club in particular, arose the new trade union and political leaders of the masses. Loy et al (1978:348)³² make the point that "since social integration occurs to a great extent through the process of acculturation and structural assimilation, sport organizations provide the medium whereby individuals might realize full participation in the social institutions of the host or dominant group." These findings have been supported by other researchers (McKay, 1975;³³ Tooley 1976;³⁴ Wohl 1966).³⁵

The findings of Wohl (1966)³⁶ in his Polish study are consistent with the situation in Barbados. Wohl noted that within-group integration of social classes during national crises has been facilitated by sport groups. As an example he described the 1929-1934 period of class struggle for power in Poland in which the workers' sport organizations unified the working class and in fact drew most of the political party leaders from the leaders of the sport clubs. The point is further made that "...through a sport club, individuals interact with those of the same social class and this facilitates the socialization of norms and values and the raising of class consciousness."³⁷

So it was that Sir Grantly Adams, like other black leaders in the Commonwealth Caribbean, became a founder member of one of the first black middle class clubs, as a sporting enthusiast. Combining sport and politics, he used the club to rally the support of persons of similar social background:

For it is one of the most persistent themes in Caribbean politics that men who, in the late 1930's filtered through the crowded streets, emerged from the crowds and organized the people, were also those who subsequently led the movement for constitutional independence and (with one or two exceptions) have dominated the politics of the commonwealth Caribbean.

(McDonald 1971:132)³⁸

Most of the statesmen in the Commonwealth Caribbean today are the sons or daughters of, or were themselves, leaders of trade union movements. In addition to current prime ministers, many leaders of the opposition and ministers in government were also closely identified with the trade union movement.

The spontaneous outbursts of the West Indian masses and the subsequent development of trade unionism, led the British Government, following World War II, to initiate royal commissions and constitutional conferences directed toward establishing a self-government suitable for the Caribbean colonies. Discussions held over a fourteen year period (1944-58) finally resulted in what was intended to be the major force toward regional independence - Federation of the British West Indies.

Consistent with the British move to introduce regional independence, Smith (1979:259)³⁹ suggests that "even in colonial situations where the apparatus of the state was under foreign control at the highest levels, the native born people invariably wielded significant power at lower levels of the government and in a variety of informal ways."⁴⁰ Smith further suggests that it was precisely these constellations of interest accommodating or opposing foreign rule that made for many of the significant differences in the patterns of post-war decolonization.

Officially inaugurated in April 1958, the West Indian federation was composed of ten colonial territories, incorporating the major part of the West Indian population. The ten territories formed a political union governed by a federal parliament, ministers elected by the region's four million inhabitants, and an administrative super-structure intended to coordinate the economic development of the Caribbean. Regretably,

after four years, and because of lack of support from the masses of the region and other personnel and in addition to geographical and administrative difficulties, the federal experiment collapsed in 1961. As a result, Britain was obliged to grant each of the larger territories its individual independence, and within recent years, many of the smaller islands have followed suit.

However, in spite of constitutional independence, the economic dependency of the Commonwealth Caribbean has not altered in any significant way, and the political leadership that governs has been unwilling or unable to do much about it. McDonald (1971:133)⁴¹ is of the opinion that, on the contrary, "what development policies have been undertaken by the governments of the Commonwealth Caribbean have only reinforced such conditions."⁴²

The 1930's saw the beginnings of professionalism in sport for the relatively few West Indian black players who had reached test standard in the game they had adopted from the British; but as professionals they did not represent the West Indies, because at that time the national representative team was strictly amateur. They did however, experience upward social mobility through sport by playing as professionals in the Leagues, in the industrial north of England. In this situation, they gained considerable exposure and became the real ambassadors of their native land - not only because they were among the first black residents in that part of England, but also because they laid the foundation for many that followed. Much attention was given to them, not just as cricketers, but also socially, as the curious enquired about the far off lands of the West Indies. So it was that the avenue was opened which provided generations of blacks to follow, with an

opportunity to gain exposure and a means of upward social mobility through sport, and the opportunity to spread a positive image of West Indians throughout the world.

The distinctions between amateurism and professionalism in West Indian sport, shows clearly a reflection of the sporting situation of the metropolitan country. The Oxford English Dictionary⁴³ states that a professional is "one who follows by way of profession or business an occupation generally engaged in as a pastime." Nevertheless, within recent years, the words "amateur" and "professional" have been surrounded by controversy. The dictionary meaning of amateur literally meant "lover," but was rarely used prior to the nineteenth century. The Oxford Dictionary quotes the following use of the word in 1803. "Amateur in the Arts is a foreign term introduced and now passing current among us to denote a person understanding and loving or practising the polite arts of painting, sculpture or architecture without any regard to pecuniary advantage," McIntosh (1963:178).⁴⁴ McIntosh also suggests that implicit in this statement is that "some pursuits are 'polite' and others are 'impolite'." This distinction has recurred many times in sport, long before the word "amateur" came to be used in the nineteenth century, but "amateur gave a new form to an old concept." In the Renaissance period, according to McIntosh, the "courtier" had been the aristocratic ideal. In nineteenth century England "gentleman" was the comparable idea. He further suggests that the word "amateur" initially reinforced the word "gentleman." The term "gentleman amateur" was used at Oxford and Cambridge colleges to distinguish certain undergraduates from the socially inferior students who were simply referred to as "commoners" or "scholars."⁴⁵ But to be referred to as a

"gentleman and a scholar" was really a mark of distinction.

In the game of cricket, the term "gentleman" was by itself sufficient to distinguish the upper class participant from the professional player, a term synonymous with working class at that time. Indeed, it was not until 1962 that the annual cricket match at Lords (the home of the elitist Marylebone Cricket Club in England) between the "gentlemen" and the "players" was abolished. Prior to that date, every season the gentlemen-amateurs would compete on the field of play against the professional-players. For many years since its inception, separate changing and dining facilities were used, and the only contact between the teams was on the field. Class distinction between the elite participants and those who participated for a living was an important characteristic of the match. The ruling elite also dominated county cricket and until the 1950's, the captain of every county team had to be an amateur of good social standing, and more often than not, an Oxford or a Cambridge "blue".

This philosophy also extended to the national representative teams in English cricket, and its reflection in the colonies was inevitable. Clearly, sport in England prior to World War II and afterwards, followed the class based tradition, but in the West Indies, it was not only class based, but also color based, although in most instances a person's class was largely determined by the color of his skin. The adopted sporting attitudes in the colonies therefore ~~were~~ indicative of British influence and "a gentleman was a person of independent means of good social standing and who studied classics," to which might also be added - and who participated in sport as a true amateur. For an appreciable part

of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries therefore, "gentleman" and "amateur" became convertible terms.

It was not until 1953 that the first knighthoods ever given for performance in sport, as distinct from administrative or military service, were awarded by the British Monarch. Cricketer Jack Hobbs and jockey Gordon Richards became the first athletes ever to receive such an award, which was indicative of class society's recognition of the involvement of the masses in sport, and of sports' contribution to the society at large. In the same year, the award also went to the conqueror of Everest, Edmund Hillary, and a lesser, but still prestigious award, the Commander of the British Empire (CBE) was bestowed upon Britain's leading soccer player at that time, Stanley Mathews, who was truly a representative of the masses.

Since World War II and the decade prior to the independence movements in the Caribbean, gradual changes in attitudes toward sport were being experienced. No doubt it could be claimed that the changes initiated in England regarding social attitudes and sport, would at a later stage filter through to the areas which were under her colonial domination. By tradition, as previously mentioned, the leadership of the English Test Team as well as her county teams, was under the direction of an amateur, who was very often the product of the prestigious, elitist academic institutions of Oxford and Cambridge where they were awarded "blues" as symbols of recognition for successfully representing the university in a particular sport.

One of England's greatest cricketers, Wally Hammond, a professional of considerable note, was never allowed to captain England

in spite of his superior ability. However, in addition to experiencing upward social mobility as a professional athlete, like Gene Tunney the American boxing champion, Hammond married a woman of considerable wealth. Following his marriage and his new found status, he was invited to captain England, as an amateur, after giving up his professional status.

In the West Indies, the class-based nature of sport was further exemplified as a satellite of Britain, by the fact that not only the captains of island teams, but also all official leaders of the West Indian representative cricket teams, were predominantly of upper class white family background. More often than not, since the inception of international competition in 1928, they were also products of Oxford or Cambridge. Not until the 1961 tour of India was the captaincy of an official West Indian team chosen purely on the basis of ability and not social class position. Sir Frank Worrell, who in 1961 became the first black man to be selected to lead an official West Indian side, was also a professional. In changing times the question of ability became so blatantly obvious that the West Indian Cricket Board of Control had little choice.

As we have seen, in historical perspective, almost all blacks who have participated in representative sport in the West Indies are from the lower socio-economic levels of society. Those who have made some degree of upward social mobility through sport therefore, have done so as a result of turning professional, and playing in the industrialized urban centers in England. West Indian cricket has been a major source of progress for those who were both skillful and fortunate. Soccer,

has also provided a means of upward social mobility, but to a lesser extent than cricket.

Since the early 1960's and to some extent as a result of the independent status of the developing nations, there has been a transformation in the type of players now representing the Commonwealth Caribbean. In the words of an old West Indian Test player, and one of the original professionals to take up residence in England:

Today there has been a complete turn about. The West Indies team no longer consists of light-skinned or white boys, not that they are not good, but the situation is such that they are not given the opportunity, so they go to another game.

(Achong 1978: 227)⁴⁶

The West Indian aristocrats no longer dominate national and international cricket in such a way as to give preference to their own kind. With the changing character of the social status of the average West Indian player, we have seen the transformation from amateurism to professionalism within the game. The club system also reflects the transition from class to mass participation as the traditional class sport of cricket has become the preserve of the black and to a lesser extent the East Indian populations in the cosmopolitan nations of the Commonwealth Caribbean.

From the time of the first West Indian captain to represent the masses in 1961, there has developed distinct changes in the attitude of the players. Traditionally, players selected to represent the West Indies thought of themselves as Jamaicans, Barbadians or Demerarans, and this insularity often led to conflict among team members. Since 1961

however, Frank Worrell not only exhibited a profound knowledge of the game, but more importantly he was able to break down feelings of insularity.

Not only in the international game of cricket have we seen resistance to change. The tennis elite of Wimbledon offered tremendous resistance to the suggestion of professional tournaments, and the game of rugby has also demonstrated class distinction by the maintenance of purity in the amateur union game, as opposed to the modified commercialized form of the professional rugby league. Interestingly enough, the old boys of one of Britain's oldest and most prestigious public schools, Merchant Taylors, still visit the West Indies on goodwill tours, but the calibre of their opposition has changed. Today the national rugby teams are represented by many more persons from the lower socio-economic levels of West Indian society than was the case in years past.

Constitutional independence in the Commonwealth Caribbean, which might be defined only in terms of political independence has not affected the traditional class structure to any great extent, for in spite of the election of black politicians in every newly emerging nation, West Indians of European origin still exercise almost total control over the conditions of economic power of the region. McDonald (1971:133)⁴⁷ cites as example "the managers of the Tate and Lyle sugar estates, the managers of Geests' banana industry, the directors of Kaiser, Alcan and Reynolds bauxite operations, the various expatriate-owned hotels, night clubs, and tourist facilities, and the hundreds of bank managers for Barclays, Nova Scotia, Royal Bank of Canada and Chase Manhattan."⁴⁸ In addition, there are the local West Indian elites, who are mainly white, and who share in and often represent, the interests of expatriot investors.

The middle class professionals and technocrats, primarily of mixed origin and employed in middle management positions, represent the business sector and the civil service. This class, unlike the United States for example, is relatively small, and caught in the undesirable position of being aware of the needs of the mass population, while acquiring a reasonable share of the benefits, goods and services handed down from above (McDonald 1971:134).⁴⁹ Consequently, from this middle class element come the intellectual elite who provide the leadership for radical change.

For the average worker in the West Indies, wages are low with a per capita income for the region ranging from \$145 in the small states to \$235 in the larger states. Recent studies have indicated that in Trinidad for example, Trinidadians of European origin earn an average income of \$500 per month, while Afro-Trinidadians earn an average wage of only \$104 a month and those of East Indian origin \$99 per month. Also in Jamaica, a University of the West Indies study shows that 5 per cent of Jamaica's families accumulate 30 per cent of the national goods and services, while 60 percent of the families must survive with only 19 percent of the country's resources. In Barbados, fifteen large sugar estates own the entire central portion of an island where the density of the population (1,400 per square mile) is one of the highest in the world (McDonald 1971:135).⁵⁰

The economic plight of the people in the newly developing nations of the Commonwealth Caribbean is such that the process of modernization under a capitalistic model is leading to frustration. There is an illusion of prosperity, yet in reality unemployment is high, homes are unobtainable, and modern conveniences are unavailable to the majority of the people.

Consequently, in these days of modernization, there is increasing frustration among the masses of the people. Something new appears to be taking place politically in the Commonwealth Caribbean. The recent coup d'etat in Grenada in 1979, was the first of its kind in the history of the British-speaking West Indies, where governments have followed closely the English parliamentary tradition. The new rebel government led by a young lawyer, was not recognized by the neighbouring nations of Barbados and Trinidad, and being rejected by the United States, it therefore turned for assistance to Cuba. Now along with Guyana and Jamaica, Grenada has established close diplomatic ties with Cuba.

In spite of the evident social and political changes which are taking place, there is still evidence of resistance to change and the perpetuation of neo-colonial attitudes. By focusing therefore upon whether the societies since independence are truly mass-based or whether neo-colonial attitudes persist, it would appear advisable to look more closely at what is taking place within sporting institutions. Cuba has provided one alternative to class-based sport, and it would appear that there must be an ideology and commitment from all newly developing states to provide facilities, coaches and encouragement to all people, if there is to be a connection between the needs of the people and constructive progress.

Sport Serving Commercial Interests in Capitalist Societies

In both Britain and the United States, industrialism brought the concept of leisure to the people, and it also put money in their pockets. At an increasing rate, people were prepared to pay to watch attractive games, but when they paid they also expected a high standard

of competition. Gate receipts led naturally to professional performers and to the promotion of some sports as commercial entertainment. Some sports in Britain had known professionals long before they became popular. Golf, horse-racing, cricket, pedestrianism and pugilism had all had their paid performers since the mid-eighteenth century (McIntosh 1963:86).⁵¹

The economic importance of sport however, in modern times, lies not merely in its absorption of surplus wealth and leisure, but in the financial structure of a country, which may use sport as an important supporting member. Commercialized sport with its ancillary or attendant industry of gambling, provided the national exchequer in Britain with considerable income. In Norway for example, science as well as sport is financially assisted with revenue taken directly from gambling on sport, and in Britain the revenue from football pools, in excess of £ 30,000,000 in the mid 1960's went to the general exchequer's revenue (McIntosh 1963:87).⁵²

When professionalism and commercialism developed on a large scale in the nineteenth century, the governing bodies of sport succeeded in keeping undesirable elements in place. Such elements were primarily involved in corruption and gambling. At no time however, did the commercial influence of sport creep into the public school or college systems of Britain, from many of which, the sons of tradesmen were carefully excluded.

The situation differed markedly in the United States, where the American version of football became a part-time occupation. Individuals are enticed into universities because of their physical prowess, and often make no serious effort to study.

In historical perspective, the games were often attended by rowdyism and a number of universities from 1885 onwards, banned football from time to time. Gate receipts however, were a steady and lucrative source of income for colleges, which enabled them not merely to offer athletic scholarships and pay generous salaries to coaches, but also to erect costly buildings for sport and other activities. The commercial interest spread to the high schools, and inter-school athletics was often financed from gate receipts. The National Collegiate Athletic Association did much to check the worst abuses of inter-collegiate sport, but in spite of their efforts, college baseball was dominated by professional and commercial interests. The United States had neither the inhibitions nor the aristocratic tradition of control which enabled commercial sport in Britain to be kept within bounds.

Loy et al (1978:256)⁵³ make the point that institutionalized sport at the professional and international levels has become heavily embedded in the bureaucratic dimensions of a mass-consuming society and is therefore an integral part of the market place. In fact, as Shecter (1970)⁵⁴ noted: "Winning, losing, playing the game, all count less than counting the money." Not only has sport itself become an economic enterprise, but it has also stimulated economic growth in a variety of ways, so that sport and related enterprises represent an estimated one hundred billion dollar industry in the United States alone (Knowet 1977;⁵⁵ Meyers 1975).⁵⁶ This industry includes large corporations that manufacture sporting goods in an estimated 10.5 billion dollar industry; clothing manufacturers who produce practical, attractive athletic attire to be worn while playing or consuming sport - such as swim wear, tennis clothes

and footwear; architects, building contractors and consulting engineers who design, construct or remodel stadia, game sites, ski resorts etc. at a large profit (Auf der Mans 1976)⁵⁷; concession owners and operators who are engaged in a million-dollar industry selling food and beverages at sporting events; part-time entrepreneurs such as those who recover golf balls from ponds and lakes for resale in a million-dollar business, much of which is illegal; bookies and betting syndicates who handle over one billion dollars a year in wagers on professional and college events; agents and lawyers who represent the contractual and commercial interests of athletes and various forms of mass media, especially television, which sell commercial time to business corporations who can advertise their products to a relatively homogeneous set of potential consumers (Loy et al 1978:256).⁵⁸

Since the 1960's television programs and especially sports events, have become an increasingly important source of low cost entertainment for the masses, as well as the major source of fixed revenue for sport organizations. In effect, the media serve as a middle-man by collecting revenues from commercial sponsors, deducting their expenses and retaining a proportion of this revenue to support leagues, international competition or individual teams so that they can survive economically. In reality however, the process works in reverse since the league or owners, or controlling bodies have options in the sale of local and national broadcast rights. At the local level, they can package and present the games themselves, they can sell the rights directly to a sponsor, who then negotiates a radio or television package, or they can sell the rights to a station or network which packages the game and sells commercial time to sponsors. The latter arrangement is most popular

at both local and international levels.

Commercialization and Power Politics in Sport

In what has been described as "probably the most imaginative piece of sporting promotion ever devised," the game of cricket was boosted into a big-money operation by a private interest group in Australia. In an unexpected political move which stunned cricket administrators and supporters throughout the world, a group of private investors had under contract, the world's best players. A controversial situation developed out of a power-play for television rights to internationally competitive cricket. In addition to Australians, the group controlled the "cream of players" from other cricketing nations, such as England, the West Indies, Pakistan and South Africa.

Through a series of test matches, one-day games and a round-robin knockout competition, over a period of three seasons, Australians were treated to what was billed as "some of the most magnificent cricket ever seen."

The unbelievable saga leading to the consummation of this huge sporting deal had its origin in November 1976 when two somewhat frustrated journalists in Australia, with interests in sport, decided to form "J.P. Sports" Company. The purpose of the company was to act as agents for top sporting personalities, many of whom they knew personally. In addition, they promoted sporting events and packaged television programs on sports. Their first venture was the highly successful "World Masters Snooker Championships", following which they successfully managed a few advertising contracts for Australian test cricketers, a leading golfer and tennis celebrity, John Newcombe.

The story was recalled that over a few drinks with two of Australia's top cricketers, the owners of the company, John Cornell and Austin Robertson, were asked to try to do something for cricket. The basis of the players' complaint was the relatively poor rewards available in their sport in comparison with others in golf and tennis (Kennedy 1977).⁵⁹ A cricketer, they argued, left his sport after a number of years with nothing except his "outside career in tatters." The truth of their complaint was substantiated by stating exact figures. In the Sheffield Shield Cricket Competition for example, which usually comprised of thirty-two days of cricket, Ian Chappell, the South Australian captain, was getting \$15 plus expenses. The expenses totalled \$3 a day for lunch and \$5 for dinner. This was his pay as a player at the top of his career, and the reason he quit cricket. In his last season as captain of the Australian Test Team, Ian Chappell was receiving \$400 and \$100 expenses for the match and a small grant from the provident fund. On the New Zealand tour in 1977, players were allowed to draw \$160 a week for the four and a half week tour. They were also given \$300 at the beginning of the tour and \$300 at the end, a grand total of approximately \$1,200. For the 1977 tour of England the Australian players were getting \$6,000 from the Australian Cricket Board of Control, plus money from the Benson and Hedges Tobacco Company, which sponsored the series. In all, the players received about \$10,000 per person for the tour.

With the introduction of commercial sponsorship and endorsements, the professional cricketer today is much better off, but he still lags far behind the others in professional sport with respect to financial rewards.

Including sponsorships, endorsements and whatever else he can pull together, an Australian cricketer these days can, at the very zenith of his career, expect an income of no more than \$25,000. Most receive less than half that. On top of this is the fact that it is almost impossible to develop an outside career while playing top-class cricket and most players finish up in such jobs as insurance and public relations.

(Kennedy 1977:39)⁶⁰

Kennedy also made reference to the fact that the dissatisfaction with the system of payment in international cricket was, according to Cornell and Robertson, widespread. But they did not realize that it was quite as widespread and deep-seated as it ultimately turned out to be. They felt that they, and the players, could prosper given the right idea, and that the only thing that was needed was a catalyst. Deciding that the promoters and the players would need a sponsor, they approached someone they already knew - Kerry Packer, Chairperson of the television group which controlled Channel Nine throughout Australia.

Packer, a man of considerable power, had shown what could be done by combining television and sport with the Australian Open Golf Tournament, and he had for many months wanted to get cricket on Channel Nine. Each time he attempted to negotiate a contract to commercialize first class cricket however, the Australian Cricket Board of Control refused. And so the timing was right for the power play to begin.

Cornell suggested to Packer the possibility of a series of tests and one-day matches to be played along the lines of the "Cavalier" matches in Britain. According to Kennedy's (1977)⁶¹ account, Packer countered: "Why not do the thing properly? Why not get the world's best players to play the best Australians?" and came up with a formula which caused the greatest controversy in modern cricketing history. It

was significant because it led to the most revolutionary changes in the traditional game of cricket, and it motivated new attitudes toward the upwardly mobile professional athletes in some of the developing countries of the world.

The entrepreneurs set about signing the world's top thirty-six players which involved thousands of miles of overseas travel and dozens of hours in international telephone calls. The response from those players in other countries turned out to be just as enthusiastic as that of the Australians. It was arranged that Austin Robertson and John Kitto, Secretary and in-house attorney of the television corporation group, travel overseas to sign up as many as possible of the players chosen, "in an atmosphere of secrecy and security which would have done the KGB proud."

The unknown factor at this stage was what would be the attitude of the controlling cricket boards throughout the world, and also that of the International Cricket Organization. The organizers decided to go ahead anyway, and made arrangements with players, without the consent of the governing bodies. The manifest reason given for their actions, by the players and promoters alike, was that what they were doing was indisputably in cricket's long-term interest. "For most of the bright young athletes faced with the choice between golf, tennis and cricket... this move could change the scene entirely." (Kennedy 1977:43).⁶² It was further emphasized that cricketers now entertaining hundreds of thousands of people live on television, have been financially rewarded "less than mere extras."

It was agreed that the main series would be six test matches of five days each. There would be six one-day knockout games between

Australia and the Rest of the World, and six three-day round-robin, limited-over games in which three teams would take part, thus giving the public the chance to see the world's thirty-six best players in action more or less at the same time. The televising of matches was expected to be the most exciting ever staged in Australia. A total of eight cameras, as against the normal four, would be in action. The best production crews in the country would be engaged to operate them and the most modern equipment including an Iso-camera would be used. This would enable instant close-up replays of highlights in the game. A sporting consulting company was employed and assisted in the management and organization of the series.

The rules for the series were identical to other test series except that intimidation of one player by another was allowed. The contracts were such that all of the thirty-six players would be engaged in extensive coaching sessions with young players. Apart from the size of the project perhaps the most amazing feature was the success of the planned secrecy and security of the operation. The players were asked not only to avoid mentioning it to anyone, but they also were asked to avoid discussing the project among themselves. "Apart from one small leak in South Africa, and some adept sleuthing in the right direction by the cricket correspondent of the Daily Mail in London, not a breath of what was afoot came out." (Kennedy 1977:44).⁶³

Early in May 1977 a letter outlining what was taking place was sent from the television corporation to the Australian Cricket Board of Control, and as Packer and his organization went to press, there had been no reaction to the letter. The players felt quite strongly that the Board would not react bitterly to the proposal because of

the number and calibre of the players involved. In spite of the expected favorable reaction however, the Australian Cricket Board of Control reacted in a way which was violently opposed to the project as did other controlling bodies throughout the world. A court injunction filed in behalf of the Board to stop Packer was overruled. It was too late. The professional players saw an opportunity to make considerable wealth out of their chosen sport, and the Packer organization with millions of dollars at its disposal, provided the "bait" which led to the disruption of the cricketing world.

The opposition of the Australian Cricket Board of Control was such that they refused access to Packer, to stage his series on the major cricket grounds in Australia, in an attempt to block his mammoth venture. In response however, Packer commissioned the football stadia and spent hundreds of thousands of dollars digging up the turf and preparing special turf suitable for first class cricket. He used show-grounds and horse-racing facilities and in Melbourne, he had special grass treated in green-houses over the winter months and placed in position for the series. He organized his own staff of accountants to control gate receipts, and re-organized suitable facilities in the country districts of Australia where live first class cricket had never been seen before. All of this re-organization and rebuilding was done with the prime purpose of packing in the spectators to support the revolutionary idea of the entrepreneurs.

Each of the top professionals was engaged to participate in a series lasting from November to January at a salary of \$30,000 and each was offered a three-year contract. In addition to the salary, there were large cash awards for the "player of the match" or a car would be awarded

to the best player of the series. There were other cash awards for the most spectacular player, and for the winning team of a one-day international competition, there was an award of 50,000 additional dollars. It was a money "bonanza".

New innovations to the game were introduced to make it more appealing to the viewing public. To accommodate the day workers, for the first time in cricketing history, floodlit cricket was introduced and the attendance at the first night match in Sidney was 60,000. Of course this revolutionary change called for other changes to the traditional order of the game - a white ball replaced the legendary red leather, black sight screens instead of white or off-white, and each team was outfitted in pastel shades of color, instead of the conservative and familiar white flannels and shirts.

Consumer items, such as T-shirt novelties, computerized cricket games, beach towels, caricature soap and jewelry with cricketing motifs, and at the beginning of every game, one hundred new, white novelty cricket balls would be given out to the children spectators.

There were modifications to the rules of the game, all introduced to make it more entertaining. Microphones were placed behind the stumps, so that the spectators could hear the comments of the players, and the instant replay system was used on controversial issues. Another revolutionary idea was the fact that wives and children could tour with the players, a privilege reserved only for wealthy players in former years. But perhaps the "piece de resistance" of the commercialization of this most noble of English sports, was witnessed during a match in Sydney, Australia, when rain threatened to abolish a day's play, for one of the largest crowds ever to attend a cricket match. In order to dry

the rain-sodden pitch so that play could commence on time, Kerry Packer had his private helicopter flown into the arena, and thus introduced the most revolutionary dryer in sporting history.

World series cricket, which was played in other countries of the world, in addition to Australia, threw the traditional international cricket tournaments into turmoil. In the Commonwealth Caribbean, professional cricketers, as in other countries of the cricketing world, had been underpaid from the beginning. This was due to the fact that the West Indies cricket Board of Control never made much money out of the game, and waited until tours could boost their income. Consequently, in the early years, the paying of professionals was out of the question. More recently however, sport in the Caribbean has been sponsored by multi-national corporations operating in the area, such as Shell Oil Company, Benson and Hedges, and British American Tobacco Company. This has been the case, not only in the West Indies, but also in England where such multi-national corporations as Gillette, Rothmans, Benson and Hedges, Cornhill Insurance, Utah Mining, Wrigley's, BMW, Prudential Assurance, Haig Whiskey, and Shell Oil, have all jumped on board the cricketing bandwagon in spectacular fashion (Beecher 1978:27).⁶⁴

As a result of the political power play by the Packer organization, in an attempt to gain television rights for first class cricket, from the Australian Cricket Board of Control, one of the multinational corporations offered to sponsor one of England's top players, with a better contract than that offered by Packer, and so that particular player was encouraged to remain in England.

After a little more than two years of complete disruption of the international cricket scene, the Australian Cricket Board of Control

relented and so the corporate power of the Packer organization won its political struggle and rights to televise first class cricket on Channel Nine throughout Australia. But what of the legacy for cricket throughout the world? 1) It can now be claimed that Packer took cricket to the people in the rural areas of this vast country. 2) Night time play will continue, catering to the needs of the masses in a class society. 3) Today throughout the cricketing world, there is greater sponsorship, and 4) Some professional players were able to use Packer offers as leverage and to obtain for themselves and others, larger income and greater security as a result of increased sponsorship.

The Economics of Commercialized Sport and Professionalism

Essentially, professional sport consists of franchises within a cartel that is designed to provide monopoly rights and restrictions against competition. A cartel is a group of firms, for example teams in a league, that are structurally linked to produce a product through agreement on rules, the end product, prices, advertising, hiring policies, revenue sharing, etc. In effect, the result is that owners have a monopoly on access to players, the protection of their geographical territory from competition in the same sport, control over local broadcast rights and control over concession rights. The Packer organization therefore could be said to have had control in the form of a cartel, over the professional world of international cricket. Furthermore, at least until the last few years, professional sporting organizations have had monopsonistic power where the buyer has control in any bargaining relationship (Loy et al 1978).⁶⁵

Today the three main sources of income for professional sport

teams are gate receipts, radio and television rights, and ancillary enterprises such as concessions, parking and the sale of programs and souvenirs.

Improvement in the standings in the league, winning a championship, or having "star" players on the team, will influence attendance. Packer skilfully devised a method of having all the world stars in cricket, concentrated in one place, and consequently, was able to produce championship cricket under monopoly circumstances. The response was tremendous with gates of 500,000 and more at the Sydney Stadium in Australia. Noll (1974)⁶⁶ suggests that a metropolitan area population of only 900,000 is necessary to provide adequate financial support for the success of a professional sports team. However, Packer also concentrated his efforts toward bringing the best in a professional sport, not only to the urban centers, but also to the remote rural areas, by employing the "stars" as coaches and also by increased television exposure.

The most stable and lucrative source of revenue, and an increasingly essential source are radio and television rights for local and national broadcasting. In the United States in recent years, the local and national rights to televize regular season baseball and football games have been over fifty million dollars annually in each sport. For example, in 1977 the television rights for baseball totalled 52.1 million dollars, with the amount a given team received ranging from 2 million dollars for the Red Sox to 350,00 million for the Royals (Kahan, 1977).⁶⁷ In football, each team received a net share of 2.2 million dollars of an overall 57.2 million dollars in television rights, the revenue being divided equally between all teams. In other sports such as hockey, the money is divided so that the teams in large cities

or the more successful teams that appear more frequently, receive larger shares.

In the Packer organization, each international player enticed into the organization was offered a contract averaging about 50,000 dollars. Horowitz (1974)⁶⁸ noted that not a single major league baseball team in the United States would have earned a profit in 1952 or in 1972 if television rights were not available. He further suggests that, for national rights, the influential factors are mainly the interests of one or more sponsors in gaining monopoly rights to advertize through a given sport (the same thing applies with respect to sponsorships by large companies), and the degree of interest (as expressed via television ratings of viewer interest) of fans in consuming that sport.

Since the 1960's, the emergence of competing cartels, changes initiated through collective bargaining (e.g. free agent status), increased revenues from television, expanded leagues, and an awareness of the actual profits made by owners, have all operated to inflate salaries to heights previously unknown. As a result, minimum salaries have increased, the number of athletes on the payroll has increased, some athletes now earn more than 200,000 dollars per annum, pensions and other fringe benefits have increased, and multi-year contracts are being encouraged by the owners. There is however, great variation in salaries between sports, between leagues in a given sport, and within clubs, depending upon the position played, the level of ability, and the degree of "charisma" generated (Loy et al, 1978).⁶⁹

As a result of the commercialization of sport today, it can become profitable for these athletes who invest a significant part of their lives, often at the expense of an education, in preparing for a

sporting career. Those who attain positions at the highest level of competition, can earn not only high salaries, but significant incomes through endorsements of products, fringe benefits, and wise investment of their incomes during their playing careers. For example, some star professional athletes annually earn the equivalent of their salary through commercial endorsements. Through sound investments by business managers, many will have guaranteed annual incomes sufficient to maintain a high standard of living long after their playing careers, without ever being employed full-time.

On the other hand, sport involvement may not be a profitable career for those who ultimately don't succeed, or who only remain in the system from one to five years. These individuals may have few alternatives open to them outside of sport, thus they experience not only loss of potential income but the loss of a feeling of self-worth. Many of these "failures" experience downward social mobility and a life of marginal existence in highly competitive capitalistic societies. In short, "their investment in professional socialization for the athletic role has not materialized..."

Quirk and El Hodiri's (1974)⁷⁰ theoretical model, developed in order to apply economic theory to an analysis of the business operation of professional sport, was based upon the assumptions of profit maximization as a goal of each owner and the existence of an equilibrium within the system at each point in time (i.e. the stock of playing skills for each team remains fixed with new players replacing those whose skill depreciate). The elements of the model include a basic unit of playing skill that can be assigned to each player, so that the playing skills of

the team represents the sum of these skills. Each owner then must decide on the number of units of playing skill he or she must buy or sell in the market in order to realize success on the field and maximize profits. In effect, the owners must estimate a wage rate per unit of playing skill and balance this against revenues from gate receipts, broadcasting rights and the sale of player contracts. One additional unique feature about the model is that each firm operates in conjunction with others. Therefore, revenues and access to units of playing skill are dependent upon the product (i.e. equality of competition) and the success of one team compared to the others. What made the Packer idea so interesting and revolutionary, was that he was the sole owner of the international professional market in cricket, and as such, each cricket playing nation provided an ongoing supply of talented players, evenly matched, and therefore he possessed a built-in motivational interest, with the best professional players of one nation competing against the best professional players of another nation, and in theory at least, all the consequences of international competition. As a result, many of the difficulties in the business operations of professional sport as indicated by Quirk and El Hodiri were eliminated, for Packer had complete control over the total organization. The total number of units of playing skill was higher than any other possible league competition, and uncertainty of outcome was maintained, which inevitably contributed to consistent fan interest and stabilized revenues from gate receipts. Consequently, the profit maximization process of the professional sport of cricket was maintained.

Today, the point has been reached where all professional cricket

players have benefited from the innovations of the Packer organization. Many poor people in the Caribbean would have never, in a life-time, amassed from cricket - the skill they could do best, and in which they had invested considerable time - the amount of money offered in one contract.

The professionalization of sport therefore has contributed to the democratization of sport in capitalist societies, in their transition from class to mass participation. Professionalization has enhanced self-esteem not only of the players, but of the masses who identify with them as role models. Now in class societies, and through sport, the man in the street, can claim that he is as good as, if not better than, the privileged classes in some aspect of life. Consequently, the Packer upheaval received the support of the average sports fan, because it provided opportunities for "one of their own" in sport which had previously been dominated by elite groups who perpetuated elitism in sport, more often than not, in their own interest.

Sport, a Conscious Aspect of National Development and National Pride

The gradual movement from class to mass emphasis in sport in many capitalist societies has been a transition of revolutionary dimensions in the so-called socialist states of the world, as they have undergone radical social change.

The belief that sport aids in the development of desirable character traits has been a fundamental philosophy in physical education throughout the world and has been particularly emphasized in Britain. This belief has also become axiomatic in totalitarian countries such as the Soviet Union, where sport is claimed to be essential in the development of the character of the "New Soviet Man" (Morton 1963:111).

Individuals with desirable personality traits whether they be politically or culturally inspired, are the model citizens of their country, and also the chosen representatives of the political ideology of that country. As models, for example, athletes are expected to support the political system for which they are highly rewarded. Alberto Juantorena, the Cuban 400 and 800 meter Olympic champion is recognized as one of Cuba's inspirational leaders and spokesmen, politically, he is totally committed to the revolution. "Ask him his proudest moment and he will tell you, 'presenting one of his Olympic gold medals to Fidel Castro'". (Pickering 1978:14).⁷¹ Juantorena lives with his wife and his family in a house given to him by the government, and considers it a privilege to have a house rather than an apartment. Of course, as a critical worker (Connor 1979),⁷² his position enables him to receive other benefits such as a chauffeur-driven car, and along with other top athletes, supplementary rations of food.

On the other hand, just as athletes might well be promoted as symbols of success of the socialist system, they can just as easily be symbolized as traitors of that system if they do not contribute to the legitimization of the socialist government. Emile Zatopek, an Olympic runner from Czechoslovakia supported the moderate government of Dubcek in 1968 and was therefore relegated to the job of street cleaner for several years. This example emphasizes the power of the centralized government to promote as symbols of success, in their role of the "New Socialist Man", athletes who contribute to the legitimization of the political system. But they also have the power to relegate as symbols of betrayal, those persons in the public eye who would set themselves up against the government. This situation is consistent with

what Edwards (1973)⁷³ refers to as "the liquid quality of sport". For, "Anyone can interpret sport triumphs for the celebration of any national purpose." It would therefore appear that there is no limit to the use of sport for propaganda, prestige and political development.

In competitive sport the individual identifies with a group and participates in activities which involve other people besides him or herself. In many ways, therefore, sport lends itself to being a socializing force within the community and the society at large. However, in South Africa sport is not used by the government as a socializing force, from the point of view of racial policy, but instead it is manipulated to foster the national political policy of racial segregation (Bennett 1975).⁷⁴

As a socializing force, sport easily becomes a means for political socialization. Whether an athlete is a member of a team or a lone competitor, he is a symbol of the organization, club, town or country whose uniform he wears. He is never alone, nor are his triumphs, or defeats, for he is part of the larger community which he represents. This is particularly emphasized in socialist countries such as the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, where the state, and not the individual, is the most important. Therefore, the athlete does not compete for himself but rather for the state. In addition, the spectator will identify with the team and thereby with the political system. This political awareness becomes of greater significance in newly developing nations, where the appeal for nationalism and identification with a new political order, is more acute. All competitions throughout the world involving two or more countries, begin with the

playing of the national anthem, and the acquisition of medals and trophies are also symbolic of political identification.

Sport can similarly effect political integration, either intentionally or unintentionally. Stern (1968)⁷⁵ makes the distinction between vertical and horizontal political integration, both of which can be promoted by sport. Vertical political integration is the bridging of the gap between the elite group of a society and the lower classes, and the development of an integrated political process. One of the underlying principles of the Soviet physical culture program is mass participation for all socio-economic groups. Prior to the revolution, sport was enjoyed only by the elite, but after 1917 sport became available to all. This situation also applied in the People's Republic of China, where mass participation promoted both class integration and vertical political integration.

Horizontal political integration refers to the merging of separate political groups into a unified polity. The USSR, embracing fifteen republics, with people speaking over 150 languages, and with 169 ethnic groups, stresses mass-participation by way of competition throughout the country. The climax occurs every four years with the Spartakiady, which are regarded as an expression of friendship of the people who inhabit the Soviet Union. In Canada, sport has been used to further horizontal, cultural and political integration between the French and English Canadians and in the cosmopolitan areas of the Caribbean, sport is often seen as a horizontally integrating force between the two major racial groups - the blacks and East Indians.

Although sport and physical education, however, are not the only instruments of political mass-mobilization, they have been used

extensively as tools for indoctrinating youth and young people generally, with a particular political philosophy. Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy made certain that their youth sports groups were politically controlled. In the Soviet Union the Komsomol Central Committee declared in 1959 that the main purpose of the school is "to prepare the upcoming generations for life, for useful labor, to inspire in youth a deep respect for the principles of socialist society." In Czechoslovakia after the failure of the uprising against Soviet rule in 1968, sports organizations such as the Czechoslovakian Union of Gymnasts were obliged to intensify the political education of all members. Political discussions and lectures were considered to be an essential part of the training of all athletes and it was maintained that political knowledge was as important as athletic success.

Sport has certain characteristics which perhaps impel it more readily than other human activities toward an association with politics. Sport, particularly competitive sport, tends to identify the individual with a group, and the individual welcomes this identity.

In the planned societies of socialist countries the interaction between sport and politics is deliberately facilitated, with the interaction being from politics to sport rather than in the opposite direction. Following the October revolution of 1917, the communist party government in Russia took no official interest in sport. In 1925 however, sport was officially recognized and encouraged and by 1931 a number of tests in sports and games were instituted, leading to the award of GTO badges ("Ready for Labor and Defence"). Sport was organized under an All Union Committee of Sport and Physical Culture, a government organization responsible to the Council of Ministers of the USSR. This

was the original link between politics and sport in Socialist countries. Since that time, sports and training for sports have been used extensively for political education, so that it became impossible to train as a coach without instruction in Marxism and Leninism, and it was impossible to compete in any kind of stadium without being bombarded with political slogans and government ideals.

In countries where sport is organized by voluntary bodies, in a piecemeal fashion, it cannot be assumed that interaction between sport and politics does not exist. The difference is in the pattern of organization rather than in the presence or absence of interaction. The pattern of sport in Eastern and Western Germany exemplifies extremes of political organization.

McIntosh (1963)⁷⁶ observed that all the German sports organizations were dissolved by order of the control commission after the war ended in 1945. In East Germany, the government party then decreed that anyone who wished to participate in sport must do so as a member either of the new political youth organization (F.J.D.) or of the worker organization (F.D.G.B.). In 1948 the Deutscher Sportausschuss was implemented with avowed political objectives. This was followed in 1952 by a state committee for sport and physical culture.

By contrast, McIntosh further emphasizes the role of sport in the development of the Western zone. The Deutscherbund was introduced in 1950 with the stated aims of solving its problems without reference to party politics or religious, racial or military considerations. The establishment of the sportsbund was the result of efforts to find an organization which would enable sportsmen to govern themselves and

pursue their interests without control or interference from the government.

McIntosh contends however, that whatever may have been the differing patterns of organization of sports, the interest of government organs in West Germany has been no less than in the East. In 1960 the German Olympic Association published a memorandum on the "Golden Plan" for Health, Sport and Recreation. The Golden Plan was based on a nationwide survey of sport facilities and asked for an expenditure of 6,315,000,000 D.M. over fifteen years. The first four years were to be used in building up a combined federal and provincial government expenditure in direct grants to local communities. By 1961 aid in the form of grants from government sources totalled 150,000,000 DM. or forty-eight percent of the target for 1964 (McIntosh 1963).⁷⁷

Connor (1979)⁷⁸ points out that what socialism has produced is another form of industrial society. "An alternative mode of channeling the process of industrialism to the capitalist mode that marked nineteenth century Europe." It has obviously dealt differently with problems of entrepreneurship and the landed aristocracy of the pre-industrial era, while borrowing heavily, though selectively, from "the accrued technological experience of capitalist industrialism." In all, Connor states, "Socialism has built societies different from capitalist ones, but hardly utopian. They are quite this worldly in character and problems."

Material rewards in socialist countries even though much more evenly distributed than in capitalist systems, are still nevertheless inegalitarian. Committed to development and growth, the socialist states

could do no less "especially when, as new regimes of questionable legitimacy, they could not substitute adequate moral stimuli for material incentives." Thus the performance principle was accepted, that work, not need entitled people to rewards. Critical work meant significant rewards above the norm, for personnel valuable to the productive process. Thus engineers for example, occupy exalted positions in the socialist system. It would also appear that national athletes benefit from the performance principle, for theirs is critical work which is indirectly crucial to the productive process, by symbolizing health and ability, the success of the political system, the upward mobility of the "working man," and positive role models for the youth of the nation. Politically therefore, the rewarding of outstanding athletes according to the performance principle contributes to the legitimization of the system. To quote Fidel Castro's pronouncement on the return of Cuban athletes from the Montreal Olympics of 1976.

Our athletes are the children of our Revolution
and at the same time its standard bearers.

(Pickering 1978)⁷⁹

To the extent that sport is a means of social control, it must also be of value to the socialist system. Hoch (1972)⁸⁰ suggests that "sport in capitalist countries is an opiate that distracts the under privileged and keeps them from confronting the source of their alienation." Sport served a similar function with the initiation of "bread and circuses" in Roman times. Thus it would appear that the role of sport, although not used as a means of compulsory control, provides a diversion for the youth of the nation, by directing their aggressive tendencies toward outside interests.

The state's virtual monopoly over employment and rewards, and its effective blockage of the formation of independent organizations for the pursuit of class or stratum-related interests, has allowed it to manipulate the performance principle, emphasizing increased rewards for critical workers or egalitarianism as circumstances dictate. "Periods of increasing income inequality have alternated with periods of equalization." (Connor 1979).⁸¹

In summary and to quote Connor:

Those who abominate unearned income, the use of wealth to amass yet more, can be pleased that socialism has eliminated this at least. Those who think of an equitable society as one that demands a new ordering of rewards of occupational strata, and not simply a reduction of the distance between them are likely to be less pleased.

(Connor 1979:306)⁸²

The distribution of prestige fails to show many clear signs of a completely new order under socialism. Some old high-status groups have disappeared under socialist development and some at the other end of the scale, still seem to favor non-manual over manual and urban or rural, much as they did in pre-socialist times. Government policies have had some effect however. The exaltation of the skilled manual worker, in addition to his improved economic condition, are real changes as compared with the past. The prestige of socialist athletes, shows no significant differences from those under Western capitalism, for although prestige is a function of real and/or perceived income and power, attached to a particular occupation or set of occupations, it is distinct from them. Recognition of an athlete's skill, his entertainment value, and the meaning he or she has for the members of a community or state, are factors which can be made to assume any value.

and to carry along with them the commensurate degree of prestige. For as we have seen with Emile Zatopek, the power of a totalitarian state is such that it is able to exalt an athlete at one point in time, and reduce him at another, as circumstances change.

Power is scarce to the point of non-existence for most socialist citizens, and extremely abundant for the nucleus of the central government. This concentration of power both reflects and facilitates state control over human and material resources. This in turn gives the government total control over the economy and produces a system of economic stratification shaped by political goals, as well as economic realities. Herein lies one of the greatest differences between socialist Europe and Western capitalism (Connor 1979).⁸³

Socialism has given rise to a new type of hierarchy, not in the abstract, but in the real sense. It contains many elements of the social orders it sought to replace, and still opposes. It has destroyed most of the conservative community that existed to some degree in the Russian and Eastern European past, but not all of it. "It promised the radical community its adherence, but has not and cannot deliver, for it depends for its survival on both individual ambition and on the sort of private property even it has had to permit." (Connor 1979).⁸⁴ By destroying the old society, the Soviet regime eliminated groups that had some chance of developing into classes, and substituted for the estate system another, even more tightly centralized, where rewards and status are under state control. "Classes" in the sense of autonomous groups in a hierarchy, with their own values, norms and consciousness of interests did not develop.

It would appear however, that the justification of elitism in

Soviet sport is partly evidenced by the similarities between the Soviet and United States social systems:

- 1) In neither system are opportunities really equal in the sense of being independent of one's social origin, but in both societies real breaks have been made with the constricted opportunity structures of earlier societies.
- 2) In spite of the free nature of the extensive Soviet education system, and its skewed social composition of student population, the Soviet system serves as the ladder of opportunity for the talented and ambitious. Competition for entrance into Soviet higher education is intense, but with some exceptions, it is meritocratic and is the channel through which many still rise to occupational status distant from that of their family origin. Both the United States and the Soviet Union point to open social structures which stress equality of opportunity more than equality of results.
- 3) Both societies have generated great economic inequalities, while simultaneously stressing relatively open competition for highly rewarded positions in the labor force. American capitalism allows the fortunate and enterprising to enjoy large accumulations of wealth, transmissible to succeeding generations. The Soviet system of course, eliminated this, but both have developed economies wherein great disparities exist in labor-related incomes. The underlying rationale of incentive to performance, to greater effort, has been much the same in the USSR as in the capitalist states.

In sport therefore, in the USSR, as well as in the USA, inequality appears to be functional, and incentives toward greater performance have

led to a situation in which elitism and success are rewarded and recognized. Nevertheless, sport for all is a provision of governments and encouraged under the socialist system.

The concept of "sport for all" was originally conceived in the Council of Europe in 1949 as a means of achieving greater unity between its member countries for safeguarding their common ideals and principles to facilitate economic and social progress. Thus, sport as a free, spontaneous physical activity engaged in during leisure time was functional in the form of recreation, entertainment and social development. Under the "sport for all" idea, sport was to be made available to all citizens, irrespective of age, sex, occupation or means.

After having six European countries propagating "sport for all" programs in 1970, there were nineteen countries showing active participation of some form by 1973. By that time the idea had spread across the world to include Canada, Japan, Mexico and the United States. In 1976, a formal "sport for all" charter was officially adopted by the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers which stated the part "sport for all" would play to protect and promote European culture. It was seen to have a biological, social communicative and self-expressive function, and by such means man would continue to dominate his world and make it a more habitable place in which to live (Jackson 1978).⁸⁵ Danger in "sport for all" however, were seen by the European Council to include "commercialization, regimentation and productivism."

Mass sport was also seen to be an objective of the major socialist countries where its goals included harmonic development of man's physical capacities, high morals, production, defence and collective training,

which constituted a marked contrast to the objectives of the European Council.

Ulbricht of the German Democratic Unity Party stated:

We are of the opinion that the harmonic development of man's mental and physical capacities, particularly in the youth, is necessary so that they can master all skills required to fulfill the important goals of socialist production. This means high morals, socialist ethics, and the consciousness and capacity of defending the achievements of the working class, the homeland. If these are our goals, then it is necessary that sport and physical education become truly an affair of the whole population. Under capitalist conditions this is not possible, but under provisions of the worker's and peasant's state it's not only possible, it's necessary.

(Ulbricht cited by Carr 1972:150)⁸⁶

Carr (1972)⁸⁷ has further pointed out that communist sport has a strong association with labor. "A basic physical relationship is seen between work and sport in that fundamental forms of work activity are repeated in the motor movements of sport."

In reinforcing Marxist philosophy, Lenin saw a need for citizens of "an extraordinary high and well-rounded education." He particularly favored sport and physical education as a preparation for defence against capitalist imperialism and aggression.

The Marxist-Leninist philosophy as it relates to mass sport may be summarized from the example of the German Democratic Republic and its stated "truly humanistic mission."

- 1) Physical education and sport is considered to be the birthright of all socialist citizens. Through striving, creativity and initiative, sports people are considered to be important to the national culture.
- 2) Physical education contributes effectively toward increasing the total work output of the socialist community.
- 3) Sport provides a good medium for the development of political conviction because of the possibilities it provides for collective training.

4) Sport and physical education aid in preparing the citizen for the defense of socialism and their homeland against capitalism.

(Michel 1970, cited by Carr 1972:153-155)⁸⁸

These basic philosophies pervade in the most developed socialist states, and since 1931, the Russians have urged the masses of the people to work for GTO Badges. In 1972, the tests were revised to include people from age ten to sixty years and in fact, during the years 1965 to 1975, 86 million people passed the test (Bennett et al, 1975:197).⁸⁹

In the People's Republic of China, the Marxian dialectical materialism philosophy influences the whole state, including the mass sport programs. The revolutionary committees of the various communes and work brigades, speak very forcefully about the need for fitness and health through participation in "sport for all" type programs. Their badges, which parallel the GTO badge system, are aimed at improving the health of the workers and thereby enhancing the productive capabilities of the nation. According to Bennett (1975:191)⁹⁰ China has de-emphasized competitive sports and the pursuit of world records, ever since the Cultural Revolution, in preference for the "Friendship First" ideal.

The Ideal of Sport in the National Development of Cuba

Cuba, an island state in the Caribbean, is about 90 miles south of Florida, and 100 miles of the Caribbean Sea separates this relatively new nation from Jamaica. Cuba consists of one large island and more than 1600 smaller ones. The majority of the small islands have few inhabitants, but one of them, the "Isle of Pines", plays a significant role in the development of the nation's youth.

The area of Cuba is 44,218 square miles and has an estimated population of 8,900,000 people, with a population density of 201 persons per square mile. The population distribution is such that 55 percent of the people are urban dwelling, while 45 percent live in rural areas. It is claimed that about 500,000 Cubans have left their homeland since the 1959 revolution, most of whom were businessmen, political officials, and professionals. According to Cuban government records, about 75 percent of the people are white and of Spanish decent, the remainder are blacks or mullatoes, but many of those listed as white are of mixed blood. Almost all Cubans are Spanish speaking, although in the cities many people speak English. Interestingly enough, some of the rural blacks speak an African Yoruba dialect, a characteristic survivor of the slavery era.

Cuba has a long history of struggle for independence and social reform. For about 400 years, Spain ruled Cuba, during which time many Cubans died in revolts against Spanish rule. In 1898, the United States helped to defeat Spain in Cuba's struggle for independence. Consequently, Spain gave up all claims to Cuba, and a United States military government ruled the island until 1902. During the 1930's Cuba came under the dictatorship of Falgencio Batista, and in 1959, Fidel Castro and a band of revolutionaries overthrew Batista. They later established a socialist government with Castro as prime minister.

Today, the Cuban government is highly centralized and Fidel Castro has the authority of the people and powerful control over Cuban policies. It is a one party state - the Cuban Communist Party, and the Castro government provides many benefits for the people, including free medical

care, and free education. Cuba has no unemployment with an economy which is developing slowly. The output of some of the industries has declined in recent years, and government's attempts to increase agricultural production have been only partially successful. So it could be claimed that Cuba is facing the many teething problems of most developing nations throughout the world.

In comparison to its neighboring Commonwealth Caribbean island of Jamaica, climatic conditions are identical, and both countries are dependent upon sugar, as the main source of revenue. Like the other islands of the West Indies, both shared a similar fate of subjection to slavery and imperialism. Their people emerged from the control of their respective European masters (Cubans somewhat earlier than Jamaicans) into a neo-colonialist type of political independence. As "victims of external exploitation, both countries were industrially under-developed, and their economies distorted to satisfy the requirements of imperialism." (Hart 1978:8).⁹¹ However, despite these geographical and historical similarities, Cuba today, eighteen years after the overthrow of Batista, provides a startling contrast to the other developing nations in the Caribbean area. The road of permanent revolution and austerity in the development of a new way of thinking, which would put community before self, and state before family, was one of Castro's greatest difficulties. The "lottery mentality", had to give way to an indoctrinated nationalism, and essential to this program were two necessities, education and sport.

Cuba is not a wealthy nation, and like most countries throughout the world, it is short of hospitals, roads, homes for the elderly and numerous other necessities, but as in most socialist countries, the Cubans

have placed sport high on its list of national priorities. Countries which follow a capitalist mode of development rarely do so. Consequently Cuba's investment in sport is according to Pickering (1979)⁹² "excessive or impressive, depending upon your point of view."

However, if there is one motivating factor, which makes Cuba different from all other socialist states, it is the charismatic leadership of Fidel Castro himself. As a former international baseball and basketball player, he never misses an opportunity to become personally involved in sport, and has himself reinforced Cuba's philosophy with respect to sport, seeing it as an integral part of the whole education of the nation's youth. Cuba's main sports magazine is subtitled "Derecho del Pueblo" - the right of the people, which symbolizes in a positive way the importance of mass involvement whether as active participants or as spectators. Spectator sports may be simply a question of watching on television, but if you want to attend a live event, you just turn up at the stadium, for all sports events in Cuba are free of charge, and operate on a "first come, first served" basis.

The Cubans are the amateur world champions at baseball and Havana prides itself on having one of the finest stadiums in the Americas, but in addition to this, the Cuban's cater to the needs of the handicapped, and sport is used in mental institutions as a means of therapy, for those both primarily and secondarily involved. "While we in the West justly pride ourselves in the role of sport for the physically handicapped, Cuba has extended this idea to include the mentally handicapped as well," and what is particularly interesting, all play is based on competition.

In Cuba it would appear that everyone works or studies, "Indeed

not to be engaged in one or the other of these activities is an offence against the state." A drop in the rate of illiteracy from 30% to 4% in eighteen years gives credence to the nation's achievement.

Many of Cuba's finest athletes come from Santiago, the second largest city in Cuba and capital of Oriente Province. It is known as "the Heroic City", and it was here that in 1954, Castro, not long out of university, launched his first attack on Batista's soldiers in Moncada barracks. Most of the attackers were captured, interrogated and tortured. The Moncada barracks is now a museum, and nearby is built one of Cuba's new schools of sporting excellence. These specialized schools for sport are unusual institutions found only in socialist countries. They are specialized secondary schools which provide the normal educational curriculum, but also provide special training in a given sport by expert teachers and coaches. They are attended by boys and girls who show promise of unusual athletic ability and talent. These schools exist at the regional and national level so that the best athletes from the regional schools are sent on to the national schools. In East Germany the family of the student is moved with him, but this is not the case in the Soviet Union, nor Cuba where the students go on by themselves. It is estimated that there are nearly 3,000 of these schools in the Soviet Union alone. (Bennett et al 1975:63).⁹³

In Cuba each school of sporting excellence, specializes in one particular sport, so that there does not have to be duplication of the highly specialized equipment and coaching staff. It is however, interesting to note that young men and women, on the basis of merit,

have the privilege of a superior education in a selective school. The general assumption that, in an aspiring egalitarian society, the talented would be placed with the less talented, does not follow. In Cuba, as in the Eastern bloc countries, the best students are selected out at an early age and put with the best national coaches. Elitism in sport therefore is seen as necessary and desirable, and is therefore encouraged alongside of the socialist goals of "sport for all."

For the students who attend Cuba's schools of sporting excellence, the development of potential in a particular sport does not take place at the expense of academic pursuits, but is complementary to it. To qualify for a specialized school, it is claimed that students must excel both intellectually and physically. In every school or university in Cuba physical education is obligatory, so although students at the schools of sporting excellence may be privileged, even to the point of receiving extra food in a country of severe rationing, they have to earn this privilege. This idea would appear to be consistent with the "performance principle", which emphasises that work and not need entitles people to rewards.

By way of justification for practicing elitism in sport, Fabio Ruiz, director of INDER (Cuba's controlling body of sport), claims that "at the grassroots level there is mixing of all young people as they work together. But at a higher level those who show exceptional ability are separated out because there are an insufficient number of coaches, trainers or teachers of physical education to accommodate the masses. To keep the best coaches with the worst participants would be wasting quality." (Pickering 1978:5)⁹⁴

It would appear however, that the latent reasons are that:

- 1) international recognition and prestige is gained through successful sporting competition, and
 - 2) sport plays an important part in the legitimization of the socialist system of government, both internally and in the eyes of the world.
- Cuba's Olympic record in recent years is testimony to the importance of sport for this small developing nation, which has devised a system of selectivity, "throwing its net as wide as possible, and making sure no one slips through," which is the reason for her wealth of talent and tremendous success.

To the south of the mainland of Cuba is the Isle of Pines, where Fidel Castro and his colleagues were imprisoned after their abortive attack on the Moncada barracks. Castro's sentence was fifteen years, but after less than two years, as part of a general amnesty they were released. Today, the government has symbolically removed the iron bars, and turned the prison into a museum, and political prisoners are kept elsewhere. The island has been renamed the "Isle of Youth" and the 14th June school, named after the revolution, is just one of 30 schools of excellence established since the revolution. Surrounding the residential school on the "Isle of Youth" are acres of citrus groves, and all students do two hours work on the land each day. "They could quite easily have been on a factory assembly line packing boxes." No one pretends that this is vocational training; but it is quite simply seen as part of the national effort. The state has made a major investment in education and this is one way in which the students can give something in return.

If a student is academically gifted but quite hopeless at physical activities, the Cuban's have "thoughtfully stretched their definition of sport," to include chess among her official sports. For those who are athletically inclined and want to make a career of it and become coaches, they move on to the National Institute of Physical Education. Here one finds the best talent in the country, not just at the Institute, but all around it, for it is situated in the massive "Ciudad Deportiva", sport's city, a complex that concentrates most of the facilities required for Cuba's national teams. Here men and women train together, in four year programs, which qualify them for secondary school training. To achieve higher qualifications, students must study for a further four years, which, as eight year trained teachers, they would qualify for college or university teaching. However, to reach the level of national coach, students must not only pursue eight year of training, but must also have been an exceptional performer in that particular sport.

Adjacent to the Higher Institute of Physical Education, is the Institute of Sport Medicine, which is a feature of socialist sport which far surpasses that in capitalist countries, and further emphasizes the tremendous importance of sport in the national development of socialist states. Its major responsibility is the preparation, well-being and testing of national teams. In the department of biomechanics, young aspiring divers are given balance tests, or other athletes would be measured for their degree of peripheral vision, which is vital in team sports such as volleyball and basketball. The investment in medical staff is staggering: 42 doctors, 6 dentists, 17 physiotherapists and 17 sport psychologists. The job of the sport psychologists is to

motivate the coaches, and to tell them what to look for that might affect the athletes performance (Pickering 1978:9).⁹⁵ From the dentists, Cuban boxers receive made-to-measure mouthpieces, and the physiotherapists play an important role in the process of rehabilitation of injured athletes.

Prior to the "imperialist blockade", in 1962, most of Cuba's sports equipment was imported from the United States. However, since 1962, Cuba had to invent "what was invented a hundred years ago," a machine to make baseballs to cater to Cuba's national sport. The game of baseball was introduced into Cuba during American occupation, at the turn of the century, and has since become a mass sport, and Cuba's national pastime. Today, Cuba produces the official baseballs for the amateur world championship, and the blockade not only motivated the production of competition baseballs, but also led to the development of a ten million dollar sports industry, which produces "boxing, fencing and even rowing equipment."

Because the problems of Cuba are immense, with large investments in social and medical welfare, in addition to education and sport, she receives financial aid from Russia, at the rate of three million dollars a day. In spite of this assistance, life in Cuba is austere, with only essential commodities to be found in the stores, most of which are rationed. Freedom to criticize this state of affairs is strictly limited, and Fidel Castro himself has spelled out the ground rules. "Within the Revolution, everything outside the Revolution is nothing." In this situation, sport might well act as a safety valve, for although freedom of expression is restricted with severe austerity, one can vent one's emotional frustrations within the context of sport without fear of

governmental reprisals.

Cuba's socialist economy is the first in the Caribbean area. The principal industries and commercial enterprises are owned by the state. Most of the large farms are also state owned, although there are some that are the property of cooperative societies, whose members are the people that work them. In Cuba today, there are no wealthy individuals or companies of individual share holders, who live on profits derived from the labor of workers, whom they employ. The production of consumer goods is planned for use in accordance with the needs of the people, and profit is not the motivating factor of production as in capitalist economies. The Cuban economy appears to move ahead with no reduction in production or laying off of workers. "There is no unemployment, nor inflation, and with few exceptions, prices have been kept down to the levels at which they stood eighteen years ago." (Hart 1978:51).⁹⁶ Hart is also of the opinion, that as production increases more consumer goods will become available, wages and pensions will increase, putting more money into circulation, which will enable people generally to enjoy a better standard of living.

Hart further asks the question, "What relevance does the Cuban example have for the developed and developing nations throughout the world, and particularly the countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean?" He contends that two of the most serious problems facing the developed and developing nations of the world today are unemployment and inflation. What is happening in Cuba therefore is of relevance for the workers of all economies, developing and otherwise. The specific relevance for the Commonwealth Caribbean however, is such that, similar conditions to those which existed in Cuba prior to the Revolution, can be seen in many of the

newly developing nations in the West Indies.

Hart, is of the opinion that it has become fashionable for politicians in many of the "third-world" nations to make use of the word "socialism" in ways which are sometimes remote from its original meaning (Hart 1978:51).⁹⁷ It would appear that "this is a predictable response to the fact that the masses of their own people, resentful of capitalist exploitation, unemployment and inflation, are becoming increasingly receptive to socialist ideas." Faced with this situation, Hart believes that many political leaders who do not in fact advocate the abolition of capitalism, gain popularity by describing their policies as socialist. The government of Guyana describes its political ideology as a "Co-operative Socialist Republic." There are however, very few cooperative societies in Guyana, but there has been considerable nationalization of foreign owned enterprises, to the point where approximately 80% of the country's productive capacity is now said to be owned by the government. "There have been allegations that the compensation awarded the former owners was too generous, thereby saddling the country with an unnecessarily heavy debt." However, in Hart's opinion, "if the Guyanese government intended to advance to socialism, these nationalizations would have been a logical first step." But nationalization does not necessarily lead to socialism. "It could in fact be used as the basis for the growth and enrichment of a national bourgeoisie." To quote Hart:

It is perhaps too early to say whether Prime Minister Forbes Burnham really intends to lead his party in a socialist direction or merely to consolidate the position of the rising local bourgeoisie.

(Hart 1978:52)⁹⁸

Jamaican Prime Minister, Michael Manley, describes the economic system he advocates as "democratic socialism", but as explained in his

book, published in 1974, he proposes that only the public utilities should be taken totally into public ownership. He further advocates that the bauxite-alumina and sugar manufacturing industries should be jointly owned by the existing owners and the Jamaican government. The financial institutions were to be the subject of a similar partnership. He is of the opinion that "the ordinary manufacturing sector belongs naturally in private hands." (Manley 1974).⁹⁹ No proposals were advanced for government participation in the ownership of the resort hotels, but the need was declared for the government to maintain a trading enterprise to monopolize the wholesale importation of certain essential foods.

In practice, however, it would appear that Manley's government has gone further in the direction of state ownership than had been originally envisaged, due to the urgent necessities of the national economic situation. Some of the tourist hotels which were likely to go out of business, have been taken over by the government. The cement factory has been nationalized, and some of the light industries, faced with the possibility of closure, have been purchased with public funds. A foreign owned radio station has been nationalized, and the unwillingness of two small foreign owned banks to accept the government's partnership proposals have also been nationalized. In addition, the government has acquired 51% of the shares in the bauxite-alumina companies.

All of these facts, according to Hart, "are measures which though not in themselves inconsistent with the preservation of capitalism, are nevertheless, capable of forming the basis of a future advance towards

a socialist economy. But it is no secret that persons who are in favor of the government adopting a genuinely socialist goal are in a minority in the Cabinet and Council of Ministers." As Prime Minister Manley told the National Executive Council of his Peoples' National Party in September 1975, "'Democratic socialism', is an end in itself and not a transitional program between capitalism and communism." It would appear that by communism he meant a total socialist economy.

Hart suggests that, the fashionable tendency to use the word socialism, in such combinations as "African socialism," "cooperative socialism" or "democratic socialism," is in his words "more dangerous than it appears on the surface." To quote Hart:

When policies which have been employed under cover of these various labels fail to solve such problems as unemployment and the spiraling cost of living, as they must, unless there is a further determined advance toward the abolition of capitalism, many workers who have been confused by the misleading terminology will believe that socialism has failed...And indeed in all these countries it is to the advantage of those who wish to preserve the capitalist system to contribute to the confusion and misunderstanding so as to encourage popular disillusionment in socialism.

(Hart 1978:53) ¹⁰⁰

This reluctant and somewhat "half-hearted" approach to making a total commitment to either socialism, according to a Cuban plan or capitalism, is indicative of the prevailing attitude toward the role of sport in the developmental process, not only in Jamaica and Guyana, but in all newly developing nations of the Commonwealth Caribbean.

Sport and Politics

Donald Ball and John Loy (1975)¹⁰¹ have pointed out that there has been a traditional belief that sport is essentially an apolitical institution, and that the intrusion of political considerations into sport was and still is, likely to have negative consequences. The result has been an evident lack of interest in investigating the degree of involvement of one of the major institutions of society, the polity and its effect on the sporting complex. "Few institutions with large-scale popular support and economic significance have been able to maintain such a level of isolation from the incursions of political consideration." (Ball, 1975:189).¹⁰²

Ball and Loy (1975)¹⁰³ have further pointed out that several historical analyses, between the association of politics and sport have raised a number of issues, leading to more research. Manchell (1971)¹⁰⁴ and Holmes (1971)¹⁰⁵ have written about the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin and have revealed the dangers inherent in the infiltration of excessive levels of nationalism and propaganda into athletic pageants. Natan (1969)¹⁰⁶ and Lund (1972)¹⁰⁷ exposed the hypocrisy implicit in the repeated assertions made by representatives of the Olympic movement that "countries show that they are unaware of one of our most important principles, namely that sport is completely free of politics." (Natan, 1969:204).¹⁰⁸

There have been few claims that sport and economic concerns should not be mixed in international competition, and where the prospect of economic disaster has been raised, the International Olympic Committee has shown its readiness to respond to political considerations. In 1956 the international crisis precipitated by the combined effects of the Hungarian Revolution and the Suez crisis led several nations to withdraw

their teams from competition in protest. Natan contended that the games were not cancelled because, to do so would have led to enormous financial losses (Natan, 1965:205).¹⁰⁹ In 1968 and 1972, the International Olympic Committee gave in to the pressure and threats of withdrawal of the Socialist and Third World countries and excluded South Africa from the games. Withdrawal of approximately 30 teams from competition, and negative publicity could have had severe consequences for the Olympics. In each case, economic considerations led the International Olympic Committee to compromise its position and adjust to political realities.

Analysis of the association between sport and politics must, in view of the events of the 1960's and early 1970's revolve around three basic dimensions: the use of sport by political figures, community identification and nationalism in sport, and the conflict between conservatives and radicals over the relevancy of the institution of sport in society. (Ball and Loy, 1975).¹¹⁰

The first dimension is concerned with the apparently increasing tendency for individual politicians to secure a beneficial and "reliable" image through an attachment to sports participation and the attraction of the interests of spectators to themselves and their policies.

The second dimension is related to the tendency to employ competition against outsiders in order to develop social integration within school and community groups, or to transfer aggressive nationalism from direct conflict on the battlefield to symbolic conflict between the representatives of rival political-economic systems at major international sporting events.

Finally, the dimension of political ideological confrontation must be considered especially in relation to the disputes between conservatives and radicals over the social significance of sport. The political

conservatives regard sport as important in maintaining the status quo, and developing desirable characteristics in the youth of the nation. By definition, they "resist change in the institutions of sport and decry attempts to modify its practices to reflect current and possibly transient social trends."

The political radicals believe that sport serves as an opiate for the masses of spectators and a diversion from the development of an effective political consciousness (Hoch, 1972).¹¹¹ However, sport can be a motivational factor for political expression. Political consciousness within the society as a whole can lead to mounting frustration which is vented at an opportune moment. The political radicals also believe that considerable change is necessary in the institution of sport to enhance the potentialities of the individual participants, to provide for increased individual power and autonomy in an environment freed from excessive competition and to ensure racial and ethnic equality. Loy et al (1978:386)¹¹² make reference to a recent examination of socialization for consumption and production through sport involvement, and pinpoint Hoch's (1972)¹¹³ quasi-Marxist analysis of sport in capitalist societies. The following quotation reflects the ideological ties that Hoch perceives between the institutional sectors of sport and economies:

The mythology assumes that the Rules of the Game of life in capitalist society are perfectly neutral, so that success - whether in sport or civilian life, depends fundamentally on your attitude. If you follow the rules - or play the game - compete hard, put out to make it, and never give up, you win the rat race. Of course, we all know that in sports, as in life, there can only be a few winners - that is the way the game is set up. This is the reason why the others must learn to be good losers, accepting their defeats gracefully, always imagining that we'll do better next time, but never questioning the Rules of the Game. If the system is to continue, the losers must continue to play. In fact, both sports ethic and the protestant ethic teach you that if you lost the game it was basically because you didn't work hard enough. (Hoch, 1972)¹¹⁴

The association of individual politicians with sport has many benefits. There are the benefits of being identified with "winners". On the assumption that successful people have a natural bond and tend to cluster together, politicians attach themselves to the champions of the sporting world. In this way, it would appear that the aura of success may be transferred to the politician in his own effort to be a winner. In addition, the social stereotype of the athlete incorporates the idea that such individuals are worthy role models for children, and in the case of Guyana, for people at the "grass roots" level of society, as they seek new identity as "the new socialist man." The possession of a high level of morality, the portrayal of a desirable model of adult behavior and the implied willingness of the athlete to encourage an association with political figures, develops an association which includes politicians in the role of respectability (Ball and Loy, 1975:199).¹¹⁵

Guyana's lightweight boxing champion, Lenox Blackmore, who won his title in the 1977 Commonwealth Games, is a national hero, and the government, along with the masses of people in Guyana, identify with his success. On his way home following the games, he was stranded in Trinidad, and for fear that he would be unable to make the planned celebration in Georgetown, the Prime Minister, Forbes Burnham, sent his private Beechcraft plane to meet him. The government newspaper, New Nation (Sunday, October 16, 1977)¹¹⁶ wrote of "a people's welcome for Lenox." Following the welcoming ceremony and celebrations in the streets of Guyana, where the masses of the people turned out in their thousands, the Prime Minister presented Blackmore with the keys to a new home. In many ways, this act symbolized the government's identification

with the masses of the people and the gift of a home was not so much his home, as it was indicative of what a person from his background could accomplish through sport. "For if a person has self-confidence and an awareness of his own self-worth, he is less likely to stand on the street corner as a total answer to life, than to become involved in something that helps him increase this self-worth." (Minister Field-Rigley, 1979).¹¹⁷

"Today, young children recognize Lenox Blackmore and call after him in the streets and he is fast becoming a role model. People who have never been interested in sports before now, enquire about his next fight."

Loy et al (1978)¹¹⁸ suggest that some evidence concerning the class basis of sport is found by studying elite amateur and professional athletes. They cite Weinberg and Arond's (1952)¹¹⁹ report indicating that most boxers are recruited from lower socio-economic strata since most of the boxing clubs are located in this type of residential or commercial area. Nowak (1969)¹²⁰ found that over 70 percent of the elite boxers in Poland were from a working-class family environment, rather than a peasant or intelligentsia background, and Gruneau (1972)¹²¹ found that individual sport tends to outweigh team sports in terms of representation at the extreme ends of the socio-economic scale.

An area of considerable concern in the institution of sport has been the developing awareness that nationalism has evolved from a rather mild version of support for the athletic representatives of one's own country, into what Goodhart and Chataway (1968)¹²² proclaim to be "war without weapons." Although national systems openly declare victory in major sporting events to be a triumph for their particular economic

order, similar problems appear at the community level to exacerbate tensions.

Sport as an Integrative Force

Coleman (1961:33)¹²³ has indicated that competition with "out groups" could generate a "we" feeling not only within school, but also in the larger community from which the students were drawn. Competition with other groups seemed to have the capacity to develop a strong group goal orientation. Coleman is of the opinion that there will be support first of all from other team members, then from other non-participating students, and finally from persons in the community. "If the school's winning gives the community pride in itself and its school, they will encourage its efforts." (Coleman, 1959:348).¹²⁴ Continued success maintains and enhances this team support which derives from community pride in the performance of its representatives relative to other schools and their supporting communities.

Whenever teams compete for the scarce resource of winning, and the avoidance of the frustration of failure, there is a high potential for intergroup conflict. When such a situation is exaggerated by the development of a long standing rivalry and an attachment of regional chauvinism and antagonistic stereotypes to the competition, the probability of conflict is increased. (Ball and Loy 1975).¹²⁵ The most favorable conditions for the development of strong group identification and for the formation of in-group and out-group feelings occur in the two-opponent situations (Heinla, 1970).¹²⁶

Ethnic conflicts, brought to the New World by immigrants are also likely to be acted out on the playing fields. Pooley (1972)¹²⁷ demonstrated the considerable attachment of ethnic sentiments, often to

the detriment of assimilation among soccer teams in the Milwaukee area of the United States. The appearance of consensus or conflict in sport is related to the process of social integration by which a number of originally diverse individuals or groups are united into a common group, usually with the obliteration of former social or cultural group differences and previous group identities. Loy et al (1978:347)¹²⁸ are of the opinion that once this group has been formed, a new group identity and affiliation creates within-group consensus, which may or may not lead to conflict with other groups with different values or goals.

Ethnic sentiments are also evident in the Commonwealth Caribbean nations of Trinidad and Guyana, where in these cosmopolitan societies, the two dominant ethnic groups are East Indians and Blacks. Culturally pluralistic (Smith, 1965)¹²⁹ in many respects, each group within recent times, has been divided along political lines. However, on the field of play, clubs and teams are racially mixed, and regular competition would suggest that sport in both of these societies is truly an integrative force. What is of interest however, is that inspite of the claims of the integrative nature of sport in the racial aspects of national development, sport is also seen to be a segregative force in certain circumstances. For example, when international cricket tournaments are played against teams from India or Pakistan, the East Indian element of the population exhibit ethnic group sentiments by identifying with the success of the national opposition. By taking their children and families along to support the nations which consist of people of similar ethnicity and traditional cultural background, would suggest the development of strong "in-group" vs. "out-group" feelings, and symbolic superiority

of one ethnic group over another. In such instances, conflict might well arise, as sport becomes a segregative as opposed to an integrative force, which has far reaching political consequences for these territories.

During recent investigative research in Guyana, the question was asked whether members of the Chinese population responded in the same way when visited by teams from Mainland China? In response, it was stated that the local Chinese population are extremely conservative, and therefore it is very unlikely that they would support the communist philosophy of the People's Republic of China. However, if a team from Tiawan visited Guyana, it would be difficult to predict the response of the local Chinese. In this connection, the words of David St. Clair, which appeared in *Illustrated America*, October 5, 1895, seem relevant:

International sport certainly does one of two things. It helps nations to better understand one another or else the contests tend to widen the chasm. (St. Clair, 1895)¹³⁰

Sport as a Means of Social Control

Ball and Loy (1975)¹³¹ suggest that when an institution such as sport is elevated in terms of its capacity for social control and large scale involvement, and is supported by an administration as having a potential for collective catharsis, then it is possible to contend that large segments of the population are being diverted from considering relevant social issues through their involvement in the entertainment and glamor of the world of sport.

Sport involvement is not necessarily a diversion from social issues, but it can be a motivating factor for mass demonstrations in response to social issues. For example, from a political standpoint in the Commonwealth Caribbean, it could be claimed that the process of modernization under a capitalist model is leading to frustration. Since independence,

an illusion of prosperity has increased the expectations of the masses, but in reality, unemployment is high, homes are unobtainable, and modern conveniences are unavailable to the majority of the people, and consequently, in times of nation-building and modernization, there are increased frustrations among the masses.

The coming together of the masses in the mid-1970's for a Packer cricket tournament, beginning in Barbados, was the motivating factor for social disruption and the venting of pent-up frustrations. Spectators had paid considerably inflated prices to see what was staged as a contest between the world's best cricket players from Australia and the West Indies.

The start of the match was delayed because of rain, but after the skies had cleared, the spectators waited patiently for the game to begin. Two or three hours had passed and yet, there were no indications made by officials that play would begin anytime soon. This situation, plus the high financial cost added to the mounting frustrations of the masses which eventually erupted into a violent demonstration. Bottles were thrown onto the field and considerable damage was inflicted upon valuable property. The match was cancelled for fear of injury to the players and officials.

One might well have dismissed the incident in the usually stable Barbados, as an act of mismanagement with respect to communication between the officials and the spectators, but similar incidents occurred in the other Commonwealth Caribbean nations which led to the collapse

of the whole tournament.

Contrary to sport acting as a means of social control, in this instance, sport involvement produced the mechanism for the venting of frustrations which were not specifically sport related.

Nationalism in Sport

Tensions evident in response to community identification become magnified in competitions between nations. (Ball, 1975)¹³² The issue of nationalism, with its consequent attachment to the political institution and the potential for conflict has been a focus of major concern. Sporting competition can become an arena for the demonstration of the superiority of a given political-economic system over another.

The Olympic Games have become the focus of a considerable amount of nationalistic display and political intrusion. It is reasonable to assume that as a sporting event begins to draw support from the majority of nations, the event will become the focus of political attention. (Ball, 1975:212).¹³³ As the World Cup Soccer Championship has shown, even warfare between neighboring countries can erupt over sport. The conflict which developed during the El Salvador and Honduras regional final in June 1970, became known as the soccer war, after spectator riots at all three of the games caused a disruption of diplomatic relations and several

bombing raids between the two countries (Lever, 1969).¹³⁴ Nevertheless, it would appear that in each instance, the conflict between these two nations did not begin with the sport of soccer, but were old rivalries and tensions between these two countries, which were perpetuated on the soccer field. The sporting situation provided a forum for the continuation of old rivalries.

The rise of nationalism in the late eighteenth and early twentieth century ushered in the modern period of the nation-state. Rousseau, in his recommendations to the Government of Poland, urged the cultivation of sport for national ends: "I recommend numerous public games," he wrote, "where Poland, like a good mother, can take delight in seeing her children play. Let Poland's mind be on them often, so that their minds will always be on Poland." He wanted children to play games together in public in order to get, "accustomed from an early moment to rules, to equality, to fraternity, to competitions, to public approbation." (Bennett et al, 1975).¹³⁵ Bennett contends that Rousseau's words were soon put into practise in other countries.

Since the mid-1960's in the Commonwealth Caribbean there is evidence of increased nationalism, as sport has become of much greater national importance. Athletes today are much more aware of the fact that they are representing their country, whereas during the colonial era, outstanding athletes from the region, in sports other than cricket, represented Great Britain in international competition.

Goodhart and Chataway (1968:149)¹³⁶ devoted a considerable portion of their book to the discussion of the intrusion of politics into the Olympic Games. It would appear that although there was some degree of nationalism present in all of the preceding games, it was not until the Berlin Olympics of 1936 that nationalism, generated for blatantly political reasons by the host country, became a significant problem. Since that time, most countries have relished the opportunity to celebrate sporting success and to ensure such success through government assistance. Goodhart and Chataway make the point that few of the countries represented in the Olympic Games can hope to compete with the two major powers in terms of intellectual, technological or aesthetic achievements, but in sport the smaller countries can still hope to excel and defeat the representatives of the United States or the United Socialist Soviet Republic. When Hasely Crawford of Trinidad won the 100 meter event in Montreal, Prime Minister, Eric Williams, made reference to the fact that Trinidad had beaten the world super powers (Williams, 1976)¹³⁷. A small measure of success can reduce a level of inferiority, and provide a degree of glory and prestige to a minor country, in addition to some kind of psychological advantage.

Goodhart and Chataway further point out that, in view of the significance of international sport in general and the Olympic Games in particular, it would appear inevitable that some nations would utilize sport, "as if it were an extension of their foreign policy." When the miniaturized symbolic conflict on the sports field is watched by millions with more attention than the real clash of interest between nations, it becomes almost impossible to insulate sport from politics.

It would appear that throughout the world, sport and politics are inseparable features of most, if not all nation states, but the degree to which four newly developing Commonwealth Caribbean countries use sport for political ends as they implement their national policies, is a factor of central concern to this study.

Chapter 2

AN INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF SPORT IN BARBADOS

Demographic Overview

The population of Barbados is 243,000 (1973 est.), and its annual growth rate 0.8% (1970 est.). The population density is 1,500 per square mile and its literacy rate is 90 percent, one of the highest in the world.

The ethnic group composition is as follows:

<u>Extraction</u>	<u>%</u>
African	80
Mixed	15
European	<u>5</u>
	<u>100</u>

Note: The East Indian population at the time of the last census was less than 1,000 people.

Hoyos (1970)¹³⁸, is of the opinion that the Barbadian islanders of all classes and skin color share strong feelings of patriotism, which is perhaps the chief characteristic that gives Barbados a personality that is different from any other mixed community in the Caribbean. Although the whites in the island number about 5 per cent of the population, this is the highest proportion of people of European descent in any of the Commonwealth Caribbean territories. They no longer control the policies of the island as in the days when they formed a powerful oligarchy, but they still own much of the islands' wealth and play a leading role in the

economic life of the community. Hoyos further points out that with the advance of democracy, political power has passed into the hands of the majority, the black and mixed people of Barbados. The descendents of the slaves now govern the island, and occupy the high places once held by their masters. To quote Hoyos:

Though the cause of progress and reform has made rapid strides during the past two decades, it is remarkable how restrained the majority has been in the exercise of the power it now enjoys. The recent history of our island home could have been quite different if bitterness and resentment had taken the place of tolerance and goodwill.
(Hoyos 1970:16)¹³⁹

The Historical Development of Sport in Barbados

During the colonial era, Barbados was basically a two-class society, ~~founded~~ principally on social status and color prejudice. But, unlike South Africa, for example, segregation was not written into the laws of the land and yet, the barriers were clearly defined in an unwritten general understanding. In spite of the clearly divided, segregated society, however, sport provided one of the few avenues for upward social mobility in a society that was not totally closed. Limited social mobility was possible mainly because of the mingling of sportsmen of low social status with elite members of the society, but yet the restrictive social barriers remained intact within the society generally.

To the critical observer, sport involvement prior to the early 1960's was greatly influenced by social class and ethnic group background variables, and such observations were reinforced by the fact that the Barbados national swimming teams and the clubs which supported them, consisted of persons of middle and upper-middle class white backgrounds, in spite of the fact that the vast majority of the population is black. The sports and

social clubs were made up of members who had been selected on the basis of color and socio-economic status.

The majority of the lawn tennis clubs in the island are attached to white social clubs and the two black clubs which were just as selective, remained the preserve of the middle class blacks. However, in the late 1960's, tennis courts for public use were introduced on a fee-paying basis. In the schools, the lawn tennis clubs were mainly selected from white students, and of the non-whites that participated, almost all were of light skin color and of higher than average socio-economic status (Martindale 1971).¹⁴⁰

Of the two golf clubs on the island in the early 1960's, only one has recently accepted members of the black middle class. The other club, which was the property of a leading hotel, maintained a white membership up to the time of national independence.

Barbados is unique in one particular respect, in that it has a sizeable poor white population who are the descendents of the original indentured workers of the plantation system, and who, following emancipation, formed their own community in one of the most remote rural areas of the island. Considerable inbreeding and relatively little intermarriage has led to a situation in which the genetic strain and the social community have remained intact, although many of them have migrated to the urban areas for occupational reasons. The social class barriers therefore applied to them, as well as to the majority black population on the island. Consequently, the social and sporting clubs, when viewed in historical perspective, reflected the society at large. Nevertheless, it was possible for a poor white sportsman who could play well, to become a member of the

most prestigious white cricket club, where through time he would gain exposure, financial assistance, job offers, and in some instances even marriage above his own social standing, which inevitably led to upward social and economic mobility.

Although there were social class and skin color barriers in the society generally, the best government secondary schools were integrated, which led to a situation in which the most academically gifted black children were given the same academic opportunities and in-school social experience as the white children. Cricket, soccer, field hockey, and track and field were completely integrated competitive sports in school, even though the students went their separate ways at the end of each school day. Out of school, there was little or no mixing of students of different ethnic or social class background, either socially or in their sporting pursuits. The students took on the social environment of their parents with its characteristic life style. It is believed however, that this integrated in-school sport involvement, over the years, has been a major contributing factor in the eventual breakdown of the strict social distinctions of class and color. The fact that these elitist government schools in the society competed in national sporting competitions, further contributed to overall trends of eventual integration within the society.

Wanderers Cricket Club which dates back to the days of the plantocracy was the first sports club to be formed in Barbados, and juxtaposed to Wanderers was the Saint Annes Sports Club consisting of poor whites who had been excluded from membership by their aristocratic neighbors.

In the years that followed, several clubs sprang up with interesting sociological bases, for their formation was based either on class or color or both of these factors. Consequently, a situation developed in which

the club system in Barbados could be clearly identified on the basis of these distinguishing factors.

Today, it would appear that the Government of Barbados is not particularly aware of the importance of sport as an integrative force. Neither do the people as a whole recognize the total value and benefits of sport:

"Sport is treated as recreation and national attitudes toward sport being anything more than that lack motivation, with the exception of cricket."¹⁴¹
(Citizen 1979)

For many Barbadians, cricket is the only true competitive sport and it is the sport with which most people identify. "It is the only sport that offers some degree of upward social mobility, whereas soccer, lawn tennis and the majority of other sports are just social pastimes."

It is claimed that Barbados has a narrow economic base and therefore the masses of the people have limited social activity apart from that provided by the island's natural resources. Nevertheless, it is believed that the gradual development of sport throughout the nation has contributed to social stability and integration.

In the late 1920's and early 1930's both cricket and soccer provided means by which the poor could experience some degree of upward mobility. Soccer was much more popular then than it is today, and the best athletes in both sports were given the opportunity to play for representative national teams inspite of their social status, "as long as they were not an embarrassment to the other members of the team, and indirectly, to the country." Consequently, as a result of the development and increasing importance of sport, greater recognition of the average man was observed, and along with a general improvement in the standard of living, and the

implementation of better wages, sportsmen were able to purchase equipment and to financially support their sporting interests.

The 1937 Riots in Barbados, which were a struggle for adult suffrage, and better living conditions, spread throughout the region and out of these social uprisings, a trade union movement was formed which gave credence to the struggles of the working man. Such developments provided the motivation for the formation of the Barbados Cricket League (BCL), which was developed for the benefit of the poor man, particularly in the rural areas of the island. This move meant that there was now representative cricket competition at the grass-roots level of the society, which acted as a feeder league for national cricket competition. The best players in the BCL Association (village teams) made up a representative team which competed in the division one competition in the island. In this case, sport was the vehicle by which teams were formed and from which community clubs developed, particularly in the rural areas.

During the Second World War (1937-45), and because Barbados was a British colony, the island's attention was turned toward more pressing matters, and many of the local people volunteered to fight in the British Armed Forces. The period following the War however, was a time of rapid social change, and an accelerated development of sports, other than cricket and soccer, was witnessed. Full adult suffrage in 1948 led to an extensive form of democratic government, and 1951 saw the beginning of ministerial government, with a cabinet established in 1954, and full internal self-government. Following that period in the nation's history, sport became much more widespread.

The M.C.C. (English) cricket tour to the Caribbean in 1948, ushered

in yet another period of rapid growth in sport. Professionalism in sport became accepted and respected in the metropolitan countries of Britain, and a greater number of Barbados' top class players left to play professional cricket overseas. These players, and the pioneers before them, provided role models for the aspiring youngsters who emulated them.

Everton Weekes, one of the West Indies' greatest players, competed in the local "Volunteer Brigade which eventually led to him being selected for the West Indies team. He turned professional, and thus had earning power far in excess of the average local professional employee.

It would appear therefore, that sport has had an impact on nation building, and the government eventually recognized that through sport the masses of the people are gaining role models and greater representation. To quote one government official:

"It was then that the government saw sport as having an important role to play in the development and recognition of the nation, and we began to take sport more seriously...Government has since recognized the social and political importance of sport, and have promoted it in school curricula and have given financial assistance to the BCL."

(Government Official 1979)¹⁴²

Outstanding players have brought recognition and prestige to the nation, and Barbados has become a household word in the cricket playing countries of the world.

Sport Furthering the Aims of National Development in Barbados

Today, it is generally believed that sport could play a more positive role in furthering the aims of national development, but to quote one citizen interviewed:

"Our government has not focused sufficient attention in the direction of sport. There are no specific government programs for sport, and there is a lack of imagination in the areas of sport instruction. There is inadequate provision for sport at the junior level, and if we are to convert a new

nation into a sporting nation, organization must start at an early age. There must be trained people at the primary level."

(Citizen of Barbados 1979)¹⁴³

It was further suggested that there is a need for sport reform in Barbados, a responsibility which the clubs will not accept unless they are part of a national sports reform program, which will mandate a national policy. To quote a member of the Barbados Olympic Committee:

"Government must play a positive role and establish a system whereby they can account for their expenditure. Government should take into account mandatory acquisition of available facilities as part of a neighborhood sports program. There are limited local facilities which inevitably leads to the total deprivation of sporting opportunities. This stems from a failure to plan."

(Member of Barbados Olympic Committee 1979)¹⁴⁴

The Barbados Minister for Community Services and Sport, is of the opinion that an integral part of government policy in external affairs, which implies good relations with other countries and a positive image in the international arena, is dependent upon sport. He believes that this is all the more important for Barbados with its vulnerable open policy dependent on imports and Barbadian nationals living in foreign countries, who are making significant contributions to Barbados financially. He further pointed out that the tourist industry is expanding and is the biggest earner of foreign exchange. "Barbadian athletes particularly in the area of cricket, and more recently, weight-lifting and body-building, have had an enormous impact in Barbadian foreign relations and thus contributions in this regard are virtually incalculable." The Minister is also of the opinion that:

"Sports are a source of recreation as well as an instrument to promote good health and a means of developing attributes of independence, self-reliance and cooperation. These characteristics are vital to the task of nation-building and are vehicles through which it is possible for certain persons to achieve upward social and economic mobility."

(Minister of Community Services and Sport 1979)¹⁴⁵

There is a general belief in Barbados that good sportsmen make good citizens and according to a Permanent Secretary in government, "it is consciously recognized that sport fosters good international relations." The Nigerian Foreign Minister had recently visited Barbados and addressed the Barbados Government on "sport as a means of furthering the development of cultural exchange." From his presentation it could be concluded that sport is receiving serious consideration in other nations of the world and it has an important role to play in any program of cultural exchange.

There is little doubt that sport has fostered congenial international relations in England, Australia, India and elsewhere. In fact, wherever international cricket is played, "our outstanding athletes have made significant contributions in countries where we have no resident ambassador." It is important to note that when political leaders within a country have been forgotten, outstanding athletes and their nation of origin are remembered long after their playing days are over. It has been stated that governments recognize this impact of the sport personality. Mohammed Ali of the United States and Pele of Brazil are the true ambassadors of their countries.

Sport has become an accepted part of national life in Barbados and the people see it as part of national culture and prestige. It would appear that sport recognition is no longer confined to cricket and soccer, but at the grass-roots level, the people are demanding the recognition of Darcy Beckles, a world champion body-builder. Government has responded to this demand and he is now a government sports officer and he is given paid leave to participate in international competitions.

It would appear that within recent times, there has been a growing awareness of the political importance of sport in Barbados. To quote one politician:

"Power politics in the Olympic Games has helped to increase the importance of sport, since it provides more regularly, opportunities for rivalries in non-combative form. It is being used by governments to gain psychological advantage, and is used therefore in conjunction with a particular political stand. But the Barbados Government is not nor has ever been, involved in the use of sport for political ends.

(Government official 1979)¹⁴⁶

Clubs and Associations in Barbados

As a result of the traditional social structure in Barbados which was clearly divided, sport like other social institutions, was dominated by the plantocracy. Since that time, the social structure of clubs has varied according to the type of sport played. Since the late 19th and early 20th century, and with social clubs being established alongside of, or as a part of sport clubs, class and color barriers were a characteristic feature of the club system. Wanderers' Club which can be traced back to the middle 19th century, was the preserve of the elite whites, and of the two oldest black sport clubs, Spartan Club, which was the first, was established in the 1880's, but because of their social class black-ball policy, an offshoot of the club was established in 1915 which became to be known as Empire Club.

In the early days, cricket was played at a time when the planters were not involved in "the crop" (sugar cane harvest), that is, from May to December. In all other Commonwealth Caribbean countries, soccer was being played at this time. The planters therefore organized the cricket season to suit themselves and interestingly enough, Barbadians developed the reputation of being better players under difficult weather conditions because of the fact that they played cricket during the rainy season.

Today, the new clubs which are being developed are no longer concerned with social status and prestige, and membership selection is based more on ability in a particular sport than social factors. However, it is believed that "many of the clubs are not as closely knit as those established on a social footing." The newer clubs have more of an open door policy, and have been built on a team philosophy which has made an important contribution to the development of sport in the country.

Traditionally, club loyalty was a very important aspect of sport and social groups, but this does not appear to be the case today. Although it is not uncommon for outstanding professional athletes to represent their local club without expecting financial reward. This situation would suggest that there is still a sense of pride in identifying with one's own club, and in some cases the exposure received as a professional athlete has led to better occupational opportunities. In addition, the club system based on skin color and social status has been broken down, not as a result of any direct government policy, but, indirectly as a result of general political, economic and social changes which have stimulated greater awareness among the masses of the people as the country became an independent state. The social and political changes have eliminated certain myths, and today, there is a greater awareness that the social position of the white industrial class was unjustified. However, "old habits die hard" and today, the 5 percent white Barbadian population are still over-represented at important social functions both related and unrelated to sports.

Since independence, the "open door" policy of the newer clubs has led the way for the older well-established to follow, albeit reluctantly, but within the older clubs, social cliques have developed which continue to

exclude others in unobtrusive ways. Consequently, members will identify socially with those with whom they have the most in common. It would seem therefore, that some clubs are open only to the extent that primary involvement in sport is permitted, but each member still reserves the right to choose his or her own immediate social group. It is interesting to note that the game of squash has been developing steadily in the last two years, which seems to be indicative of a shift away from integrative trends to a new elitism which has tended so far to accommodate only certain privileged members of Barbadian society in the limited private facilities.

The development of squash might well be the result of changes which have taken place in tennis throughout the nation; a kind of last attempt to enjoy the prestige of a privileged racket sport. The significance of the changes which have taken place in tennis are characterized in a statement made by an official of the Barbados Lawn Tennis Association:

"I have now seen everything! A local white child at the end of her match, asking to borrow an Afro-pick from a black boy who had recently made the team."¹⁴⁷
(Lawn Tennis official 1979)

As recently as five years ago, it is believed that such an incident could never have taken place, and it is indicative of sport helping to break down social barriers, which have existed in the region for centuries, by the changing attitudes of the youth.

Overall, it would appear that the Government of Barbados has a policy of racial tolerance, for one of the oldest and well-established clubs in Barbados, The Bridgetown Club, a male businessman's club, has not as yet changed its policy with respect to "men only". However, recently, barriers based upon skin color have been eliminated.

The restrictive policy of the Royal Barbados Yacht Club has little

meaning in today's society, for the vast majority of Barbadian blacks are not at all interested in sailing. For those who do sail, however, their ties to their own sailing and cruising club are such that they have no particular interest in the Barbados Yacht Club. The club itself, with a membership of 475 persons, presents no real social threat to the mass population of approximately 200,000 people, inspite of the fact that it is based on one of the best facilities and geographical locations in the island.

The well-established Polo Club, which facilitates the prestigious sporting sub-culture of the Barbadian aristocracy, does include one aristocratic black family, but the position of polo in the island is still far removed from the sports of the majority.

The only clubs which were exclusively white, other than the businessman's clubs and the Royal Yacht Club, were the cricket, lawn tennis and swimming clubs. Starting with independence, but not attributed to it, the focus has changed. Blacks are obviously running the country and are being well received on the international scene by leaders of other nations. Therefore, it becomes impractical for those who would wish to maintain an all-white policy as a functional possibility to even attempt to impose their will. There seems to have been a recognition that racial tension and disharmony would destroy the whole society, and even though the changes which have taken place have limitations, they are nevertheless, changes in a positive direction.

The voluntary national sports associations in Barbados perform similar functions to national sporting associations in all independent Commonwealth Caribbean states, which are basically to provide a link between organized sport and interterritorial and international bodies. In addition, most

the sporting associations form the local governing bodies of sport in Barbados. As in Trinidad, the government has traditionally left the organization of sport totally in the hands of the associations.

In January 1978, the Government of Barbados appointed a National Sports Council by statute, in the form of a corporation, and it was given a budget of one million dollars annually, to be distributed among the various associations on the basis of need, for the development and maintenance of sport. At the present time, the Council is working on a "white paper" to establish a philosophy of sport in Barbados in preparation for a national sports program, which would suggest a move by government to become more involved in the organization of sport in the nation. Two of the aims of the National Sports Council are, the introduction of sport into the curriculum of every school, and the introduction of a degree program in physical education into the curriculum of the Cave Hill Campus of the University of the West Indies.

This is the first time in the history of sport in Barbados that the government has contributed a substantial amount of money for the development of sport on an annual basis. However, in the past the government has assisted in providing funds to help teams travelling abroad, and has also made contributions to all minor sports that could not raise sufficient funds to support their operation.

Political Independence and its Effect on Sport in Barbados

Over the last decade, there is evidence of greater involvement in sport, and it would appear that with this increased involvement, independence has brought about national responsibility. To quote one citizen interviewed:

"Independence has placed a greater burden on sport, for in many sports, Barbados now participates as a nation and not as an individual representative of a West Indian team.

In the Commonwealth Caribbean Lawn Tennis Association (CCLTA), Davis Cup tournaments are staged and very often Barbados has sent token representation at great cost, and with little impact, but it is expected that you will take part as a nation.

(Citizen of Barbados 1979)¹⁴⁸

The consciousness in international competition of representing one's own nation adds to the responsibility of each competitor, and is a new experience for the people of newly developing nations. It has been pointed out that "emigration restrictions have made Barbadian nationals of all colors aware that they must live together, for there is no longer another place to go." Many of the whites who emigrated to New Zealand, Canada and Australia following independence, found that in those territories they were no longer members of a privileged class, and that in most cases they were much worse off than if they had remained at home

As in Jamaica, independence was celebrated in Barbados with the building of a national stadium, but also as is the case in Jamaica, the stadium today is under-utilized. However, it is believed that without the stadium, several sports would not have reached the standard of achievement or of participation that they at present enjoy. The Government has also constructed a golf course since Independence which, like the stadium, is today under-utilized, for it would appear that although there is an interest in golf among many of the middle class blacks and several members of the local white community, identification with the more prestigious private clubs is much more socially rewarding than use of a public facility. Generally however, government expenditure on sport in Barbados has not reached the levels of interest, and whatever money has been allocated for sport in the past has gone toward the provision of salaries for national coaches and administrators, employed by government.

Perhaps the third major contribution to sport made by government following independence, came as a result of the purchase of a prestigious residential hotel which was previously owned by one of the nation's leading families. The facility is centrally located and possesses extensive grounds including a swimming pool. The main structure now houses the Ministry of Community Services and Sport, and the swimming pool is used on a regular basis for swimming instruction and for local and international competitions. Swimming, which traditionally has been an elite sport along with tennis and golf, is today available to children from all social class backgrounds. The instruction the children receive is the responsibility of a government coaching staff.

It would appear that since independence, the government has gradually taken a more active role in the sponsorship and promotion of sport, and although they have not yet established a Ministry of Sport, there is a Ministry of Community Services and Sport which is a positive step toward the recognition of the importance of sport in the development of the society.

Women in Sport

Although there appears to have been greater participation in sport by women in Barbados since independence, it cannot be claimed that equal emphasis is given to women's as to men's sports. In the words of one citizen:

"Barbados has not yet caught up with the 20th century, although attempts are being made at the I.O.C. level."
(Citizen of Barbados 1979)¹⁴⁹

However, it is hoped that with the formation of the National Sports Council, much more attention will be given to women in sport.

The major sport for women in Barbados is netball, which is closely followed by women's hockey. There is also a women's cricket team, which appears to be growing in popularity, and the sport of lawn tennis has more women participants than men at competitive level. However, very few women take part in the administration of sport, except in those associations which are specifically concerned with women's sports.

At the school level, annual track and field meets are held with a major emphasis on running events, and organized by the women physical education teachers, many of whom are on contract from England. They are assisted by coaches from the Government Sports Department, and occasionally by Peace Corps Workers from the United States of America. Inter-school swimming competitions are also held on an annual basis for girls. These are also organized by the women Physical Education Teachers Association.

Government and the Internationalization of Sport

Government officials in Barbados are of the opinion that "if the name of the country is being used adversely, then the government will step in, otherwise, the decisions of whether or not to participate in sporting competitions against any other country is the responsibility of the governing bodies of sport in the nation." This position suggests a moderate stance by government in respect to participation against South Africa, for example, and it is interesting to note that Barbados, like Jamaica and Trinidad, did not pull out of the Montreal Olympic Games in 1976, as did Guyana, in support of the African Nations boycott against New Zealand. The stated government policy with respect to South Africa and sport involvement has been cited by Hall et al (1978):

"The position of the Barbados Government is that:

- a) it would disapprove and not support any Barbadian or Barbadian team visiting such countries;
- b) it would support any decision by sporting authorities not to select any player who in future participates in sports in racist countries;
- c) it would not at this time, ban nationals of other countries who had previously played in racist countries from entering and playing in Barbados if their entry was sought as members of a national team of a country with which Barbados had sporting relations."

(Hall et al 1978)¹⁵⁰

Although the government does not get involved in what are considered to be the responsibilities of national associations, there appears to be close liaison between the associations and government, and consequently, the associations exercise discretion in honoring government policy.

The Government of Barbados has been liberal with immigration policies affecting athletes, and have been indirectly involved in the internationalization of sport by sponsoring social events for visiting touring teams.

Government Involvement in the Commercialization of Sport

The Government of Barbados is not involved in the commercialization of sport, but they are often approached by the Tourist Board, regarding the need for more government involvement and the importance of the promotion of aquatic sports, golf and tennis to the tourist industry. The tourist season has been shown to positively affect the gate receipts at local sporting events, and current research has shown that hotels which have golfing facilities attract greater numbers of tourists. Tennis facilities also appear to be having a similar effect. A point of interest, however, is the fact that during international (test) matches in Barbados, productivity goes down, because stores and businesses have half-day closing so that their employees can attend the matches. This privilege is supported by government.

Sport and the Military in Barbados

Within historical perspective, it would appear that Barbados has learned a great deal from the British Military with respect to sport. The marines and soldiers brought cricket and soccer to their shores, and directly or indirectly, the skills were taught to the local inhabitants. However, within recent years, the sporting prowess of the local military has diminished tremendously which must well be due to the fact that social change and access to sporting clubs has become much more liberal. Historically, the Barbados Army was well represented in track and field as well as cricket predominantly by members from the lower socio-economic levels of the society.

It would appear that a need for local military expansion has arisen as a result of national independence, and today, Barbados has a volunteer defense force with 122 permanently employed personnel which is to be increased to 1,000. It will be a national guard type of organization with a small permanent core, who are being trained abroad.

There is no obvious connection between sport and the military in Barbados, other than providing a means of competitive involvement at the grass-roots level of society for those who have been traditionally excluded on social grounds from many of the sporting clubs. Two of the nation's leading cricketers of world class standard gained recognition as athletes from the volunteer force.

The most popular sports in which military personnel participate today are cricket, shooting and volleyball, but they have not achieved any recognized standard in national competition. As the force acquires greater organization and a more meaningful role as a national guard unit, it is believed that sport will inevitably play a greater role.

The Barbados Police Force participates in the local cricket competition,

and is also responsible for the Police Boys Club, but other than that, it is not involved in the development of sport in the country.

In the penal institution, sport is not used as a method of rehabilitation as in Guyana, but rather as a form of recreation. The inmates participate in cricket and table tennis, but not as members of any recognized league or competition. They are also involved as a work detail in the preparation and maintenance of sporting facilities in parks and government recreation grounds.

The Future Development of Sport in Barbados

It is generally felt by those interviewed in Barbados that the less government involvement in sport the better, and it is further believed that "those who know the most about sports and sports organization should be allowed to run it." However, it is also believed that government should add greater financial support, but this might inevitably lead to greater political involvement. There are hopes that sport will be developed on as broad a base as possible, in order that they might achieve the full potential of sporting talent. In this way, it is believed that the nation will increase crowd support, based on spectator interest.

It is claimed that the Government in Barbados is committed to mass participation in sport, but as yet, there is little to suggest fulfilment of this commitment, citing administrative problems and economic restraints as the limiting factors of such development.

Major Concerns of the Youth

The overall unemployment rate in Barbados is about 13 percent, and consequently, one of the major concerns of the youth is that there are few jobs available for school leavers. The youth of the nation have been led

to believe that education is the path toward securing rewarding employment, but many young people are finding that after graduating, opportunities in the nation are limited. This situation has led to considerable frustration and anger. In addition, there is high visibility of consumer goods introduced into the island with the advent of tourism and an upwardly mobile middle class creates a situation of relative deprivation. Like Trinidad, there is no longer a striving for white collar occupations as in the past, but rather an increasing emphasis on technical education and the pursuit of engineering careers.

Young people in Barbados are much more aware of the unjustified inequities which previously existed in their society and the social barriers of the past which were accepted by their parents. Today these inequalities and social barriers are being rejected by young people of all ethnic groups and social classes and it would appear that they have a more pragmatic attitude toward social reality.

There seems to have been a recent upsurge in youth movements and organizations. There is a youth council and youth organizations connected to schools and religious organizations, in addition to the traditional boy scout and girl guide movements. There is also considerable interest in the 4H youth club, which is sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture. Along with these developments, there seems to have been an increase in sport involvement among the youth of the nation, but sports still take second place to education and the pursuit of rewarding employment.

Chapter 4

AN INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF SPORT IN GUYANA

There is no doubt that colonialism created what was clearly a stratified society, in which the nature of the education system excluded the vast majority of the population. Consequently, under colonial domination the masses of the people developed negative feelings about self as they assumed a subservient role within their own country. Because of this experience it became evident that sport has a very important role to play in the national development of Guyana, by creating in the people positive feelings of self-worth and so eliminating the negative perception of their colonial past. Through the encouragement of mass participation and identification with "grass roots" sports such as boxing, weight-lifting and body-building, the masses of the people are able to gain the confidence to participate, and to develop a national identity which will instil an awareness that "I can contribute toward the building of my country." (Minister Field-Rigley, 1979).¹⁵¹

Considerable inroads have been made with respect to replacing British socio-cultural domination, with a system that is characteristically Guyanese. This is even more significant when one considers that the People's National Congress (P.N.C.) in the early 1960's opposed the socialist Jagan government and denounced socialism in general, gaining considerable support from the majority of Guyanese people. The PNC got into power and immediately restored the socialist philosophy, deeming Guyana a cooperative socialist republic. Today, most Guyanese address each other as "comrade" and even the churches and other social institutions, bitterly opposed to socialism in the past, are now trying to rationalize this philosophy within their own system of operations. This restructuring

and re-definition of social reality was part and parcel of the overall radical decolonization of the society.

Within recent times, it has become increasingly evident that the problems facing Guyana are not those of decolonization, which to some extent has taken place politically and economically, but problems of mobilization, racial integration and development, in which sport can play, and is playing, an important role.

A Demographic Overview

In historical perspective, the population of Guyana has been built-up from successive waves of immigrants of widely differing race and culture. The indigenous Amerindian population is oddly enough, the least-assimilated to a common Guyanese culture, mainly because of its having been free to retreat into the forests and savannahs of the hinterland in the face of European settlement and economic activity. The other principal ethnic groups - Blacks, East Indians, Chinese and Portuguese - were brought to provide a labor force on the coastal plantations, and were thus incorporated into one system of economic organization and political control.

All the inhabitants of Guyana at that time had the common citizenship of Great Britain and the colonies; they stood equal before the law except for certain ordinances relating specifically to the Amerindians and to the marriage of non-Christian East Indians, and today they all speak one language, English, with the possible exception of a few remote groups of Amerindians.

Except for the Amerindians, who are the original inhabitants of the country, the whites from England who came of their own accord, and constituted an economic and ruling elite, and the mixed group which needs no explanation, Guyana's population was imported. Those of African

descent were brought as slaves, and when circumstances changed, hastened by the abolition of slavery, new groups of people were supplied as indentured laborers from Madeira and the Azores, China and India.

It is interesting to note that the Portuguese who came from Madeira and the Azores were not regarded as "white" because they came as indentured laborers and their life-style was not similar to that of the English.

The following table indicates the Guyanese population by race as of the 1970 census:

Table 3

Population of Guyana by Race

<u>Race</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>%</u>
East Indians	377,256	51.4
Africans	227,091	30.6
Mixed	84,653	11.2
Chinese	4,678	0.6
Portuguese	9,668	1.3
Amerindian	32,794	4.4
Whites	4,056	0.5
Total	740,196	100.0

Source: Statistical Department, Ministry of Economic Development, Georgetown, Guyana.

Following emancipation, the Blacks moved off the plantations and into villages on the coast, or inhabited abandoned plantations and established their own villages. On the other hand, the majority of the East Indians remained on the estates while some eventually went into small businesses. The Chinese and Portuguese, as soon as their indentures expired, went into the retail business, and at a later stage entered the professions and the bureaucracy as they acquired more education. The post emancipation choice of economic activity has had its effect on the

location of the main ethnic groups in Guyana, with the result that East Indians are primarily located in the rural areas and the Blacks in the urban centers. This distribution became of great importance, especially after the post-1953 period, when ethnic politics made its appearance.

Guyana's colonial society typified plantation society and within the hierarchical framework each person knew his place. At the top of the scale were the white English planters, in the middle the colored people and at the bottom, the blacks. White was the highest standard of measurement and the blacks the lowest. White and black values fit into their respective places according to this measurement. Race became a means of identification which at the same time carried certain cultural connotations. As members of the subordinate groups acquired the cultural characteristics of the dominant group, they began the slow climb up the colonial status ladder (R.T. Smith, 1962).¹⁵²

This argument suggests that there was sufficient orientation to whiteness to legitimize a particular stratification system, which stressed partly likeness to European physical types, and partly acquisition of European culture. The major problem which Smith sees facing the now-independent Guyanese society, and indeed all ex-colonial Caribbean societies, is the need to change this orientation and to substitute one which recognizes the equal value of all formerly subordinated groups, that is, the problem of decolonization. Formerly, Europeanism was dominant. The non-European groups accepted the European conceptions, which included the labelling of other ethnic groups. Smith also points out that both Blacks and Indians in Guyana have come to accept derogatory stereotypes of the other racial groups which they derived from the Europeans. He

suggests that in order to change this situation, it is necessary for each dominant group to assert its own self-worth. (R.T. Smith, 1962).¹⁵³

It appears therefore, that sport has an important role to play establishing this goal.

The pluralists have concentrated their attention on the divisions which existed in colonial society. Often Guyanese, like many West Indians, assume that colonial society was a harmonious, perfectly integrated society. This was apparently the view of the colonizers themselves, and they were able to hold it "as long as the colonized behaved themselves, and accepted European superiority." That Guyanese should have accepted this view is perhaps a measure of the degree to which they have accepted European interpretations of the situation. Guyanese of various ethnic strains lived side by side because they were brought to Guyana as part of the colonial society. On the whole, while they accepted the dominant position of Europeans, they were not in competition with each other and consequently not in open conflict. Where there was competition, for example, between Black ex-slaves and Indian indentured workers for available work on estates, then the division became apparent.

One major reason why the two major races, the East Indians and the Blacks, were able to co-exist in the past without open conflict, was due to the fact that they had been segregated geographically. Demographic information reveals that as late as 1960 when roughly 29 % of the population was classified as urban dwellers, only 22% of this urban population were East Indian. The great majority, 70% were Black or Mixed. This situation was reversed in West Demerara and Berbice rural areas where there was a concentration of East Indians. The mixed

group which formed only 12% of the population accounted for 22% of the greater Georgetown population. In fact, they were slightly more numerous than the East Indians, although East Indians formed 47.8% of the total population. Blacks who accounted for 32.8% of the total population were 48% of the population of Georgetown and 53.9% of the population of New Amsterdam (a traditionally black urban area). On the other hand, East Indians were 68.9% and 71.5% of the population of West Demerara and Berbice respectively, both of which are characteristically rural areas.

The political history of Guyana is one characterized by racial conflict. The two major ethnic groups, the East Indians and the Blacks, within the last two decades, have had the most bitter and violent conflicts. In the early 1960's severe racial conflicts between these two ethnic groups, unsettled the society. Many people were killed, as the Indians destroyed the homes of Blacks in rural villages. Blacks in turn committed similar acts of violence against East Indian families in urban areas. It is not surprising therefore that elections and voting were always conducted along racial lines, and party politics in the society was synonymous with race.

Victory at the polls in Guyana's ethnically segmented system is viewed as conquest of one race over the other. The party in power discovers that it is held captive to its pre-election racist appeals, and the followers demand that patronage be granted to them alone at the expense of the "outsector". (Premdas, 1978).¹⁵⁴

According to Premdas (1978),¹⁵⁵ Guyana is the second "socialist" republic in the Western Hemisphere after Cuba. Forbes Burnham, the Prime Minister of Guyana, brought to office in 1965 by Anglo-American

intervention that ousted the proclaimed communist, Cheddi Jagan, from power, has since nationalized all significant foreign firms, and declared Guyana a Cooperative Socialist Republic. It has also "forged close collaborative links with Cuba, the People's Republic of China, and such left-oriented African countries as Tanzania, Guinea, Angola and Mozambique." (Premdas, 1978:133).¹⁵⁶

The political elites of the major parties are Westernized and educated and have much in common. The masses whose loyalties have been manipulated for political ends in the past, are now the objects of the new socialist experiment. (Premdas, 1978:134).¹⁵⁷ Premdas is further of the opinion that the separate communities have been driven so far apart that talk of socialist reconstruction involving inter-communal cooperation and fellowship at the grass roots level is viewed with great skepticism.

The Development of Sport in Historical Perspective

It would appear that from the government's perspective, the two most important elements of sport involvement for the masses of the people under the proclaimed Cooperative Socialist Republic in Guyana, are:

(1) the building of the human personality and (2) mass participation in sport. In Guyana, it is generally recognized that sport provides an outlet for the nation's youth in the form of worthwhile healthy activity, and a new realization that participation in sports is for everyone and not just an elite group of the society. To some extent, class barriers have been broken down, which has increased the availability of sport for the masses of the people, and today the average youngster can become a playing member of Guyana's traditionally most prestigious sports club, the Georgetown Cricket Club, established in 1903. Since independence, the club system has changed dramatically, and no longer are they able to

maintain distinctions on the basis of racial identity and socio-economic factors.

In the opinion of Berkely Gaskin, one of Guyana's prominent citizens, and ex-president of both the Guyana and West Indian Cricket Boards of Control, "We have to revert back to the years prior to 1966 and national independence in order to place sport today in its correct perspective." In Guyana (then British Guiana), the members of the Georgetown Cricket Club "paid the piper, so they called the tune." However, more recently, the development of a national consciousness removed the control of cricket, "our national game", from the white establishment. A cricket board of control was implemented consisting of the founder members of several of Guyana's first class teams. Trophies for competitive tournaments were donated by two of Guyana's largest companies - Parker Limited and the Garnett Shipping Company. As a prerequisite however, the donors made it obligatory that the trophies be housed in and awarded by the Georgetown Cricket Club, which should also be responsible for the running of the tournaments.

Following objections to the conditions of competition by many of the black members of the board, new trophies were considered. One of the new trophies was donated by an Englishman, G.R. Case, who was a government engineer and also a cricket enthusiast. A second trophy was donated by an ex-vice-captain of the first West Indian touring team to England in 1928, C.V. Wight. Interestingly enough however, although both blacks and whites on the Board had equal representation, the black members were still shackled to the idea that the G.C.C. still ran the organization, therefore little changed. The captain of the British Guiana team still had to be a member of the most prestigious club, and preference was given

to players of high social status. "Old habits died very hard." These attitudes prevailed throughout the West Indies, "but this is not to say that the white man who played cricket did not contribute to what has been achieved in this English sport, that we have adopted. Even though privilege was given to whites of high social standing, sport has nevertheless been a powerful integrative force, which has contributed greatly to the nation's development. On the field of play there has been a cohesion which has yet to be matched politically." For many West Indians of humble beginnings, sport has provided a means of upward social mobility, and has provided entree and social acceptance, which possession of money alone could not provide.

Associations were developed as a result of the need for international competition, for national clubs could not compete in international competition without first being affiliated to a national sporting association, which in turn was affiliated to the international body.

Under Guyana's new policies, the Minister of Sport, Shirley Field-Rigley, has jurisdiction over sport generally in the nation and is responsible for the implementation of government objectives. From time to time, she will call in the representatives of the associations together and inform them as to what the government is planning to do and how they can contribute. The associations do not run on an autonomous basis, for there is considerable input by government. The government is also very visible at award functions, and the Minister is often called upon to make presentations and to reward athletes. It would seem therefore, that the government is very much aware of the political implications of sport, and has no hesitation regarding the voicing of its opinion.

Without destroying the positive gains of the system, the national associations in Guyana have encouraged the formation of clubs among the lower status groups of the country, and the elite clubs have been persuaded to modify their stance.

Women in Sport

In historical perspective, clubs in Guyana were also opposed to women members, and the sexist barriers were such that women were not allowed in the general pavilion. The Minister of Sport, being a woman, in the early 1970's refused to go in the general pavilion until it was opened up to women. Although she was successful in changing the traditional rule with respect to women's rights, the G.C.C. which leases Bourda (the club grounds) from the government, still offers considerable resistance to making the grounds available for use in other sports, other than cricket.

Positive attempts are being made to give equal emphasis to women's as well as men's sports in Guyana. There are organizations which cater to the needs of women's sports and in addition to netball, field-hockey, tennis, badminton, swimming, squash and other sports, the women in Guyana have within recent years taken to playing cricket and soccer, and two women's cricket clubs function regularly.

The government is pushing women's sports, although at the present time it cannot be equated to men's sports, primarily because of the traditional values with respect to the role of women within West Indian society. However, in such games as darts, dominoes and the sport of field-hockey, it is felt that today the women participate on an equal footing with men.

Sport and Politics

Minister Field-Rigley (1979),¹⁵⁸ has stated quite clearly that the government's objectives relative to sport have changed significantly since independence and the establishment of Guyana as a Socialist

Cooperative Republic. All sports in Guyana today fall under the authority of the government body responsible for sport - the National Sports Council, (N.S.C.) which has seen the need to advance sports and to help realize government objectives of nationhood. Thirty national sports associations are recognized and are under the direct control of the N.S.C. The government has appointed regional representatives of the N.S.C. who have been responsible for boosting national involvement and performance in sport in the rural areas of the country. Inter-government tournaments for the youth are promoted on a government to government basis annually, with the belief that when governments are progressive, there is increased involvements, and performance automatically improves as "the nation as a whole becomes involved."

Since the inception of the National Sports Council, Guyana has witnessed significant improvements in sport participation. In the most recent World Amateur Boxing Championship, Guyana was placed fifteenth, and far outshone her neighbors in the Commonwealth Caribbean, and for the third successive year, the Guyanese are table-tennis champions, winning five of a possible eight titles. Progress has been made in bridge, chess, cycle-racing, field-hockey, rifle-shooting, lawn tennis and in coaching assignments at home and abroad.

According to the Minister of Sport:

There has been more government involvement in sport since independence. Firstly, the government felt that it was its responsibility to foster, stimulate and encourage sport in the nation and to establish a structure to do this.

Secondly, the government has introduced as a first priority mass-participation in sport - previously sport had been the preserve of elite groups, and since independence the emphasis has been upon spreading sport nationwide....

...Our third objective is to achieve standards of excellence; whereas before it was excellence among an elite group, and mass participation was nothing more than participation along the street, today we are attempting to establish facilities

for mass participation, although we still have a long way to go. (Minister Field-Rigley, 1979)¹⁵⁹

The Minister further emphasized that as a matter of government policy, "we have insisted that the national associations organize themselves in the rural areas of our nation in addition to the urban centers." (Minister Field-Rigley, 1979)¹⁶⁰ Previously, all organizations functioned out of the capital city and limited their activities to the urban area. They are limited as far as finances are concerned, but they have accepted government's challenge and some associations have regionalized their operations throughout the nation. Consequently, it would appear that Guyana is no longer just Georgetown, with an elite group of participants, but a nation in which the emphasis is upon the masses of its people.

The government of Guyana has been greatly influenced by Cuba and other socialist sporting countries. Sports competitions have taken place between Cuba and Guyana on an exchange basis in soccer, motor racing, field hockey and other sports, and Cuba has also sent coaches to Guyana. Consequently, there has been an interchange of sport to a large extent motivated by government on the basis of regional invitations, and the appointment of coaches.

National independence has affected sport in Guyana by giving it greater prominence on the schedule of national priorities, as well as enhancing its attractiveness as a means through which the individual can strive toward the attainment of excellence and national esteem. Independence has also witnessed the removal of certain barriers which formerly stood in the way of national involvement in sporting activities. Club selection based upon ethnicity has been eliminated with the result that all clubs are not only more cosmopolitan but also more liberal in

outlook, despite the fact that some class-consciousness remains. The once known East Indian Cricket Club is now named the Everest Club, and the traditional Chinese Sports Club is now the Cosmos Club; changes which have resulted from changes in government policy.

It would appear that the club system today is much more important than it was twenty years ago, when most of the clubs as a conscious act of policy were fraternities which did not necessarily accept or promote membership on the basis of merit or ability. This now seems to have changed as clubs strive to acquire the most capable athletes as members, because of the competitive nature of today's sports. Clubs are now seen as the ideal vehicle for the mobilization of talent in particular areas of sport on a massive scale, and "because of their group endeavor, lend support to the promotion of cooperative action as the national ethos."

Since independence therefore, greater emphasis has been placed upon "grass-roots" sports and significant moves have been made toward mass-mobilization. The establishment of a government land commission led to the reorganization of its land utilization policy. The commission was motivated by the fact that many clubs throughout the country had vast areas of land which were not being fully utilized. This resulted in a situation in which all land areas under-utilized by clubs were taken over by government. Consequently, the Georgetown Turf Club was taken over by government after horse-racing was no longer a viable entity, and the acres of land once occupied by a track is now a national park, and the club-house is being utilized as a government ministry. The death of racing might well have stemmed from the fact that many of the middle and upper class supporters of the Turf Club left the country after the government declared the country to be a Socialist Republic.

Similarly, the Georgetown Golf Club was also taken over by government because of under-utilization. The club possessed 60 acres of land and entertained approximately 60 members; that too has been converted into a national recreation facility.

It would seem that today, there is greater national awareness and identity on the part of the people, and generally positive feelings of citizenship have emerged and to quote "Pryor" Jonas, a government official, "We now have the freedom to utilize whatever benefits are derived from sport, toward the development of the nation." (Jonas, 1979)¹⁶¹.

Within recent years, the game of dominoes has regained popularity. It might well be claimed that dominoes is to the Commonwealth Caribbean, as chess is to Cuba. Interestingly enough, Cuba has included the game of chess among the major sports of the country, and by so doing, the government is catering to the interests of those persons who are not physically inclined. Consequently, it would appear that dominoes in the West Indies, like chess in Cuba, plays an important role in the life of the average man. Unlike Cuba however, dominoes in the West Indies has always appealed to the "grass-roots" element of West Indian society, and is truly a mass-participatory element of West Indian culture. The characteristic "crack" of the dominoes as they are forcefully struck onto the wooden board, is a sound reminiscent of West Indian way-of-life from the urban street corner to the rural coastal fishing village.

On the other hand, it would appear that in Cuba, the original participants of chess were the middle class intellectuals and upper class members of the society. Today however, the game has been retained as a national pastime for the masses of the people, which would appear to be indicative of Eastern European Socialist influence.

The Internationalization of Sport

Hall et al (1978)¹⁶² are of the opinion that 1976 will probably be regarded as the turning point in the anti-apartheid campaign in the Caribbean, particularly in the field of sport. They point out that at the national level, the government of Guyana banned Geoffrey Greenidge, a white Barbadian opening batsman, from playing in Guyana in the international Shell Shield Competition because he had played cricket in South Africa in 1975. Jamaica and Guyana banned members of the young English Cricketers who had also played cricket in South Africa.

They further indicated that on a regional level, the standing committee of Ministers Responsible for Foreign Affairs discussed the issue of apartheid and sport at their meeting in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad in March 1976 and although no regional consensus was arrived at, the member states discussed their policies on the issue of sports in the anti-apartheid campaign.

Internationally, Guyana withdrew from participating in the Montreal Olympics in protest against New Zealand's participation. During the Havana Conference on Apartheid, Jamaica proposed the drawing up of an international convention on apartheid and sport, which would provide for sanctions against sporting teams and organizations whose members had participated in sporting activities in countries practising apartheid or playing against teams from such countries.

These activities suggest an intensification of the anti-apartheid campaign by governments of the Caribbean community. More specifically, they constitute a point of departure in that the campaign is no longer regarded merely as an international issue but is intimately bound up with domestic and regional policies. Hall et al (1978)¹⁶³ cite Neville

Rubins' definition of apartheid:

Apartheid...is legally enforced segregation - directed at controlling the lives and regulating the affairs of South Africa's black population. It is a fundamental part of a system which uses the law, as one manifestation of governmental power, to protect and preserve the privileged position of a white oligarchy administered by an authoritarian regime...Along with the laws which embodied racial discrimination, there has grown a further set of measures designed to destroy, suppress, curtail, circumscribe or simply cow opposition. (Rubin, 1974).¹⁶⁴

The South African population is classified into four racial groups: 3.7 million whites, 2 million coloreds, 6 million Asians and 15 million Africans. Despite their numerical minority, the whites have secured and continue to maintain the monopoly of political, legal and military power which is used to distribute a disproportionate share of economic and social benefits to whites purely on the basis of color.

Hall et al (1978) conclude that the impact of these policies is reflected in some of the socio-economic indicators summarized as follows:

	<u>European</u>	<u>African</u>
Percentage of population	19%	70%
Per capita income	\$3,144	\$117
Average wage in mining	\$4,740	\$285
Ages subject to taxation	21-60	18-65
Educational expenditure per pupil	\$ 159	\$ 18
Infant mortality per 1,000 births	27	200
Percentage of land reserved	87%	13%

Source: Research cited by Hall et al (1978) The Anti-Apartheid Campaign in the Caribbean: The Case of Sport.

Hall et al (1978:45)¹⁶⁵ cite three critical pieces of legislation which prohibit sporting events on an integrative basis in South Africa.

These are: the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act. The latter act makes it unlawful for a white person and a non-white person to "drink a cup of tea in a tea-room anywhere in South Africa unless they have obtained special permission."

By early 1977 there was considerable evidence to suggest that the governments of Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, had managed to work out an explicit framework of national anti-apartheid policies, directed at enforcement at the local, regional and international levels.

The official position of the Guyana government as determined through a number of statements are as follows:

a) Guyana is uncompromizingly opposed to apartheid and would oppose sporting contacts with South Africa if there was integrated sport without fundamental change in apartheid policy.

b) Guyana would deny access to government sporting and cultural facilities and to a government job, to nationals who had played or performed in South Africa. (A certain time frame is apparently applied).

c) Non-nationals who have played or performed in South Africa would be banned from entering the country where the reasons for desiring entry were related to the same kind of activity. He or she may however conduct other business.

d) Teams which have played in South Africa would be banned from entering Guyana. A national team which has done so would be banned from Guyana even if some or all players had been replaced.

e) A ban in the case of (d) above, would apply to journalists and reporters who had accompanied such teams.

f) Nationals of Guyana would not be told not to play with another Commonwealth Caribbean national who had been to South Africa, but they were likely to experience some repercussions at home.

g) A national of Guyana playing outside of the Caribbean for a country under contract would be excused for playing against a team in which there is a member from South Africa, but no distinction would be made for Guyanese cricketers or other athletes under contracts requiring them to play in South Africa.

Guyanese officials and ministers fully recognize that this approach might involve, for instance, the scheduling of cricket matches outside of Guyana, but seem to find little difficulty with this since Garfield Sobers, one of the West Indies' greatest players, was obliged to bow to the application of this policy in 1971.

According to Minister Field-Rigley (1979),¹⁶⁶ "The government ensures that its policy is known to all sporting associations," and it would appear that the associations themselves feel very strongly about the apartheid policies of South Africa. There is a sharp distinction between the governments' responsibility and that of the associations. Authority and responsibility with respect to who comes into the country belongs to the government. Consequently, immigration laws are strictly enforced regarding those persons who violate government policy.

The Commercialization of Sport in Guyana.

There is no significant degree of tourism in Guyana, and the little tourism that exists, is totally unrelated to the tourism in other Caribbean nations. Therefore, the commercialization of sport in relation to tourism is of a minimal nature. Since independence, there has also been less emphasized interest in the commercialization of sport by commercial institutions. Prior to independence, commercial companies

gave much more money to sporting organizations by way of sponsorship than they do today. Of course, the rewards donated by them were in an attempt to promote their various products, such as Milo, Tobacco or Insurance. Less of this type of commercialization happens today. Government has taken on total responsibility for sport and its sponsorship, and is attempting to eliminate the type of commercialization that existed previously. Some companies still make contributions to sports, but the Guyana government tries to encourage them to make their donations in support of sports as an end in itself, and not as a means to financially profitable ends.

Minister Field-Rigley predicts that there will be greater government expenditure on sport in the future, depending upon the nations general financial position. To quote:

Our next objective is to establish a sports institute, which we do not have. We suggest a need for capital expenditure and increased investment in sport. (Minister Field-Rigley, 1979).¹⁶⁷

In the government's plans for the future are a sports village and a stadium, for Guyana is one of the few countries which upon gaining independent status, did not celebrate the occasion by building a stadium. The National Sports Hall, which was constructed during the last two years, has been in use although it is not yet completed. It is the only indoor sports facility in the country, and it is felt that Guyana has now reached the stage where it can support a stadium, in terms of involvement, for it would appear that there has been increased participation in sport since independence. This can be attributed to more facilities being made available to the masses of the people, greater government involvement generally, and a concerted effort to fulfill the nation's stated socialist objectives. In addition to converting under-utilized sports grounds into

facilities for mass participation, the government has also developed grounds for mass involvement which had not previously been owned by sporting clubs, as part of its deliberate reorganization policy for sport in Guyana, but it is the opinion of the Minister Responsible for Sport that there are still an insufficient number of suitable facilities.

There are greater numbers of players today who are representative of the "grass-roots" element of the society, who are now able to participate in national and international competition - a privilege reserved generally for the elite members of the society during the colonial era. The changes are the result of direct changes in government policy.

Generally, it would appear that since independence, there has been greater participation in sports for the following reasons:

1) The government's thrust in the field of sports:

- the introduction and implementation of some socialist objectives for example, emphasis upon mass-participation, and promoting the working-man;
- the appointment of sports organizers in urban and rural districts;
- the appointment of government coaches;
- cultural and sports agreements with other socialist nations and the exchange of touring teams, coaches and sports personnel;
- non-taxation of imported sports equipment.

2) The allocation of sports budgets at government and local government levels, and assistance from some commercial companies.

3) The masses of the people are much more aware of their own role in the development of the nation, and the importance of sports as an

avenue toward greater recognition and societal participation. Previously, cricket was the only sport which functioned in a limited way to gain some recognition for people of humble origin. Today, there is much greater interest particularly in boxing, and greater involvement in sport generally.

As in the United States, many people identify with sports, as seen by their everyday dress, even though they themselves do not participate. Sports attire has become a national characteristic of recent times.

4) The introduction of free education, and the leveling of all secondary school standards, which has reduced the status of a few elite schools established during the colonial era, and has led to greater competition among schools particularly in inter-school sports championships.

Bennett et al (1975)¹⁶⁸ have pointed out that the popularity as far as participation goes does not necessarily parallel the number of spectators a sport draws. The best example is the sport of boxing, which is far more successful in attracting spectators than in drawing participants. In fact, the only countries where boxing has not declined are the developing countries and the communist nations. In such countries, it can justifiably be claimed that boxing is a "grass-roots" sport through which identification with the average working man can be accomplished, which in turn contributes to the legitimacy of the particular political system.

The People's Republic of China is an exception here, as it has outlawed boxing since the Cultural Revolution. This is consistent with the sporting philosophy of the nation which emphasizes goodwill and fellowship between competitors, in a situation where winning is of secondary and not primary importance.

A similar philosophy has been adopted in Iceland, while Sweden has outlawed only professional boxing. The developing countries invest significantly in boxing, perhaps because in addition to its identification with the masses, it is seen as a sport in which they can quickly excel in international competition. In the Munich Olympic Games for instance, boxers from developing countries gained three gold, four silver, and eight bronze medals, and in the more recent Montreal Games, Cuba showed exceptional strength. Perhaps a key factor in all of this is the fact that in capitalist states, outstanding athletes tend to turn professional. It is also of interest that in contrast to boxing, swimming may be cited as a sport that is more attractive to participants than to spectators, and historically, swimming has been an elitist sport with identification with the classes and not the masses of colonial society.

The Role of Sport and the Military in Guyana

In Guyana, there is no connection between sport and the military as a front for the training of national athletes, but the military establishment does participate extensively in the organization of sport. Most of Guyana's national and international athletes appear to be the product of the club and association system. In so far as the military institutions form clubs within associations, team members will be selected to represent Guyana. (Minister Field-Rigley, 1979).¹⁶⁹ It is felt however, that there are possible future connections between sport and the military as the nation moves forward toward a comprehensive national service program, and the likelihood of more sporting talent being uncovered through exposure to the physical fitness programs and training discipline.

Perhaps the most conspicuous feature in the Guyanese society during the last five years has been the increasing visibility of the uniformed military and para-military personnel. The Guyana Defense Force (G.D.F.), the police, the Guyana National Service (G.N.S.) and the People's Militia, have a total estimated strength of approximately 22,000 as compared to a total strength of 2,135 in 1964 when the P.N.C. government came into power.

The G.D.F., the Guyana National Service (G.N.S.) and the People's Militia, were all created by the government. The G.D.F. was formed in 1965, G.N.S. in 1975 and the People's Militia in 1976. The other nations in the region that have attempted the introduction of a national service force are Jamaica and Dominica. No other nation has attempted to form a People's Militia.

In 1964, there was approximately one military person for every 300 members of the society. Thirteen years later in 1977, there was one military person for every 35 members of the society. The rapid growth in the size of the military plus an increasing proportion of the national budget allocated to them, is indicative of the tremendous emphasis government places on the importance of the military in the transformation of the society from a capitalist to a socialist system.

The Commander in Chief of the Army is Prime Minister, Forbes Burnham, and its ranks consist of 85% Blacks. The Officer Corps contains 90% Black officers with the remaining 10% consisting of East Indians and other ethnic groups. Since the P.N.C.'s traditional support comes from the Black population, the Army's commitment to the party is such that it provides a valuable agency through which unemployed P.N.C. party

supporters can find employment. To quote Carl Stone (1978):

One party dominant systems based on racial polarization often generates mass withdrawal from electoral involvement by the alienated. Stable one-party dominance invariably rests on corrupt practices, electoral manipulation and intimidation of opposition forces by loyal security forces and armed political thugs. (Stone, 1978:14).¹⁷⁰

These factors are consistent with Morris Janowitz' (1964)¹⁷¹ ideas of party infiltration into military institutions, and the role of the military in many newly developing nations.

A newspaper article in the Guyana Chronicle, Monday, December 25, 1978 entitled "People's Army Carried the Nation in Sport in 1978", is suggestive of the increasing connection between sport and the military in Guyana. To quote:

The Guyana Defence Force, the "People's Army" can look back at 1978 as one of remarkable achievement for them in the world of sport. In fact, their successes in so many fields must reflect the discipline, the preparation, the application and dedication for which the army is noted. It seems therefore safe to say that the Army carried the nation on its shoulders in the field of sport in the past year. (Guyana Chronicle, 1978).¹⁷²

Pride of place of course went to boxing, not just because they were able to achieve a Commonwealth Games Gold Medalist, Corporal Winfield Brathwaite, but because the Army has dominated the amateur boxing scene during the past few years. "Indeed the nucleus of any boxing team leaving these shores to represent the country internationally, came from among the Army's boxers." It may be interesting to note that in the 1978 National Open Amateur Boxing Championships, the Army had ten finalists on the eleven bout card, winning six of them.

In track and field, the Army has dominated all of the major National Track Relay Championships and when they won the five miles road relay early in 1978, it was their fourth consecutive win

in the event.

There seems to be little doubt that the military provides the best and most efficiently organized sporting facilities in the nation. The successes of the Army in sports since its inception can be attributed to: the highly trained and disciplined instructional staff, the fact that military personnel have assured wages, appropriate facilities and the time to use them, and an overall national budget that suggests its increasing importance in government policy.

The Role of Sport in the Penal Institutions of Guyana

During the colonial era, the penal institution was strictly custodial and it was never accepted as an integral part of the social system. However, because of political and social change, a belief in human resources was induced, and positive considerations were given to the concept of rehabilitation, and producing citizens who could develop feelings of self-worth which would have a positive transfer to all aspects of societal living.

In 1974, boxing was introduced as a recreational activity in prisons with the objective of changing the public image of the inmates. The Guyana Boxing Board was invited to become involved, and on the basis of what they saw, they offered assistance, providing that the inmates could receive the proper training. Since that time, the sport in the prisons has grown from strength to strength, and the overall effect of the quality of the program has been a reduction in the tension which previously existed among the prisoners themselves, and prisoner/guard relationships. Today, inmates generally conduct themselves in an acceptable manner, and a system of rewards and punishments can be injected into the program.

From the prison gymnasium (the Republican Gymnasium), participants have reached world amateur boxing standards, and from its inception in 1974 to the present time, inmates have been winners of the novice and intermediate championships, and have also participated in the Pan-American Games, and were selected to participate in the Montreal Olympic Games, from which Guyanese teams withdrew for political reasons. Since 1974, not one national representative team has been selected without at least one prisoner as a member.

The inmates also participate in soccer, and in the 1977-78 season they participated in the national division one championship competition, after being promoted from division two at the end of the 1976-77 season.

The total cultural development and sport program has four basic objectives:

- a) discipline;
- b) to learn to play by the rules of the overall society;
- c) to establish self-esteem and feelings of general acceptance;
- d) allowance for the general acceptance by members of the Guyanese society.

The successful participants in sports have lots of fans and are recognized as folk heroes by the masses of the people, which can be interpreted as acceptance by the overall society.

When prisoners win medals for Guyana, and in the name of Guyana, they interpret their achievement as having done something positive for their country, which is a major step toward general acceptance by members of Guyanese society. Some of the time inmates who started with attitudes of using sport as a means of getting away from feelings of confinement, were soon encouraged to take it much more seriously, mainly because of

crowd support, which the prisoners feel they must live up to.

The Republican Gymnasium is made available to successful athletes who have been parolled, and who want to continue training in their chosen sport. These athletes present a positive image for the prisoners who are still confined. However, it is felt that more could be done by different agencies in the society to make the public more aware of the rehabilitation program for inmates and their need for acceptance in the establishment of a positive self-image.

By spending a day in the Penal Institution and speaking with inmates, the author was able to observe and to gain first hand knowledge of the role of sport in the personal lives of inmates. Inmate Oliver, who had written three books, was a winner of a 1978 literary competition sponsored by the Cuban Government. His publication entitled "The Enemy Within", received first prize, along with a publication written by a lecturer at London University. There were 760 contestants from 23 countries. The book is now being published by Collins Publishing Company in London. Oliver is of the opinion that:

Sport is helping the inmate to be a better person. It has transformed one or two hard cases and helped them to regain a spirit of pride, giving positive feelings about self. When a man leaves prison, he never wants to pass in the same street, but now he returns to the Gym to train and the institution to some extent has lost its social stigma. There is some pride in the fact that he is a product of the Republican Gym. (Oliver, 1979).¹⁷³

Albert, another inmate and a middle-weight boxer, made reference to the fact that boxing has changed his life, and with a little more effort he could become a champion with "a future in professional boxing." He saw through sport, a means toward a better standard of living, and an opportunity to make a positive contribution to Guyana.

It would appear therefore, that in the Penal Institution, sport not only functions as a diversion, but as a worth-while healthy activity which can establish within the inmates positive feelings of self-worth and opportunities for social acceptance and upward social mobility. They are able through sport to make significant contributions to the development of Guyana.

Hopes for the Future Development of Sport in Guyana

Many Guyanese citizens and leaders of institutions that are affected or influenced by sports are of the opinion that certain changes in the pattern of sports participation have still to be made. In the choice of coaches for example, it was suggested that appointments should not be made on the basis of "jobs for the boys", as very often seems to be the case, but rather on the basis of persons who can coach. There appears to be an underlying assumption that because a person is, or has been an outstanding player, he inevitably will be a good coach. This of course does not necessarily follow. It is felt that the government has made mistakes in this respect, and the situation must be remedied by providing instruction on how to coach (teach) either in Guyana or abroad, if standards of excellence are to be achieved.

One of Guyana's leading newscasters has stated:

I would like to see financial rewards given to athletes, as this appears to be the only way that the athlete can remain at the top of his or her sport. At the present time the idea of receiving trophies as rewards for winning does not help the athlete in any way to improve, in view of the rising cost of athletic equipment or nutriment for sustenance. (Newscaster, 1979)¹⁷⁵

This statement would suggest a need for a total commitment by government to sport and athletes via a socialist model such as exists in Cuba or via a capitalist model such as in the more advanced capitalist states. On economic grounds, both of these suggestions appear impractical.

Nevertheless, it would seem that consistent with the ideas of Hart (1978), no total commitment has been made either to socialism or capitalism by the Guyana Government, a situation that might well have stemmed from the basic conservative nature of the nation's ruling elite. However, it would appear that the people of Guyana are aware of Cuban society and of Cuba's achievements through sport, and see them as a model for the development of their own nation. This is evidenced by a citizen of Guyana who stated that:

There is a need for greater involvement of the youth of the nation, for discipline and the establishment of an academy of sport to cater to the full-time professional training of our international class athletes. There is also the need for provision of well-planned stadia at the national, regional and district levels. (Citizen, 1979).¹⁷⁵

It has also been stated that there is a need for competitive sport organized for the children of Guyana, recognizing that the age of top class performers in international competition is lowering year by year. Also a need for greater involvement of women in sport and in the society generally.

In addition to youth groups which have developed as a result of changes in government policy, the traditional youth movements seem to have become much more active since independence. Some of these clubs in the past presented social barriers to many of the poorer young people in the society. For example, the Girl Guide Movements were often attached to the leading secondary schools and consequently catered to children of middle and upper class families. Government's emphasis however, on mass-mobilization under a socialist model has made youth organizations generally, a national priority aimed at reaching all the nation's youth.

All of these groups prepare yearly sports programs which are

carried out with the purpose of developing mentally and physically healthy individuals who are participating in worthwhile and stimulating activity. The YMCA and YWCA, in addition to providing classes in swimming, and facilities for other indoor sports, also function as centers for continuing education.

Concerns of the Nation's Youth

The major concerns of the youth in Guyana are such that they want to be taken seriously by the power structure. Education and jobs are of immediate concern in a society with a 30% unemployment rate. Interestingly enough however, in Guyana and throughout the Commonwealth Caribbean, much greater emphasis is being placed upon technical skills and engineering, which suggests a shift away from the colonial mentality which was mainly responsible for the belief that unless you were a doctor or a lawyer, you were not deserving of elite professional status. Today women are learning trades alongside of men, and are more aware about what is taking place in other socialist societies.

Education in modern-day Guyana is much more accessible to the masses of the people and as such, they are more conscious of the benefits now available to them and greater concern about achieving an educational background. The white collar syndrome still prevails to a considerable extent, but the government is attempting to up-grade attitudes with respect to the fact that agriculture is the life-blood of Guyana.

Chapter 5

AN INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF SPORT IN JAMAICA

A Demographic Overview

The 1979 population in Jamaica is under 2 million people. 55.1% are under twenty-five years of age, 45.9% are under fifteen, 32.4% are under ten years, and 15.8% are under five years of age. It would appear therefore, that the youth in Jamaica possess and will continue to possess, a critical position in any overall scheme of national development.

It is generally accepted that sport is critical as an integral part of nation building but although the government recognizes the importance of sport in theory and in the speeches of politicians, it is believed that they have consistently victimized every minister responsible for sport that has appeared at cabinet level. This has been done by denying him support for the proper development of sport on a nationwide basis. "The government just talks and we are tired of talk."

The development of sport in historical perspective

During the colonial era, sport was one of the few means of upward social mobility for the masses of the people, and it was encouraged by parents. "In the 1930's it very often wasn't possible to get a good job, but if you participated in sports, your chances were increased." (Kentish, 1979).¹⁷⁶ Today, the social structure has changed, and twelfth grade students give up sports in order to study. In the 1930's the captains of clubs, and national and international teams, would very often be university graduates, but today, this is not the case. Young people are no longer interested in pursuing both avenues, and materialistic considerations now take precedence. Opportunities to earn money are much more available and consequently the interests of young people are influenced by financial gain.

It would appear that a similar situation exists in England, for whereas in the past, sportsmen from the academic institutions of Oxford and Cambridge were visible in national and international sport, today they rarely participate at that level. In the West Indies today, it is very often the school drop-out who represents the nation in sport, which would suggest tremendous social change by way of new opportunities for the previously underprivileged. Burrowes et al (1972) are of the opinion that:

Apart from its well-known advantages, sport in Jamaica plays another very vital role - it provides an outlet for the accumulated energies of many of our underprivileged youngsters, helping them to find a niche in the society which might otherwise have been closed to them. (Burrowes, 1972:2).

Therefore it could be concluded that the status label of sport which traditionally existed in England and the Commonwealth Caribbean has undergone social change.

In 1937 Jamaica experienced its first link between government and sport, through what was called the Jamaica Welfare Limited. The government's role was one of assistance with self-help projects. In 1949 the organization became a statutory body - The Jamaica Social Welfare Commission, and its functions were expanded to include the services of recreational officers particularly among the rural peasantry. The services offered by the recreational officers included practical training sessions in different sports, as well as lectures on the concept of recreation and recreational leadership.

After gaining political independence in 1962, the government pledged its concern for the masses under a system of Democratic Socialism, which

led to the planned organization and development of sports throughout the nation and in February 1964 a government sports program was given "divisional status" under the Social Development Commission (formerly the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission). Its limited functions included the organization of seminars for volunteer coaches and attempts at supervising sports competitions in conjunction with voluntary national sports associations. The Commission was given the additional responsibility of investigating the availability of playing fields and of purchasing and distributing sports equipment financed by government.

The government also introduced an "Outstanding Athlete Scheme" whereby young athletes, on the verge of attaining international standing, would be given special assistance. In 1966, the government also introduced a "Promising Athlete Scheme" which provided aid for promising young athletes who although possessing great potential in a particular sport, would be prevented from developing into outstanding athletes if they were not given assistance.

The erection of a National Stadium was one of the most outstanding examples of government support for sport during the independence era, but as one critic has observed:

As well as being a symbol of what government can do for sport, it also represents all that needs to be done, for it is under-utilized. (Whitter 1979).¹⁷⁸

When the idea of staging the 1962 Central American and Caribbean (C.A.C.) Games in Jamaica was first suggested, it was concluded that the existing facilities were inadequate. The government then decided, "with one eye on the games, and the other on the Independence celebrations, which were to be held almost simultaneously, to build the stadium."

Burrowes et al (1972)¹⁷⁹ are of the opinion that the stadium has in many ways become a focal point of the nation's public life, claiming that "sporting events, gymnastic displays, concerts and civic receptions" are held there in the shallow bowl which seats 35,000 people.

The stadium has all the characteristics of a modern sports arena - an en-tout-cas track, facilities for all field events, a soccer field of international specifications, a banked cycle track, a photo finish camera, an electronic timing device, and an extensive public address system. In a four storey building which houses the grandstand there are 35 double bedrooms, a dining room, offices, a press lounge, a V.I.P. lounge and a first aid clinic. Banking and postal services are also available. On the same site as the stadium, although not within the arena itself, there is a warm-up track, and an Olympic sized swimming pool and diving platform. The stands around the pool seat 3,000 spectators. A national arena was added to seat 5,000 people for indoor sports, conventions and exhibitions. The sports hall has roll-away bleachers to allow for the accommodation of different sports and in addition it contains gymnasias, therapeutic rooms and a police station.

In 1972, further re-organization took place, when the government recognized the necessity for a viable sports program and increased the number of personnel in the Sports Division. For the first time, administrative considerations were introduced into a national sports plan which led to the nation being divided into approximately 44 areas. Each area was directly supervised by a government sports officer and in addition six regional coordinators were given the responsibility of supervising a specified number of area sports officers. As a result, community development in rural as well as urban areas was introduced

using sport as a major vehicle toward this development.

Perhaps the most interesting contradiction with respect to the role of sport in Jamaica is that observed between the size of the country and the variety of its sporting activities and achievements. It is believed that sport is one of the few areas in which a small nation can successfully compete against much larger and more highly developed nations. Jamaicans are proud of their athletic record, a pride that is justified in view of its accomplishments. Jamaica was chosen as the venue for the Ninth C.A.C. Games in 1962, the Eighth British Empire and Commonwealth Games in 1966, the Third World Netball Tournament 1970-71, and the Third Central American and Caribbean Athletic Championships in 1971.

Interest in sport in Jamaica has grown and so too has the number of enthusiasts pushing for government assistance. "By the mid 1970's approximately 250,000 people in the rural areas benefited from government sports programs but almost twice that number are still in need of assistance."

By 1978, the government had recognized the need for a national development plan which would cater to the needs of the masses, and as a result, a National Institute of Sport was formed, which coordinates, under a central administrative unit, all agencies that promote and develop sports in Jamaica. As indicated in the government's Five Year Development Plan 1978-1983, submitted by the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Community Development, National Sports Limited and the Social Development Commission were amalgamated on April 1, 1978 to form the nucleus of the Institute of Sports. "Known as 'Insport', this single agency under this Ministry will eventually become a statutory body and bring under its supervision all government activities in sport." The main purpose of the Institute is:

To administer and coordinate at a national level all sport activities in Jamaica and in so doing to ensure the development of sports on two levels:

- sports at grass-roots level, conceived in terms of national health and recreation and carrying important social implications, and
- sports as earnest competition at national and international levels, conceived in terms of the development of excellence in all who possess the talent and have the desire to do so, develop, and carrying important implications for national prestige and self-image. (Ministry of Youth, Sports and Community Development, 1978:61).¹³⁰

It is believed that the Institute of Sport does not replace or duplicate the functions of voluntary sports associations or community sports organizations but encourages, nurtures and supports their growth and development. In part, this is achieved by ensuring that each community, work center and sports association has access to adequate playing areas for the practice of sports and recreation.

The stated functions of the Institute, by the Ministry, in its Five Year Development Plan, are as follows:

- to encourage, develop, promote, undertake and assist organizationally and financially, all forms of sports in the island by:
 - identifying areas in the island in the greatest need of sports development and promotion;
 - being the forum for the on-going development of proposals for national policy in relation to sports;
 - raising money for all purposes connected with sports, entertainment, education and social welfare by the promotion of sports events, national as well as international;
 - providing, at grass-roots level, playing fields, hard courts, facilities and equipment to enable as wide a cross-section of the population as possible to participate in sporting activities;

- providing regions in the island with coaches for the priority sports identified by the Institute's Board;
- organizing regional competitions in the priority sports and ensuring that information regarding the rules and regulations of these sports is disseminated among participants;
- ensuring that players with recognized abilities are given the opportunity and means to develop their skills to the fullest potential;
- identifying and acquiring, through purchase, lease or rental, land-space in the island considered suitable for use as playing fields;
- equipping and maintaining all playing fields and facilities owned or otherwise secured for the use of the Institute;
- monitoring the everyday use of playing fields, facilities and equipment, leased or rented to ensure that the most appropriate and economic use is made of them;
- purchasing, storing and distributing sports goods and equipment;
- stimulating the manufacture of sports goods and equipment locally for mass use;
- providing the necessary funds and advice to community based sports activities (for example - parish councils, community councils, sugar coops and schools);
- establishing and maintaining schools of physical culture to train sports administrators, physical educators and coaches;
- maintaining and, where necessary, repairing the National Stadium Complex and other sport complexes owned, leased, rented and operated by the Institute;

- ensuring the security of buildings, facilities and equipment at the National Stadium Complex and of other buildings and facilities owned, leased or rented by the Institute;
- monitoring the performance of national sports associations in terms of the associations' achievements as related to national policy and their use of government allocations;
- being responsible for the registration of national associations - such registration to be conditional on the particular association by its constitution and its modus operandi, meeting certain prescribed criteria, criteria which would be applicable across-the-board;
- screening on behalf of government, requests for government's assistance from individual national sports associations;
- monitoring the relevant particulars of international sports events in order to ensure that considerations of national and international policy are observed in every such event;
- being responsible for the management of all physical facilities owned by government and made available for more than one competitive sport (for example, the National Stadium and any other similar arena);
- developing broad guidelines in relation to contracts as between individual athletes and registered associations or members, or licences of registered associations;

and advisory services will be provided by a Planning Committee, Advisory Committee and a Public Relations Officer.

The Institute is headed by a Board of Directors appointed by the Minister Responsible for Sports and an Executive Director appointed by the Board.

The Planning Committee: This group drafts short and long term plans for the Institute, and since there is a close liaison and interdependence between the planning and administrative branches, all project proposals originate from the deliberations of this committee.

Advisory Committee: This group comprises representatives of National Volunteer Sports Associations, dealers in sporting goods and equipment, members of the private sector who are involved in sports through sponsorship, members of community based organizations, the communications media and active athletes.

It is claimed that the purpose of the group is to involve a wide cross-section of individuals and organizations with a proven interest in sports, in the decision making process. Its main function is to advise the Executive Director and through him the Board of the Institute on matters relating to the development and promotion of sports.

"The government realizes that given the social and cultural significance of sports in the country the Institute cannot do without a sophisticated panel of advisers to solve the intricate tasks and increasingly more complex problems facing it." (Atkinson, 1979).

The Advisory Committee is headed by a Chairman appointed by the Minister Responsible for Sport and a select group of twelve persons. The Committee meets once per month.

Support Services: The activities and programs of the Institute are supported by three main divisions: Finance, Security and Facilities and Equipment.

- 1) The Finance and Accounts Division: The main purpose of this division is to ensure that the Institute is adequately and economically financed and to allocate and supervise government funds.

2) The Security Operations Division: This division ensures round-the-clock security for all buildings, facilities and equipment owned by the Institute.

3) The Facilities and Equipment Division: This division is headed by a manager. Its main supportive functions are to identify and acquire for use by the Institute, land-space considered suitable for use as playing fields. It also has the responsibility of acquiring, storing and distributing sports equipment and also stimulating the manufacture of sports goods locally.

Operating Services: These are provided by two sections - the Sport Promotions and the Physical Education and Training sections. A third section is specifically for Sports Development and is responsible for carrying out the government's mass participation programs.

1) Sports Promotions Section: This section is headed by a co-ordinator who is responsible to the Executive Director for international promotions such as sports agreements between other governments and Jamaica, and obtaining assistance from regional bodies such as the Organization of American States, Caribbean Free Trade Area and the U.S. Peace Corps Workers. The sports agreements appear to be particularly important at the present time. Jamaica has an existing agreement with the People's Republic of Cuba and is initiating similar agreements with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria, Canada, Britain and several other countries.

Sports Exchange Plan with Cuba
April 1979 - March 1980

In Cuba

Plan	Month	Team	Activity	Period	Category	Number	Level
1.	May	Boxing	Training	14 days	M	5	National
2.	"	Weight-lifting	"	"	M	6	"
3.	"	Athletics		5 days	M/F	15	"
4.	Aug.	Volleyball	Competition	5 days	M/F	15	Club
5.	Oct.	Phys. Ed.	Training	30 days	M/F	20	Student
6.	Nov.	" "	"	"	"	"	"
7.	Dec.	Football	Competition	5 days	M	20	School
8.	Feb.	Cycling	Tour	"	M	10	National
9.	March	Basketball	Competition	"	M	15	National

In Jamaica

Plan	Month	Team	Activity	Period	Category	Number	Level
1.	Feb.	Athletics	Gibson Relays	1 day	M/F	10	School
2.	May	Athletics	Manley Games	5 days	M/F	10	National
3.	July	Basketball	Competition	"	M	15	
4.	Sept.	Volleyball	Coach	3 months	M	1	National
5.	Sept.	Swimming	Competition	5 days	M/F	15	"
6.	Oct.	Chess	Competition	5 days	M	9	"
7.	Dec.	Motorcycle	"	"	M	5	"
8.	Feb.	Athletics	Gibson Rel.	"	M/F	15	School
9.		Field Hockey				20	
10.	May	Cycling	Nat.Stadium	14 days	M	14	National

The agreements are apparently guided by the desire to develop sporting relations and as a means of strengthening friendship between the youth of the countries involved. Activities such as the exchange of sport teams and coaches are of major interest and in addition the exchange of specialized sports information generally is of particular significance in the sports agreements.

The coordinator of this section also reports on the activities of the National Voluntary Sports Associations, assists them in staging sports events and supervises the use made of financial assistance provided by the government. He further analyses the outflow and inflow of foreign exchange funds used by officials of the Institute and national sports teams.

2) The Physical Education and Training Section: In considering the objectives of the Institute, the government stated that it was essential for the field staff - area sports officers and regional sports coordinators - to possess a sound knowledge of basic physical education. In addition, there are supplementary supporting programs throughout the primary and secondary school system, influenced by the Physical Education and Training Section. In Jamaica there are over 1,000 primary schools and it is felt that in each of them, the teachers responsible for physical education should have at least the same basic training as the field staff in the "grass roots" programs. Moreover, each year some 400 Jamaican youth corps workers assist the area sports officers in their efforts to stimulate and organize the participation of young people in sports throughout the country.

The training of the field staff, physical education teachers and

Jamaica Youth Corps Workers in the basic and rudimentary elements of physical education has become a very important part of the Institute's Operating Services.

This section is headed by a co-ordinator who reports to the Executive Director on the activities in physical education and training, and also on such related interests as physical education scholarships, physical culture schools and sports medicine research.

The government of the Republic of Cuba has offered to train several students in physical education to the professional level. Cuba has also given to the people of Jamaica three sports schools to further dramatize the friendship which exists between the two countries. The functions of the screening of applicants for the degree training program will also fall under the jurisdiction of this section. Furthermore, the construction of the sports schools, drafting of the curricula, placing teachers and the like, will be under the chairpersonship of the Co-ordinator.

The final role of the Physical Education and Training Section is the establishment and administration of a sports medicine unit. The government realizes that the specialization and intensification of sports world-wide has led to the development of special sports sciences covering the needs of medicine and physiology, motion and mechanics and training theory. Jamaicans' interest in sports medicine is the first in the Commonwealth Caribbean, which might well stem from her close proximity and affiliation with Cuba. Sports medicine has achieved decisive importance in socialist countries throughout the world and has a direct relationship with health, functional capability and the improvement of performance in all types of sports.

The government therefore considers it essential for the Institute to keep abreast of the developments in the sports science area and to further provide the necessary sources of reference for men and women who require such information.

3) Sports Development Division: These services are primarily concerned with ensuring fulfilment of the main purpose for which the Institute was established, that is, for the development of sports in the nation at the grass roots level. The Sports Development Division undertakes this responsibility and does it through sports coordinators, area sports officers and coaches at the regional and community levels.

The main purpose of the Sports Development Division is to stimulate, organize, develop and supervise sporting and recreational activities among the masses of the population by devising short-term and long-term programs for the development of sports in the society generally and at the grass roots level of the society in particular. It is the belief of officials that the programs will be implemented and evaluated to determine their impact on the environment. Already some half million young people are said to have benefited from sport competitions organized by the Institute.

The Importance of Sport in Jamaica

It would appear that considerable emphasis upon elitism in sport exists in Jamaica, which would suggest that sports are of importance to the Jamaican people because they help to bring recognition to a small nation which might otherwise go unnoticed. In 1948 Jamaican athletes distinguished themselves in the Olympic Games by winning the 4x400 meter relay in world record time. Since this tremendous athletic success, people around the world have heard of Jamaica, mainly because of its success in sports. Similarly, on a broader scale, in most cricket

playing countries throughout the world, wherever the West Indians play, they always attract the largest crowds, "We have gained recognition by proving to be better than the Englishman at his own sport." Developing out of such situations, are identification with national heroes and feelings of national pride.

In addition to other aspects of sport therefore, which highlight its value in national development such as health and fitness, the building of a competitive spirit, and a disposition toward the acceptance of discipline, sport in Jamaica is seen as an integrative force by way of stimulating a collective consciousness.

National Independence and its Effect on the Development of Sport

National independence tended to broaden the base of sports and an effort was made to take sports to the masses of the people in Jamaica rather than perpetuating the system in which "the people came to sports". That is, an effort was made to create new youth centers and playing fields toward the encouragement of mass participation and the development of talent in the rural communities of Jamaica where organized sports hitherto was practically non-existent. In addition, more people have become involved because of increased government aid.

However, like Guyana, there appears to have been a misconception of the meaning of independence by many of the nation's youth. There is suggested evidence of a lack of discipline as the masses become more involved in sports, which has resulted in a loss of club life and club spirit.

In the opinions of some institutional leaders, the elite sports of cricket, lawn tennis, squash, yachting, polo and golf, have been adversely

affected by the implementation of community leagues which tend to pinpoint

"the undisciplined nature of the grass roots element of the society as they strive for recognition through competitive contact sports such as soccer, and compete with some degree of hostility against the more privileged members of the society." This situation has led to a withdrawal from competitive contact sports of the middle and upper class members of the society, who either reject sports altogether or seek out sports of a different type which present financial barriers and exclusivity such as sailing and cruising.

Generally, it would appear that the club system is just as important as it was in the past, but for different reasons. Most of the traditional clubs have disappeared due mainly to economic problems which started even before independence. Traditionally, clubs were organized in predominantly middle and upper class areas but as the population shifted to "higher ground", particularly in Kingston and St. Andrews, the clubs lost patronage and most of them suffered financially. To quote the President of the Olympic Association:

The club system has changed dramatically since Independence (1962). Previously, the physical development of the country was such that it served a particular type of community life. Club membership was almost entirely associated with a community. However, with the changing of the community some people retained their membership while others moved on. Therefore, the club today is not truly representative of a community. There is a move by some associations to bring back the type of community represented club that existed previously, with club loyalties and identification and in new communities new clubs are being considered. (Fernell 1979).¹⁸²

Since independence, "color of skin" is no longer the high priority it used to be and the exclusive all-white clubs of the past, now have mixed membership (colorwise). The doors to membership are much more

easily opened today than they used to be. However, these changes were not directly the result of gaining political independence. Prior to the 1960's considerable agitation from all quarters of the society in support of black people gaining greater accessibility to better positions of employment and other areas of social life, led to increased pressure from the media and political organizations which eventually resulted in social change.

Unlike Guyana, boxing has not gained in popularity among the grass roots element of Jamaican society, inspite of a considerable degree of influence in sport from neighboring Cuba. The first major boxing tournament held in Jamaica was a Commonwealth title fight in 1962. At that time, it was thought that boxing could be among the top 5 sports in Jamaica, but since inter-school boxing was stopped, the number of participants has diminished and "a less intelligent individual now participates." Boxing therefore, to some extent, can be recognized as a grass-roots sport, but a mass interest and identification as in Guyana, does not exist. When the sport was coached and encouraged at grammar school level, the organization and intellectual standard of the Association was much higher than it is today. The administration of the sport has declined considerably and the gymnasias are not as well attended as they once were.

Women in Sport in Jamaica

Netball is considered to be the number one national sport for women in Jamaica, replacing basketball which was introduced into the island via the YWCA in 1910. Basketball however, never really developed a strong hold in Jamaica. Not until the middle of the century did the leading girl schools employ fully qualified physical educators from Britain, and

from the 1950's onward, Jamaica experienced rapid development in women's sports. In 1950 a county netball player from England was appointed government Sports Officer, and as a result, netball took precedence over basketball and grew to become a national sport. All government high schools were encouraged to participate in netball and in 1957 the first all-island netball camp was held and from which was selected the first national team. In 1959, the first tour to Trinidad was arranged during which time the Jamaican National Team refused to participate on Sundays, not because of any ultra-religious stance, but because it was felt that the traditional role of "women in the home on Sundays", would be violated. At that time, the churches in the West Indies were opposing the playing of any sports on Sundays, and men as well as women were receiving considerable pressure from religious organizations. It was felt however, that the women were more severely criticized than the men for even the suggestion of sport participation on Sundays. Since that time, the Netball Association made it an act of national policy that "No participation in netball will take place on Holy Days." In connection with this ruling, the Fifth World Netball Tournament held in Trinidad led to controversy. The Jamaicans were very perturbed by the fact that international matches had been scheduled for Sundays, which would violate their national rule. Furthermore, the International Netball Federation rules stipulate that "Countries can refuse to play on a day of religious observance." Leila Robinson, President of the Jamaica Netball Association, expressed her displeasure thus:

Most members of the International Federation are Christians who worship on Sundays, and I find it shocking that Trinidad¹⁸³ would start a world tournament on a Sunday. (Robinson, 1979)

At the opening ceremony, Jamaica joined the parade under protest.

Beginning in the 1960's several West Indian women were offered athletic scholarships to study physical education in England at some of the leading colleges. In addition, an official was sent to represent the West Indian Netball Association at the inauguration of the International Federation in Ceylon. The cost of such a trip was financed by individual members of the West Indian Netball Association, but it was considered important to be represented at such a meeting because the member Third World Nations were trying to keep out South Africa.

Since independence, personnel from England, Australia and New Zealand have been brought to Jamaica to work as coaches and physical educators in an attempt to spread the influence of women's sports throughout the Caribbean. Interestingly enough, Jamaica is the only country outside of Britain with three accredited examiners of umpires and coaches in netball.

A conservative estimate of active participants in netball in Jamaica would be in the region of 100,000 and because of this degree of involvement and the strength of the Association, the government of Jamaica recognized netball as the official national sport for women and the third participating sport in Jamaica, men's cricket and soccer respectively occupying the one and two positions. Because of the fact that netball for over ten years has been one of the three major sports in Jamaica, the government has been forced to give equal emphasis to netball as a priority sport (Robinson, 1979)¹⁸⁴. In the other sports such as women's field hockey and women's cricket, recognition is not comparable to their male counterparts.

Jamaica, along with Trinidad, Barbados and Guyana, is a member of

the International Women's Cricket Conference, and participated in the World Cup in 1973. In 1977, however the Caribbean teams merged to form a West Indian team, which toured India with great success the same year, and was scheduled to play in England in June 1979. The Australian Women's Cricket team has toured the West Indies in recent years, and there are definite signs of women's cricket gaining increasing recognition in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Jamaica continues to supply the majority of West Indian women cricketers, mainly because of her greater number of participants on a regular basis. However, Barbados seems to produce the best individual players, as it seems to have done in men's cricket over the years.

It is felt that track and field, ranked fourth in national participating sports, might well be ranked higher if the administrative structure had offered year-round participation in competitive situations. Instead, they appear to rely heavily on the schools which offer only one term for track and field. Yet, the sport has outstanding role models, both men and women, for young people to emulate.

Many women participate in track and field, particularly in the country districts of Jamaica, and school championships for government-aided schools are organized by the Games Mistresses Association. This competition goes back to the early 1940's and 95% of top class women athletes were cited in the under-thirteen age group competitions. "Boys and Girls School Championships are the biggest thing on the national athletic calendar and they attract crowds of 50,000 people on the final day."

One of Jamaica's finest women athletes, Audrey Reid, was the first West Indian women athletes to clear 6 feet in the high jump. She competed

in the Commonwealth Games in Winnipeg, Canada in 1967, at the age of 15, and was the product of a Sugar Estate athletic program coached by Herb McKenley. Partly because of her athletic success, she was admitted to one of Jamaica's leading girl schools and became a teacher after being awarded an athletic scholarship in North America. This is an indication of sports' ability to offer opportunities to members of the peasantry, and by means of which women as well as men experience upward social mobility. To quote the President of the Jamaica Lawn Tennis Association:

Particularly in such fields as track and field, swimming, field hockey and netball, advances have been made particularly at grass-roots level, where women take part in sports mainly for the same reasons as men from the same social structure - for recognition and possibly some degree of upward social mobility. (President of Lawn Tennis Association, 1979).¹³⁵

The largest International track and field meet in the nation is the "Norman Manley Games" which was started in 1976 as an annual event. But staging the games in May is a bad time for athletes from North America who are just coming out of winter indoor training, and are never at their peak at this time of the year. The Jamaican National Games attract athletes from Cuba and East Germany, for both of whom the Jamaican spectator public show great admiration.

It would appear that the development of women's sport in Jamaica can be attributed in no small measure to the dynamic personality of Leila Robinson, a "sports administrator extraordinary and educator."¹⁸⁶ (The Gleaner, March 5, 1978). She, along with others, are of the opinion that sports are critical in national development, but is disillusioned by "a lack of political response." She is of the opinion that:

Sport must be used to develop discipline, health and fitness, not for militancy, although inevitably militarism will eventually be a function of sport because of Jamaica's close affiliation with Cuba and the Eastern Bloc countries, and Cuba's attempt to impose a curriculum of physical culture, which the sporting associations of Jamaica have opposed, because of Jamaica's close traditional ties with Britain... By means of sport, our young people can expend their energies under supervision. (Robinson, 1979).¹⁸⁷

Politics and Sport in Jamaica

It would appear that the Jamaican government at present is encouraging a type of hero worship, which might well be one of the reasons Jamaica did not join Guyana in its withdrawal from the Montreal Olympics in protest against New Zealand's support of South Africa. "The government knew that Don Quarrie had a chance of winning a medal which would bring recognition to the country." It is also believed that Trinidad, with Crawford, did not withdraw for the same reason. The government of Jamaica stated its position with respect to the Olympic Games as follows: "Nations should not follow African countries blindly in the political use of sport," but many West Indians believe that the African nations are fighting for something that they might well emulate, for "a connection between politics and sports must exist because sport is a reflection of society, just as you cannot separate politics from religion." (Robinson, 1979).¹⁸⁸

It was further suggested that what must be worked out is the role of the government as opposed to the role of the governing bodies in sport. For in developing countries, generally the problem appears to be confusing to politicians. Robinson (1979) suggests that:

Sport must be governed by an autonomous body otherwise the International body will kick you out, if it is known that sport is being administered or pushed around by government. It is critical to realize that in the Third World and socialist countries, there is an attempt to remove the control from the associations and for government to control sport, but I feel that there is a role for both to play. Government must provide facilities and ensure the money allocated to governing bodies of sport is being properly spent. Because of the poor level of administration in the Caribbean, government must monitor sport. (Robinson, 1979).¹⁸⁹

Following the belief that "he who pays the piper calls the tune", sporting associations in Jamaica are very conscious about the amount of financial support given by government, and many of the associations never allow government to donate more than a certain percentage of expenses to send teams abroad for example. This is partly the reason why they have been able to maintain some autonomy. To quote an association representative:

We have been able to tell the government to 'go to hell', many times because of massive support from the private sector, because we call these things public issues. In 1974 there was a big effort on the part of government to get involved in sport. 1974-75 could be referred to as being 'the year of the big fight', and the associations won. (Association member, 1979).¹⁹⁰

On March 20, 1978, the Tripartite Commission of the International Olympic Committee, got together to decide on certain policies that governments of newly developing nations could follow. The Commission consisted of the International Olympic Committee, the National Olympic Committee and the General Assembly of International Federations, and in close contact with UNESCO, they put forward a proposal, which it is hoped will help the political leaders of the Third World nations to decide on the role of government in sports.

The Commission made reference to the fact that, "until quite recently, sport was governed exclusively by voluntary national and international organizations, apart from certain profit-making professional associations. Since the 1950's, governmental and inter-governmental agencies have been intervening increasingly in the running of sport." The Commission further suggested that, either through indifference or because they were too occupied with economic and social priorities, it is only recently that governments have begun to concern themselves with the phenomenon of sport. The number of countries whose governments have realized the scope, value and social role of sport and taken steps to

promote it is becoming consistently larger. Among the steps being taken are:

- the creation of ministerial departments responsible for physical education and sport;
- the promulgation of laws and decrees giving sport an increasingly important status;
- the development of sporting infra-structures;
- support for top-level competitive sport;
- the creation of sports institutes and,
- the promotion of sport for all.

(Tripartite Commission, 1978)¹⁹¹

It is felt that under colonial rule, the type of confusion which exists today did not exist. For "the British were conversant with what was taking place in national and international sport and gave considerable guidance to the colonies." But it must also be pointed out that times and conditions were very different, and the situations of well-established metropolitan countries could not be compared with the plight of the newly developing nations throughout the world.

Some of the subjects interviewed in Jamaica are of the opinion that Jamaica's association with Cuba will eventually help them at the international competitive level in sports. Primarily because Cuba's schools of excellence have opened the eyes of the Third World countries. Sports which were originally thought to be only for Caucasians, such as rowing and the javelin field event, are now seen in a different light because of Cuban success in these events at local and international competitive levels.

It is also felt however, that by giving Jamaica a gift of three sports schools, the Cuban government would try to impose its curriculum

upon the use of those schools, and indeed it has been suggested that the Jamaican government was receptive to this idea. But, because of the strength of the Physical Education Association, the government met with resistance, as claims were made that "Cuba cannot impose curriculum development on a country in which the necessary social, political and economic research, in historical perspective, has not been analysed."

In view of this resistance, it would appear that the democratic nature of the Jamaican type of socialism enables the dominant middle class to impose its will on what it labels as public issues. It would also seem that the government lacks coercive power to over-ride such resistance if such needs arise.

Sport and physical culture are very much a part of the much needed social and cultural research. Such research would evidently reveal that in the history of Jamaica, international competitive sport out-dates that in Cuba. However, within recent years, the Cubans have surpassed all other Caribbean territories in sports because of the assistance they have received from the U.S.S.R. and East Germany.

It is strongly felt among some middle class people in Jamaica that the Cubans will be unable to dominate sport and physical education in Jamaica because of the language barrier, and also because of the local Olympic Association's insistence that any curriculum development should involve the countries to which Jamaica currently sends students to be trained in physical education:

We get scholarships to train physical educators in Britain, Canada, the United States of America, Australia and New Zealand and the Cubans only started in 1978. So we feel that six countries should be involved in any curriculum development, because at the moment they are training our people, some of whom will come back as teachers of physical education and sport. (Member of the Jamaica Olympic Association, 1979).¹⁹²

Some officials feel that the cultural exchange programs between Jamaica and Cuba do not operate on a "one way street." However, it was pointed out that on a cultural exchange basis with Cuba, the Jamaican Netball Association has been attempting to introduce their sport into Cuba, but as yet the International Olympic Committee has not recognized the International Netball Federation, and consequently, Cuba has refused to participate in netball, claiming that they will participate in no sport that is not recognized by the International Olympic Committee. This point of view is consistent with the belief that sport in Cuba is specifically geared toward international recognition, prestige and legitimization of the socialist regime.

The curriculum problem of the three sports schools has not yet been resolved, and further meetings have been scheduled to discuss this problem. Current thinking however, suggests that one of the colleges will be offered to other students in the region and will turn out students of a high standard. Representatives from other Caribbean countries are already requesting invitations to the curriculum planning debate. The college entitled the G.C. Foster School of Physical Culture will be, if all goes as planned, a multifaceted educational institution, offering a three year course in physical education with a major emphasis on teacher training in a Caribbean environment. In addition, it is planned to have a system in which students will train for one year in two sports, which will enable the student to go out and coach in clubs and schools throughout the region.

It is doubtful whether the socialist type of mass-participation influence of Cuba will have an effect on Jamaica, because Jamaica has already been influenced to a considerable extent by England, Australia and New Zealand, all of which have functioning mass-participation programs. Yet

emphasis upon mass-participation does not appear to be very great in the developing nations of the Commonwealth Caribbean. Perhaps the main reason for this lack of emphasis is money for capital expenditure to build recreational facilities and playing fields. "Just when the time was ripe for a major investment in this direction, there was a change in government, in 1972 the Manley government came into power with a new policy." Under the labor government in 1963, there was a scheme to develop 100 villages with a community center and adjoining sports fields and recreation facilities, but this plan was dropped by the new administration in 1972. In 1975, the project was attempted for a second time, but again it was short-lived, much to the frustration of youth leaders:

Sport is low on the list of financial responsibilities, but very high on the list of talking, because we can produce the odd International Star athlete who can bring national recognition to the country. (Robinson, 1979)¹⁹³

The Internationalization of Sport

Dr. Mathew Beaubrum, Chairperson of the Institute of Sport in Jamaica is of the opinion that the government of Jamaica is positively involved in the internationalization of sport, and has several international sporting agreements with Cuba, the U.S.S.R., Bulgaria and the United Kingdom, and he is further of the opinion that Cuba has greatly influenced Jamaican society and sport in particular. In reference to the sports college and two sports schools donated by the Cuban government, Dr. Beaubrum states:

It is hoped that by effectively utilizing these schools, Jamaica will be equipped to train her athletes at home, so they would not be tempted to go to the United States, where the United States would benefit from their ability instead of Jamaica. (Beaubrum, 1979).¹⁹⁴

Sixty Jamaicans are at present being trained in physical education and sport in Cuba and Jamaica plans to go into sports medicine very seriously in the future, and contacts have already been made with Cuba, East Germany and the United Kingdom with respect to this development.

Cuban influence in Jamaica can also be observed in other directions. For example, in the construction industry, there are 600 young people being trained in Cuba. In education, Cuba has already built six schools, and in medicine, during a recent crisis, Cuba has supplied doctors and dentists. However, it might well be pointed out that the affiliation between Jamaica and Cuba is not a recent one. Traditionally, there have been links between the English-speaking and non-English-speaking Caribbean, which tends to contradict the popular belief that no such line previously existed. Before the mass emigration to North America and to England, people from the Commonwealth Caribbean moved throughout the region in search of jobs. They moved to Panama and helped to build the Panama Canal; Jamaicans went to Costa Rica, Haiti and Cuba. Antiguanians went to the Dominican Republic, Barbadians and Vincentians to Panama, in addition to Guyana; St. Lucians went to French Guiana, and to this day there are 20,000 people of Jamaican descent in Cuba, including their heavyweight boxing champion Teofilo Stevenson. That is why "the Jamaican Labor Party maintained links with Cuba after gaining political independence." People went to wherever they could get jobs within the region and therefore traditionally, there has been mass-participation in the development of the region. (Beaubrum, 1979).¹⁹⁵

With respect to sport however, it must not be forgotten that coaches from all over the world have visited Jamaica, from both socialist and capitalist states, and within the last decade the government of Jamaica

has promoted a world championship heavyweight title fight between Joe Frazer and George Foreman, but the claim has been made that this was done specifically to attract tourists to Jamaica.

Hall et al (1978)¹⁹⁶ have pointed out that, in 1976 the Prime Minister of Jamaica, the Rt. Hon. Michael Manley, made a proposal to the General Assembly of the United Nations that it should prepare an international convention on apartheid in sports. This convention, in his view, would include an obligation by states to impose sanctions against sporting teams and organizations whose members, collectively or individually, participate in sports activities in South Africa or against teams from South Africa. Such sanctions would include:

- a) refusal to provide financial assistance or donations in kind to such teams or individuals;
- b) withdrawal of access to national sporting facilities to such teams or individuals;
- c) denial and withdrawal of national sporting honors or awards to such teams or individuals;
- d) action to render automatically null and void all professional sporting contracts which do not specifically exclude participation in South Africa;
- e) non-recognition by states, parties to this convention, of national sporting bodies which do not adopt the convention as part of their constitution.

(Gleaner, August 20, 1976, p.7)¹⁹⁷

Hall et al (1978)¹⁹⁸ are further of the opinion that if the above is to be taken as Jamaica's official position, there remains one further element of substance. "Players from other parts of the world who have

participated in sport in South Africa are banned from entering Jamaica." However, early in 1976, Jamaica made one exception to the total ban on national sportsmen who had participated in sport in South Africa. This exception accommodated the case of individuals bound by contract. However, such individuals are required to make a public denunciation of apartheid in order to qualify for exemption.

The Commercialization of Sport in Jamaica

Generally it would appear that Jamaicans are opposed to the commercialization of sport, but there are nevertheless, many commercial firms that sponsor sport through advertising.

In government, the Tourist Board has sponsored sports in Jamaica since the 1960's and it has been mainly responsible for keeping the national golf team on the Pan American circuit. The recognition that golfing holidays are very popular among tourists to Jamaica, has prompted the Tourist Board to promote the sport in any way possible. In international advertising, Jamaica has always promoted golf, lawn tennis and blue marlin fishing as tourist attractions, and several international marlin fishing competitions have been held in Jamaica, in which the Tourist Board has accepted the responsibility of sponsorship. In fact, it would appear that the Tourist Board, if invited, would play an active role in almost any sport which will focus the attention of people in the outside world, on Jamaica. The Tourist Board also assists the many touring teams that visit Jamaica by introducing the organizing bodies to car rental firms, hotel managers and restaurant owners, who very often offer as gifts, car rentals or accommodation at reduced rates. In return, they are able to acquire advertising rights. Within recent times, the Tourist Board assisted when a representative West Indian Team played

against Great Britain in an international golf tournament, and also in an international tennis tournament which was staged in Jamaica. Consequently, it would appear that even though the Jamaican government claims to be a socialist administration, it still supports and encourages the commercialization of sport in an effort to promote the very important national industry of tourism.

Unlike Guyana, horse-racing in Jamaica is a thriving industry and is very much a mass-participation sport. The Betting, Gaming and Lottery Act in Jamaica, which states that "major taxes from such activities should go to the development of veterinary medicine, horse-breeding and the promotion of sports in general", does not live up to its stated objectives. Instead, the government puts millions of dollars, acquired in this way into the consolidated fund, and consequently, none of the funds are ever returned to sporting associations. It would appear therefore, that the government is using the commercialization of sport to bolster the national budget in these times of financial crisis.

The Ministry responsible for sport in Jamaica is also interested in the commercialization of sport from the point of view of encouraging light industry into the country, in part to assist in the reduction of unemployment, in addition to reducing the cost of sports equipment to the Jamaican consumer. However, it is believed that this venture would not be possible, because of competition from more powerful nations that are able to produce goods at a much cheaper rate. Jamaica therefore, would not be able to compete on international markets, although production for a local market might be a viable possibility.

Sport and the Military

There is no connection between sport and the military in Jamaica, which would suggest no direct socialist influence in this respect. In historical perspective, the military was mainly responsible for the development of certain sports in the region. But today, it is felt that although Jamaica should be looking toward the military for leadership with respect to discipline (in which sport can play a role), the military organization does not seem to be living up to its potential. Recently, it has been suggested that the military would like to recruit good athletes, but at present, unlike other socialist countries, the military in Jamaica does not appear to play a major role in the national development of the country.

Sport in the penal institutions is not encouraged to any great extent, and in no way are the innovative ideas of "sport and rehabilitation" as in Guyana, applied in the Jamaican situation.

The Concerns of the Youth

The concerns of the youth in Jamaica center around jobs and housing, honesty in government, and the need for a voice in local and national government. The youth in Jamaica are extremely vocal and with their improved level of education, it is felt that they will be heard. They realize that their country is poor, but they want a share of what is available. They demand less rhetoric and more action on the part of government.

There are the usual array of youth clubs in Jamaica, under the supervision of the Social Development Commission, but their development is not pushed with any degree of zeal. The organization of the clubs is left generally to the religious institutions, the service clubs and the police force.

Hopes for the Future Development

In the future development of their nation, Jamaicans would like to see a type of sports council appointed by government, similar to the British system of sports administration where grants are given directly to the council from the Treasury. Thereafter, the sports council is only responsible to the Treasury with respect to how the funds are used, and not to the Minister of Government. It is felt that this would ensure that people knowledgeable about sport and the role it should play in development would be directly responsible and government's influence would be reduced.

It is also hoped that participation in mass sport by people of higher intellect and social standing will again be a characteristic of Jamaican society. The upper class of the old days no longer exists and those from that particular group who have remained, have adopted a low profile and turned their backs on general sport involvement. It is felt that participation by the intellectual element in high schools would make a difference, but their major concerns are academic progress and an assured better standard of living.

Voices representing the masses of the people, suggest a need for greater utilization of the facilities which exist, including the stadium and facilities traditionally reserved for the privileged.

A Summary of the Political Climate from Pre-selfgovernment to Democratic Socialism

Stone (1978) is of the opinion that between the early beginnings of the decolonization movement and internal self-government in 1953; the colonial state of Jamaica responded to political and social protest by initiating welfare and social policies designed to conceal the militancy of the working class and peasantry. These included minimum wages, land settlement and redistribution, agricultural credit, agricultural cooperative development, increased expenditure on public works, and infra-structural development to facilitate more employment.

Initially, between 1938 and 1952, the presence of an influential left wing faction of middle class intelligentsia in the People's National Party (P.N.P.) produced and espoused socialist goals which complemented that party's nationalist objectives. These socialist policy objectives included advocacy of greater state ownership of the critical sectors of the economy, cooperative worker-peasant ownership in agriculture, and the development of enlarged worker-peasant influence in the polity through the creation of more democratic organizational forms and mass political education.

The period between 1953 and independence in 1962 saw an ideological convergence of the P.N.P. and the Jamaica Labor Party (J.L.P.) around the common goal of modernizing capitalist development in partnership with North American investment. This development was reinforced by a promoted expansion of an urban based national bourgeoisie around import substitution and manufacturing, tourism, corporate finance and banking, real estate and construction. (Jefferson, 1972).²⁰⁰

Stone (1978)²⁰¹ suggests that it was against this background that the present P.N.P. government led by Michael Manley came into power in

1972 and sought to define a renewed effort at decolonization.

On the domestic front, the new P.N.P. government had co-opted into its ranks, most of the alienated and the militants who had opted out of the two-party system. It embraced into its fold communists, socialists, Rastafarian militants, Garveyites and Black Power radicals and alienated ghetto youth who joined forces with the traditional P.N.P. working class, peasants, middle class and capitalist support. The militants warmed to Manley's populist style which grew progressively leftist as pressures mounted from within this coalition for a new order of social justice and majority control of the economic forces in the hands of the ethnic minorities which owned the leading sectors of the economy.

Socialist re-affirmation by the P.N.P. was rapidly joined to rhetorical posturing of antagonism to imperialism and to the United States, and was complemented by the posturing of Third World solidarity and fraternity with Communist Cuba, 90 miles to the north. Out of this was born a new foreign policy between 1974 and 1976. A posturing of socialism on the domestic front was a pre-requisite for Third World legitimacy and fraternity with its leading spokesmen and states (Cuba, Tanzania etc.). The pressures for socialist development on the domestic scene in turn demanded new alliances and linkages outside of the traditional North American framework of metropolitan capitalist dominance.

While the majority of the Jamaican electorate continued to be hostile to communism, the anti-communism campaign failed as Manley's denial of communist intentions struck chords of mass support and credibility within the populist mass expectations for social and material betterment which his rhetoric evoked. The masses had long been accustomed in the island's political tradition to hostility from elite interests

towards ideas and proposals for change benefitting the masses. The more the conservative coalition of interests attacked socialism and anti-imperialism the more support for the Manley government consolidated.

Chapter 6

AN INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF SPORT IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

The role of sport in the promotion of physical fitness and in the development of wholesome personality traits has been well established. For a nation as young as ours, sport has a significant contribution to make to nation building and in fostering a sense of national pride. The sociological benefits need no amplification in a world threatened with the scourge of drug addiction.

(Unpublished Commission of Inquiry Report 1974:43) ²⁰²

Today it would appear that the major concerns of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, with respect to the role of sport in nation building are: (1) the integrative nature of sport, both nationally and internationally and (2) mass participation in sport consistent with the Council of Europe definition of "sport" as "free spontaneous physical activity engaged in during leisure time: its function being recreation, amusement and development." (Council of Europe, 1971:5-6). ²⁰³ However, it is only within recent times that any significant steps have been taken toward these ends.

Perhaps the first meaningful move toward taking sport seriously, came with the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into Major Sports in the nation. It was appointed on June 15, 1973 and was commissioned to inquire into:

"...the organization, promotion and administration of all sports in Trinidad and Tobago exclusive of cricket and horse racing, with particular reference to the relations between administrators and performers, to re-appraise the scope and composition of the National Sports Council, to consider existing procedures for control of expenditure of government subventions to sporting associations and to make recommendations thereon and the proper development of such sports under the popular representative control of all participants in such sports."

The method of inquiry was such that in preparation for the public hearings, paid advertisements were placed in the daily newspapers between

July 9, and August 12, 1973 inviting clubs and associations as well as the general public to submit memoranda on "the matters falling within their terms of reference." In addition, the commissioners met with the national sports writers and sportscasters to seek their assistance in generating a high level of interest among participants and sports fans in the work of the Commission. Members of the Commission also appeared on television and gave radio broadcasts with a view to stimulating discussions and the submission of memoranda.

A total of 72 memoranda were received from associations, 29 from clubs and 43 from individuals. Individuals, clubs and associations were given the opportunity to make their presentations at the public hearing, which commenced at the Port of Spain Town Hall, January 11, 1974 and of which there were 64 separate sittings. Other persons, because of their involvement with sports, were also invited to appear before the Commission so that in total, the Commission heard evidence from ninety-five persons.

Individually, members of the Commission visited sporting facilities in Trinidad and Tobago and in their private travels abroad it was possible for three of the commissioners to view facilities in Latin America, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of West Germany. With the assistance of the Trinidad and Tobago High Commission in London, the chairman was able to obtain an interview with Dr. Roger Bannister, Chairperson of the National Sports Council in England. He inspected a number of facilities and held discussions with officials involved in the administration of sport (Commission of Inquiry Report 1973:2).²⁰⁴

The countries visited suggest that the members of the Commission had an interest in a Western rather than an Eastern European approach to the national development of sport and physical education as a model for Trinidad and Tobago.

A demographic overview of Trinidad and Tobago

The mid-year population of Trinidad and Tobago in 1977 stood at 1,114,800 according to recent statistics provided by the Central Statistical Office. Of this figure, 23.1% (257,000) were under the age of ten years with 25.2% (280,000) in the 10-19 age group and approximately 10% in the 20-25 age group.

Employment

Government continues to be the biggest employer. The percentage of persons employed by government rose from 15.2% of the total employed in 1965 to 20.2% in 1976. Direct employment by government is expected to increase significantly when the energy-based industries open within the next five years.

The unemployment rate declined from 13.8% in 1965 to 12.5% in 1970, then increased to 15.2% in 1975. The rate for 1977 is estimated at 14.1%.

The importance of sport to the people of Trinidad and Tobago

In addition to the recognition that sports are of importance in helping to create a nation of people that are healthy and physically fit, sports are of importance to the people of Trinidad and Tobago generally for several other reasons:

"Sports are of importance for reasons of discipline, for they help young children to play by the rules, and it acts as a diversion in times of high unemployment."

"Sport provides an outlet for personal and national expression in local, regional and international settings, and it provides a means of upward social mobility, recognizing the fact that there is prestige to be gained by being a sports celebrity in addition to financial rewards."

"In the Commonwealth Caribbean, sport has successfully provided bonds of common pursuit."

"Sport has been a principal avenue of self-discovery. It reaches everyone and consequently fosters community spirit, particularly in rural areas, but in the city there is less community support."

It would appear therefore, that sport plays an important role in the lives of the people of this relatively small country; a point that is accentuated by the fact that although the population is a little over one million, there is active participation in thirty different sports.

In furthering the aims of national development it is felt that participation in international events fosters patriotism and national pride, and that "success on the field of sport is as good an incentive as any for the citizens as a whole to work toward the betterment of the country, so that it might excel in international competition."

Sport is also seen to be a means of developing team spirit, necessary for the successful development of a new nation.

Clubs

Like the other small nations in the Commonwealth Caribbean, clubs were initially formed by British military personnel and the local aristocracy, during the early days of colonialism. Associations developed at a later stage when middle and lower class sporting clubs were established and subsequently because of the need to become affiliated with controlling international sporting bodies.

Traditionally, the most prestigious elit clubs have had a controlling influence in sporting organizations, and it is only within recent times that their control has been challenged in Trinidad and Tobago. Today, the masses have representation in the policy making decisions of sporting associations, as they have become more politically aware and as a result of recurrent social disturbances during the early seventies.

It would appear however, that recognition of the masses and the

greatest force toward social change, in addition to being the most significant threat to the somewhat conservative administration of Dr. Eric Williams, came as a result of what was known as the February Revolution. For eight weeks (February 26 to April 22, 1970) a small activist organization called the National Joint Action Committee (N.J.A.C.) led a mass movement of thousands of people, which almost brought about the first successful Black Power revolution in the Caribbean. "Led by Geddes Granger, a recent graduate of the University of the West Indies, N.J.A.C. called for an end to economic colonialism and attacked the white power structure that controls the Caribbean." (McDonald 1971:154).

"For eight weeks, demonstrations numbering eight to twenty thousand Trinidadians kept the country in a perpetual state of protest. Granger with his arms uplifted, pleaded with the crowds to rise up and rid Trinidad of its white oppressors. Meanwhile, the local press and government agreed that there was need for change, that the black population had been short changed, but that violence and revolution were not the answer. The middle class, threatened as they have never been before, began to panic and packed their bags to leave for vacation in Barbados - a haven for the middle-class whites of the Caribbean.

(McDonald 1971: 155)²⁰⁵

On April 20, 1970, Prime Minister Eric Williams declared a state of emergency, imposed martial law on the country, and had most of the rebel leaders imprisoned. However, inspite of the government's action, "half of Trinidad's Army rebelled as they were issued arms by their officers, they seized the main arsenal and held it for four days before surrendering to loyalist troops and police," and for many months after, about one hundred soldiers and civilian militants awaited trials in prison, for sedition and treason.

As a result of the Trinidadian uprising, the Government of Barbados banned all Black Power spokesmen from the state and introduced a public

Order Act, preventing Barbadians from speaking publicly about Black Power. McDonald however, predicts that "it will not be long before these movements will begin to surface throughout the Caribbean, creating new "February Revolutions." Interestingly enough, since McDonald's predictions, we have seen the overthrow of Eric Gairy in the neighboring state of Grenada, by a radical leftist group, a feature of Commonwealth Caribbean politics which would not have seemed possible ten years earlier.

McDonald is further of the opinion that "the economic structure of the Commonwealth Caribbean, the racism intrinsic to that structure, and the inability of the current political leadership to enact the necessary changes must in time result in greater confrontation." The probability is that it will be a racial confrontation as well, simply because the economic lines have been drawn that way." (McDonald 1971)²⁰⁶. If this be the case, then it would appear that sport - which is one of the few truly integrative forces in the region, has a very important role to play in the development of all the new nations, and internally the voluntary sporting club system can also play its part in uniting Trinidad's so-called plural society.

According to many of the subjects interviewed in Trinidad and Tobago, the club system is as important today as it was twenty years ago, but for different reasons. The traditional method of selection for many clubs was based on ethnic origin and only the descendents of such groups gained access. For example, there were the Indian, Chinese, Portuguese, English and Scottish clubs in Trinidad, and also some clubs that were "shade prejudice". Today, membership is based more on economic status, or ability to pay dues, and personal integrity, than upon racial identity or color of a person's skin. The traditionally elite clubs no longer carry the social

significance that they once enjoyed, and therefore they have lost importance for the class conscious individuals. These changes where not directly the result of changes in government policy, but rather the result of improvements in the general standard of living and movements away from colonialism which tended to breed such divisions. Consequently, it could be claimed that the 1970 Black Power uprisings were more responsible for the social changes which have affected the masses, than any change in government policy within recent times.

The Queens Park Club established in 1896 has been the center of national and international cricket in Trinidad and Tobago since the colonial era, but today it is threatened with social change as it comes under the scrutiny of the Evan Rees Commission of Inquiry into the organization, promotion, administration and control of the game at all levels. According to a newspaper article in the Trinidad and Tobago Express, Monday, January 8, 1979: "the report which was submitted to the government, a little over three years ago is understood to have been shelved," which is apparent evidence of a "do-nothing" policy of a conservative government.

The report calls for an end to the dominant role of the Queens Park Cricket Club (Q.P.C.C.) in the control and administration of cricket nationally and internationally. "In the view of the Commission," the report states, "the arguments in favor of a more representative and national body for the administration and development of cricket are overwhelming." It claims that the twenty-two year old Trinidad Cricket Council on which Queens Park now has eight seats out of a total membership of twenty-eight, should be superseded by a new governing body which the report recommended may be called the "Trinidad and Tobago Cricket Board of Control."

In the words of the Commission:

"Despite the obvious efficiency with which Trinidad Cricket Club has been administering the game, this organization has been too narrow in its scope and operations, and its composition has not reflected the representative or democratic principles demanded by the population particularly at this period of the country's development."

(Express, January 8, 1979)²⁰⁷

In the Commission's view the national board would have as its objectives "the advancement and control of cricket at all levels throughout Trinidad and Tobago." The report suggests that the national board would be responsible, among other things, for arranging and controlling the country's participation in inter-territorial and international cricket tournaments in conjunction with the West Indies Board of Control. It also goes on to emphasize: "The Queens Park Cricket Club would accordingly be no longer the agent for the West Indies Board of Control (W.I.B.C.) in Trinidad and Tobago."

By the present WICBC rules, Queens Park has the power to elect two people from Trinidad and Tobago each year to represent this territory on the board which is responsible for arranging, controlling and regulating all inter-territorial and international tournaments. "It is to be noted," the report comments, "that these two people have always been members of the club." The Commissioners however, recommend the continued use of the Queens Park Oval, "with its unparalleled facilities," as the main center for international matches.

Former Judge of the Court of Appeal - Evan Rees, Chairperson of the Commission and the other commissioners, "heartily" endorsed a suggestion, which they claim has come from several people, that this could be achieved by seeking to have Queens Park Cricket Club act as agent of the Trinidad

and Tobago Cricket Board. Specifically, this would mean that the Queens Park Club, would manage and conduct all international and inter-territorial cricket which will be played at the Oval, under contract to the national Cricket Board of Control.

On January 10, 1979, the Express Newspaper, in an article headed "Rees on a Sticky Wicket," made reference to the fact that "it is a mystery why the government has been sitting for so long on the Evan Rees Commission report, on the organization, promotion, administration and control of national and international cricket in this country." The article claims that the report is by no means a "rotten egg". It makes recommendations for democratization of the operation of the sport with which no reasonable person would wish to quarrel. "Only the diehards at the Queens Park Cricket Club who believe being 'top dog' is their inalienable right, would object to the setting up of an organization called the Trinidad and Tobago Cricket Board of Control, to take charge of the functions which are now the sole or major responsibility of this club." "For cricket too has passed that stage." The Commissioners themselves point out that, "it is the only country which is represented by a private club on the West Indian Cricket Board and, indeed, only the club's representatives have had the authority to speak for this nation on cricket matters."

In the article, it is further stated that, "this newspaper, like the Rees Commission, does not wish to knock the contributions Queens Park has made to cricket. Over the years, it has done well and its committee, headed more recently by Errol dos Santos, has been progressive in its administration if it has not always been enlightened in its attitude to lesser mortals. (Express, January 10, 1979:4).²⁰⁸

National Associations

Today National Associations are administered in general by Executive Councils or Committees, which are elected in accordance with their constitutions. The Executive Bodies are elected at Annual General Meetings by the representatives of the various leagues and clubs which have representation on the national associations. All national associations are affiliated to overseas controlling bodies which recognize them as the authority representing a particular sport in Trinidad and Tobago. Affiliation enables the national associations to participate in international events, tournaments and meetings. The national associations are solely responsible for selecting teams to represent the country overseas, except in the case of the Olympic Games, in which case the National Olympic Committee is responsible.

The Trinidad Amateur Boxing Association is the only national association governed by a cabinet-appointed Board of Control which regulates all boxing contests in Trinidad and Tobago. In general, national associations derive their income from membership and subscription fees from the various affiliated sporting bodies. They also receive government grants and donations from the private sector and fund-raising efforts, such as raffles and dances. Where conditions permit, gate receipts are used to generate revenue.

Geographical regionalization is usually determined by the national association and varies from sport to sport. The regional associations and/or leagues are responsible to the national associations. They are all administered by independent controlling bodies which are affiliated to the national body. Widespread primary involvement in sport is achieved through regionalization of the league system in soccer and netball particularly

The Promotion and Administration of Sport in Trinidad and Tobago

The promotion and administration of sport in Trinidad and Tobago at the level of clubs, leagues, regional and national associations is conducted largely on a voluntary basis. Some associations provide small allowances to their secretaries to cover travelling expenses, but although the constitution of the National Amateur Athletic Association (N.A.A.A.), for example, provides for a board secretary and an assistant secretary, that association has not been able to pay a salary to either of the two officers. Very few associations have full-time clerical or typing assistance.

It would appear that in the past, the country has been fortunate in having a number of competent persons who have devoted their services and at times their personal resources to the development of sport. But, participation in the traditional sports has increased, and other sports are gaining in popularity. Consequently, neither the number nor the quality of volunteer administrators has kept pace with the demand.

It would also appear however, that today's situation is very different, mainly due to the social changes which have taken place within recent years. When we consider the breakdown of the traditional class structure, which, for all its ills, did exhibit loyalty and pride as members identified strongly with their particular club or association, it is little wonder that this breakdown would have adverse effects upon voluntary organizations. Under the old system, the need for financial or material rewards was eliminated, as members were very often, "only too proud" to be of service or to make a significant contribution to what was seen as "their club", or "their association." In such a setting, to be president, secretary or treasurer of a club was very much an honor, and inevitably, the more prestigious the club, the higher the personal

gratification and honor.

Today, to transfer that type of loyalty, pride and commitment to a national level, it would have to be motivated by an administration committed to the establishment of a national identity, of which the masses of the people are justly proud. Until steps toward achieving such a goal are made, the overall response to requests for workers in voluntary sporting associations might well be "what's in it for me?" Today the acceptance laws for club membership are much more liberal, the closeness of community membership no longer exists as people travel considerable distances by a much improved transportation system, to be playing members of a particular club. It would appear that the much more democratic nature of selecting sports administrators generally, has lessened the interest of the old administrative elite, who very often are pursuing other interests, which might offer other rewards of a personal nature.

Under the more democratic process it is quite possible that persons might be elected into office for the "wrong" reasons. To quote from the Commission of Inquiry Report:

"There is tremendous lobbying for office and in the election of officers more emphasis is placed on personal relationships and the promise of favors than on the ability of the particular candidate to discharge the duties of the office."
(Commission of Inquiry Report, 1974)²⁰⁹

The result is that the quality of administration of sport in Trinidad and Tobago is exceedingly poor. Some of the other problems are concerned with facilities, general finance and coaching, but it would seem that, "the solutions to these problems cannot be attempted without first solving the problem of administration."

The Trinidad and Tobago Olympic Committee

In the day to day administration of the Olympic Committee it is

alleged that there is a "lack of the democratic process," and the existence of cliques has also been suggested. However, indications from the Commission Report suggest that, "the Olympic Committee functions according to its constitution and that the chairman and secretary are quite competent, although at times acting in perhaps too executive a manner." (Commission of Inquiry Report, 1974:28).²¹⁰

In the area of finance, it was found that the Olympic Committee was relatively self-sufficient and meets its own expenses as well as 50 percent of the cost of participating in the Olympic Games. In this venture, it is greatly assisted by the Radio and Television Bingo Series, which is run by the Trinidad and Tobago Olympic Committee.

The National Sports Council

The Trinidad and Tobago National Sports Council was established July 15, 1971 and replaced a Sports Advisory Committee which was appointed in November 1970. The responsibilities of the National Sports Council are:

- a) to recommend subventions for 1971 to national sporting organizations, and
- b) to draw up a five year plan for the development of sporting facilities throughout the country with priority being given to a program for 1971.

The terms of reference of the 14 member sports council were:

"To advise the government through the responsible minister on all matters affecting physical recreation and sport, with the aim of using sport as an instrument for social development and for improving the quality of life of the inhabitants of Trinidad and Tobago."

The Council was required to pay attention to:

- a) the provision of adequate sports and physical recreation facilities, both indoor and outdoor, to serve district, country, national, regional and international needs;
- b) the establishment of proper coaching schemes for all branches of sport, with the objective of involving as many participants as possible;
- c) the training of a sufficient number of physical education officers, coaches and recreation leaders to meet community needs;
- d) assisting the voluntary sporting bodies in organizing national and international annual competitions;
- e) working as closely as possible with schools, youth camps, and community organizations on matters of sport development;
- f) encouragement through voluntary bodies concerned with participation in sporting events overseas by teams from Trinidad and Tobago, and paying particular attention to the strengthening of ties with Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA) and OAS countries, (which would suggest government's concern for the integrative nature of sport);
- g) persuading the business community, including small businessmen, to become more involved in assisting sport development through sponsorship, donation of trophies, provision of facilities where possible, fund raising and local manufacture of sporting goods;
- h) proper control, maintenance and management of sporting facilities provided for public use.

Funds are appropriated annually by Parliament to meet the operating expenses of the Council and a permanent establishment has been provided to service the Council. Service on the Council and its committees is voluntary but members receive a travelling allowance for attending meetings and other business of the Council. The Council as originally constituted comprised a Chairman, Vice-chairman, Secretary and eleven members. Its scope remains essentially an Advisory Body assuming limited executive functions in areas such as the running of the village olympics and the organizing of tours by national teams to the rural areas of the country.

The Private Sector

The involvement of the private sector in the organization, promotion and administration of sport in Trinidad and Tobago assumes many different forms - for example:

- a) donations of prizes, trophies and equipment;
- b) sponsorship of tournaments and clubs;
- c) development and maintenance of sporting facilities for employees;
- d) hosting of international games;
- e) engagement of foreign coaches (a responsibility of government in the Caribbean nations of Guyana and Jamaica);
- g) awards to outstanding sports personalities;
- h) cash donations;
- i) grants of special leave to employees, to represent the nation in sporting events;
- j) payment of passages for foreign based athletes.

It would appear therefore, that the private sector plays a major role in the use of sport in national development. However, it is believed

that although this involvement is considerable in financial terms, it might well be a means of promoting a better image of the business community.

Local Government Bodies

There are 150 village and recreation grounds and 16 regional or sub-regional grounds, which are under the control of local government bodies. However, it is claimed that lack of proper facilities and inadequate maintenance are two of the major drawbacks to the development of sport in the country.

Government Opposition

Dr. James Millette, a Marxist scholar and former member of the Central Government, makes reference to an address given by Prime Minister Eric Williams at the Annual General Meeting of the Association of Principals of Public and Secondary Schools, October 26, 1977. In his address, the Prime Minister equated socialism with slavery, an equation to which James Millette took great exception. To quote the statement attributed to the Prime Minister: "Socialism is the same as slavery, the only thing missing is the master." (Williams 1978:6).²¹¹

Millette is of the opinion that within recent times the attitude of Prime Minister William has been increasingly an attitude of attack on socialism, as evidenced by the above, and previous statements and claims that "an analysis of these attacks taken together amount to an assertion of the following remarkable distortions of what socialism really is:"

- "1) Socialism, and that by reference to an isolated dubious incident at the University Hospital in Jamaica, is corruption.
- 2) Socialism is nationalization, an erroneous assertion on which one would have expected the leader of the present government

to be clear since though his regime has nationalized much, it has not socialized anything - indeed, it is now prattling about "divestment", that is to say, the return of nationally acquired assets to private ownership.

- 3) The object of socialism, and of those who propose its introduction in Trinidad and Tobago, is the replacement of foreign capitalism by local capitalism, and thereby the establishment of local capitalist monopoly, another misrepresentation on which there should be no confusion in the PMU, since their avowedly non-socialist policies have at best been directed to the achievement of the same end that they deplore.
- 4) Socialism is outmoded and irrelevant as can be seen by reference to the increasing debt burden of the socialist states, and
- 5) 'Socialism is the same as slavery, the only difference is the master.'

(Millette 1973:11-12)²¹²

Millette goes on to state that "these attacks on socialism by the Prime Minister and those who take their cue from him, have come at a time and with the openness and a frequency which, taken together represent a major shift in the foreign policy of our country," and he is of the feeling that this shift must be clarified and explained, in light of the fact that it was only two or three years ago that the government seemed embarked on quite a different course. "A visit to Cuba, two visits to China, a visit to the Soviet Union, all within the period 1974-75 and following on the establishment together with Barbados, Jamaica and Guyana, of diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1972, "seemed to herald the opening of a new, progressive phase in our foreign policy."

Dr. Millette asks several questions in relation to Dr. Williams' flirtation with socialist countries, and as a result of his visits to China, Cuba and the Soviet Union in 1974 and 1975. Question such as, "What has happened to deepen the relationship of Trinidad and Tobago with these countries? What, for example, was the position of the Trinidad and Tobago government on the sabotage of the Cubana aircraft in 1977? What was the position of the Trinidad and Tobago government when Cuba requested permission to use their airport facilities and to re-fuel in Trinidad when Cuba was helping the people in Angola sustain their independence in the face of South African aggression on that country?" Dr. Millette claims that the answer to those questions are well known:

"There has been no deepening relationship between Trinidad and Tobago and the socialist countries, and the government bluntly and crudely refused to assist Cuba, and thereby the people of Angola in the hours of their greatest need, that is to say, when the army of fascist South Africa was already on Angolan soil trying to suppress the independence of the Angolan people."

(Millette 1978:16)²¹³

It is felt that apart from oil and natural gas, the economy of Trinidad and Tobago is seriously underdeveloped and the same problems which other countries in the region are having, are being experienced in Trinidad as well. "Of course, oil money can ease the pain, but it is not getting rid of the disease of underdevelopment." Millette makes the point that "on the same day that Williams was making his statement attacking socialism...Trinidad and Tobago was abstaining on a motion to unseat South Africa in the United Nations Oceanographic Commission. (Millette 1978:18).²¹⁴

Against this background of events, it could be concluded that the Central Government's attitude toward the role of sport in the nation would

be inconsistent with any socialist model, and instead, if considered at all, would favor the traditional pattern of their metropolitan leaders.

Areas of Government Assistance in Sports

There was very little government sponsorship of sport generally prior to independence. Sport was very much a leisure time pursuit, mainly supported by the private sector. Little or no money was allocated by government for sports in the 1960's. There was an ad hoc approach to making grants available for teams travelling abroad, and everyone was fighting for their slice of the pie.

In 1969, a Parliamentary Secretary for Youth Affairs and Sports was appointed, with offices located in the Community Development Division and responsible to the Minister of Planning and Development. In 1970 responsibility for the Community Development Division was assigned to the Ministry of the Prime Minister and the provisions for sport remained under the Community Development Division. More recently, October 25, 1974, responsibility for sport has been assigned to the Minister of Education and Culture.

In 1973-74, there was a considerable change in national revenue, which stemmed from the extra gasoline dollars and also at this time, the Commission of Inquiry into Sports was established. In 1975-6, a Sports Fund was established mainly for capital expenditure. The fund was valued at 50 million dollars prior to the Montreal Olympics in 1976. However, following the Olympics and Hasely Crawford's success, the national budget for capital expenditure in sport was increased to 100 million dollars.

Hasely Crawford, winner of the gold medal in the 100 meters at the Montreal Olympic Games, is a national hero and has considerable

influence upon the government and national politicians. It could be claimed that he was the real motivating factor in government's decision to increase its sponsorship of sports. Since his return to Trinidad, Crawford has been appointed Special Adviser on Sports to the government, and is also an adviser for industrial education. He is still free to participate in current and future international championships, but today he whets the appetite of school children and youth throughout the nation, and has been called upon to work in schools.

To quote from the Government Information Service publication:

"In retrospect, the construction of the massive sporting complex (at West Port of Spain Regional Park) may be attributed to the pioneering work of Hasely Crawford, who won this country's first Olympic Gold Medal in the 100 meters at the Montreal Olympics in 1976. Hasely's victory underlined the need to provide facilities to develop the wealth of sporting talent that abounds in Trinidad and Tobago."

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The Commission has recommended that there be no one official stadium, but rather regional recreation grounds, which when fully developed, will provide decentralized stadium facilities of international standard, which unlike Jamaica, will be of more practical value to the people of Trinidad and Tobago generally. Such facilities will be made available for international competitions and will be able, when the need arises, to accommodate major events. There are plans for 17 regional facilities in all, including the West Port of Spain Regional Park, where the recent World Netball Tournament was staged.

The New Stadium Complex

The new West Port of Spain Regional Park stadium specifically

constructed for the World Netball Championships, cost the government TT\$20.5 million.

To quote from the Government Information Service publication:

"Government's commitment to the completion of the project has been strengthened by the superb performance of the Trinidad and Tobago Netball Team during a ten-week tour of Australia and New Zealand. On the tour, the Trinidad and Tobago team scored their first ever victory over reigning world champions, Australia."

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The stadium, which can accommodate up to 10,000 spectators, has six playing courts - four in the main playing area and two east of the main area. The courts are all surfaced with Chevron cushion coating G11 - one of the most modern surfaces in the world. The United States Open Lawn Tennis Championships staged at Flushing Meadows, New York, were played on such a surface.

The complex also features a gymnasium, which will cater to indoor sports such as table tennis, volleyball, karate, gymnastics, badminton, boxing, wrestling, fencing and weight-lifting. It can also accommodate indoor basketball and netball. The complex was handed over to government in March 1979, and is phase one of a vast project which will cater to all major sports except cricket. At the handing over ceremony, Dr. Cuthbert Joseph, Minister of Education and Culture, said that:

"the handover symbolized the policy of government to use sport as an instrument for social development and for improving the quality of life of the people, especially the youth of the country."

(Minister of Education and Culture, 1979) 217

The Minister also stated that it was significant that the first phase was completed during the International Year of the Child, and in connection with children, "It has recently been stated that tenders have been invited for the development of King George V Park into a sporting

complex for use exclusively by children." This complex will cater for cricket, soccer, track and field, field hockey, cycling and other sports.

The opening of the new sport complex in West Port of Spain on Sunday, August 12, 1979, was the first time that it was being used and also the first occasion that the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago had played host to a major international sporting tournament. The tournament organizing committee treated the large crowd, which included President and Mrs. Ellis Clarke and Education and Culture Minister Cuthbert Joseph, to a program that included an aerial display, a march-past of the 19 participating teams, a flag raising ceremony, a cultural show with a mini-carnival parade, and finally the first match between Trinidad and Tobago and the Republic of Ireland.

Phase one of the West Port of Spain Regional Park was financed from the Sports Development Fund, and provides facilities of international standard in 13 areas of sport, including netball, lawn tennis and basketball. In the text of the opening address, the Minister of Education and Culture stated that:

These games are of special significance to the people of Trinidad and Tobago. It is the first time in our history that a world tournament in any field of sport is being staged in our country...I wish therefore on behalf of the government and people of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago to extend a healthy welcome to our many visitors from abroad...This association with our visitors blends admirably with the cosmopolitan texture of our multi-racial and multi-religious society. For we take pride in the words of our National Anthem 'Here every creed and race find an equal place'...May these games demonstrate the deepening of the bonds of friendship and solidarity among nations and peoples here represented.

(Dr. Cuthbert Joseph, Minister of Education and Culture, cited in Info, Sept.1979:11) 218

Evidence of the government's recognition of the importance of sport

in national development is seen by the number and type of awards offered to outstanding athletes and athletic associations for their contributions to national, public service and sports generally. In a newspaper article entitled, "Many Awards for Sport," reference is made to the large number of this year's (1979) awards going to sport. The presentation took place at the President's Residence on August 31, 1979, in celebration of National Independence. "The victorious netball team which brought glory to Trinidad and Tobago in the recently concluded Fifth World Tournament, by sharing the title with Australia and New Zealand, was honored for its achievement." The team received the Chaconia Gold Medal. "Star goal shooter, Jean Pierre, who emerged as the most accurate goal shooter of the tournament, was also awarded the Trinity Cross, the nation's highest award.

Mrs. Pierre, who has since retired from the international scene, has caused the West Port of Spain Regional Park, where the tournament was staged, to be renamed the Jean-Pierre Complex, in her honor. Other recipients of the nation's highest award (the Trinity Cross) were Gerald Montano, retired Ambassador for Public Service, Clement Phillips, retired Justice of the Appeal Court, for contributions to the field of law, and Mitra Sinanan, barrister-at-law, for contributions to the field of law and public service.

The Humming Bird Gold Medal, a lesser award is generally given to outstanding athletes, for example, Wendell Mottley received the Humming Bird Gold Medal for contributions to sport. Mottley won the Silver Medal in the 400 meter in the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo, Japan and a Bronze Medal in the 4 x 400 meters relay at the same games. In addition, Mottley was a double Gold Medalist at the 1966 Commonwealth Games in Jamaica, and still holds the national record for the men's 400 meters with a time of 45.2 set at the Tokyo Olympics.

In addition to the new stadium complex in West Port of Spain, there are also plans for an urban redevelopment program in East Port of Spain which will provide 8 communities with sports facilities. This latter project will not be a capital expenditure, but will be sponsored by the unemployment levy, that is, people who earn over a certain amount each month are levied, and this extra tax goes toward an unemployment fund.

The Art, Culture and Sport Foundation

The Government Information Service of Trinidad and Tobago, in its September, 1979 publication, indicated that "proposals announced by the Minister of Finance in the 1979 Budget, with regard to sport, art and culture, have been implemented." (INFO. September 1979:9).

The Cabinet, on August 3, 1979, appointed Mr. Clement Phillips, a retired Judge of the Court of Appeal, Chairman of the proposed National Sports Foundation, and Dame Hilda Bynoe, former Governor of Grenada, Chairperson of the proposed National Foundation for Arts and Culture. Both foundations will have their headquarters in "Stollmeyer Castle", an historical monument donated to government by one of the country's most prominent families. The decision to establish the Foundation was embodied in the philosophy of the 1979 Budget under the heading, "Perspectives for new partnerships between the state and the citizens in the decade of the eighties."

The Minister of Finance stated: "The government believes support of sports, the arts and culture, should now take a more substantial and organized fashion without however governmental dictation or interference." The Prime Minister is of the opinion that "a formal machinery must be devised to allow financial support from government, from private individuals and organizations and from companies to flow

in an organized manner in the support of art and culture."

And with specific reference to sports, the Budget Speech continued:

"In spite of...support and active encouragement by government of sporting activities, it would appear that there are serious difficulties in the organization of sport in the country. This however, is too important a matter to be left entirely to individual vested interests, unless such interests are directed toward the national good. On the other hand, government is firm in its policy not to seek a direct involvement by for example, creating a Ministry of Sport. It will instead seek to influence the proper organization of sports in the country and to ensure that funds available in support of sports are utilized properly and by the organization best structured to do so.

Without unduly interfering with the autonomy of the various formerly organized groups that are functioning, government proposes to establish the National Sports Foundation which will be provided with funds for the direct support and promotion of sports and will, as it were, watch the national interest in the organization of sports in the country.

(Prime Minister Dr. Eric Williams, Speech to Cabinet, August 3, 1979) 220

In July 1979, the third of 3 committees to assist the government chart the future course of state enterprises, was established to consider the role that state enterprises could play in the social, sporting and cultural activities of Trinidad and Tobago. The more than forty state owned corporations consist of such companies as the National Commercial Bank, the National Petroleum Marketing Corporation, the Food and Agricultural Corporation, Trinidad and Tobago Printing and Packaging, the Iron and Steel Company and the International Marketing Corporation. The committees' findings suggest that the state enterprises, because of their central position in the country's development activities, should provide not only the impetus for the industrialization process, but the social and cultural ends as well. The committee stated that "given their major role in the overall national development of Trinidad and Tobago, state enterprises should take the lead in this area, demonstrating their

commitment by positive example."

The committee also suggested that, within acceptable limits of their individual resources, state enterprises should be required as part of the policy framework established by the supervisory company, to establish and implement strategies for:

- 1) the total development of its employees, including the creation of programs for cultural, artistic and sporting expression, and
- 2) the furthering of the artistic, sporting and cultural objectives of the communities in which the company operates.

The committee further recommended that state-owned enterprises should pool some of their existing advertising expenditures for use by the proposed supervisory companies in the promotion, on television and radio of programs designed to promote excellence in art, culture and sport, and indirectly in the promotion of the several state-owned enterprises.

In its list of recommendations, the committee felt that involvement by supervisory companies in art, culture and sports should be at two broad levels: 1) direct participatory involvement and 2) training.

"The supervisory companies can participate directly by contributing funds and/or expertise to national or regional organizations engaged in the promotion of art, culture and sports," and with regard to training, the report stated that, "the supervisory companies may sponsor or organize coaching programs, seminars and other such forms and may award scholarships."

Generally, it would appear that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago in its most recent attempts to develop sport and cultural pursuits, wishes to focus particular attention on areas of the country not receiving the support of private enterprise.

Women in Sport

Today, there is greater emphasis on women's sports than any time in the country's history, however, women do not play an active role in the management of sports in which they take part alongside of men, for example, track and field, table tennis, and swimming. Generally it is believed that equal emphasis is given to women's sports as to men's sports, and in addition to netball, which is the number one sport, women take part in cricket, field hockey and soccer.

Government's Involvement in the Internationalization of Sport

It is generally believed that the government does get involved in the internationalization of sport, and actively supports international involvement. To quote one citizen:

"Government is conscious of its responsibility in maintaining the international sporting image of the country and strongly adheres to the policy of exclusion for South Africa from sporting activity. In Olympic sports, government cannot appear to be too involved, because the I.O.C. rules do not allow too much government direction in their affairs." ²²¹
(Citizen of Trinidad and Tobago, January 1979)

With respect to South Africa, it would appear that the government's stated policy is more moderate than the policies of neighboring Guyana and Jamaica. Hall et al 1978, indicate that the position of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago is that:

- a) any sporting body or member thereof which participates in any sporting activities in South Africa and/or with racially selected teams of South Africa would be denied official sponsorship and financial support,
- b) under no circumstances would visas be issued to South African players, and
- c) competitions in which South African players are invited would not be held in Trinidad and Tobago.

Hall et al, further make reference to the fact that in keeping with this policy, the Trinidad and Tobago Government refused the visit of the Derrick Robins Cricket Team to the country in December 1974 and in November 1975. The Body-building Association of Trinidad and Tobago - two of whose members had participated in the Mr. Universe Contest in South Africa - was refused government sponsorship or financial support for any sporting activity at home or abroad. It might also be noted that, "in the context of its general opposition to apartheid, the government refused to grant a visa to a black South African attached to the World Council of Churches who expected to visit Trinidad in connection with a meeting to be held by CADEC."

Government Involvement in the Commercialization of Sport

It is claimed that for the first time in the nation's history, "the government strongly supported the 1979 World Netball Tournament, due mainly to the participation of 20 international teams." This exercise generated a great deal of publicity and thousands of overseas visitors were attracted to this event. "Previously, due to a lack of sporting facilities of international standard (except of course in cricket), it has not been possible to use sport for this purpose."

Traditionally, it would appear that Trinidad and Tobago's annual Carnival has been of major concern to the government as a means of promoting the national image, and attracting tourists to the country and not so. This religious, cultural festival attracted a total of 212,780 people to Trinidad and Tobago in 1976, 31,630 more than in 1975, who are estimated to have spent 134.8 million Trinidad and Tobago dollars, 21.8 million more than in 1975. In many ways, Carnival is an integrative force, which has been supported by government, possibly because of its

integrative nature, but more realistically, because of its cultural and commercial value.

The Effect of National Independence on Sport in Trinidad and Tobago

Since independence, there has been increased expenditure on sport by government, and within recent years, an apparently increased awareness of the value of sport as an integral part in national development. --

With the departure of the expatriots, the voluntary services, with respect to the administration and officiating of sports, have been taken over by local people, a situation which is believed to have led to "areas of administrative incompetence." Incompetence however, is not the plight of all associations, for example, "Netball and women's hockey are efficiently run, but many associations have drastically declined."

National independence has allowed this country national recognition at the international level. Prior to independence, many outstanding local athletes represented Great Britain. Today, "We have developed feelings of citizenship, no longer are we part of the British Caribbean, we have developed feelings of nationalism and a national identity when representing our own country in international competition."

One citizen is of the opinion that:

"Considerably more effort has been put into the promotion of sport by amateur organizations whose voluntary workers, and administrators have achieved great strides and have generated much growth in all the popular sports. With more money now available, government can create more playing fields and sporting facilities generally with a resulting increase in participation."

(Citizen, 1979)²²²

The private sector appears to be playing an increasing role in the sponsorship of national sports, and within recent years they have

established the WITCO sports Foundation.

There is also evidence of increased participation in sports which could be attributed to improvements in public transportation, and a more sophisticated media which has made sport more accessible. The Trinidad and Tobago television station is now capable of transmitting programs from nearby Venezuela and Trinidadian families were able to see the World Cup Soccer Tournament from Argentina, in their own homes. The television therefore has increased national exposure. Increased sport involvement also appears to be consistent with increased involvement in public affairs, a fact of which the government appears to be very much aware.

At the school level, many more facilities have been made available, and consequently, more sports are now accessible to a greater number of students and young people. Today, there are 32 secondary schools in the nation, only 26 of which are not government owned. Therefore, the overall standard of competitive soccer, for example, has been upgraded. North versus South Trinidad schoolboy soccer tournaments now attract 7 or 8 thousand spectators, and consequently the students have the motivation to participate. "Cricket, however, has been on the decline, possibly because the season at schoolboy level coincides with academic examinations, and there is still tremendous emphasis on education in the West Indies."

To quote one member of the National Commission of Inquiry into Sport:

"Sport perhaps more so since independence, is an integrative force, particularly among the school children. League matches are attracting larger crowds, and there is evidence of a higher standard of play and better facilities which might be the result of better coaching. In 1962, television was

introduced into Trinidad and Tobago and mass media influence might also have had an effect on improved standards of play at school level."

(Commission Member, 1979) 223

The Relationship Between Sport and the Military in Trinidad and Tobago

The connection between sport and the military became an entity when Trinidad and Tobago established its own defense force, and there has been an increased emphasis on the military since the Black Power uprising in 1971.

The military personnel during peace-time, appear to have more leisure time than most other institutions, in addition to assured salaries and good facilities; therefore inevitably, there is greater participation in sports. Officers take training courses in physical education and sports in England, Canada and the United States of America, and as a community service, they help to coach in the schools and youth clubs.

Chaguaramas Naval Base, owned and built by the Americans during World War II, was recently handed back to the Government of Trinidad and Tobago. A nine-hole golf course on the base, immediately became available to the public. As an incentive for young people to participate, two-thirds of the cost is paid by government for non-government school children and for government school children, participation is free. In historical perspective, poor people were never encouraged, nor could they afford to participate in such an elite sport.

As far as the military providing a front for the training of national athletes, this does not occur. However, some athletes are attracted to the military because of the facilities.

Some recent experiments have proven useful, for consideration of future possible connections between the military and sports. Youth camps for example, and the training of some national representative teams on the military compounds, are the most recent innovations, which are receiving increasing support throughout the country.

Possible Future Patterns of Sport Participation

It would appear that many of the citizens of Trinidad and Tobago, would like to see many more young people participating in sport rather than being attracted to other types of leisure activity such as dances and drinking parties. It is also felt that too large a proportion of the population are spectators. "For even with limited facilities, more active participation (primary involvement) should be taking place." It is also felt that there should be provision of low cost recreational facilities for older people in the society.

Among the numerous recommendations made by the Commission of Inquiry into Sport, some of the most significant were as follows:

- 1) physical education should be included in the curriculum at Teachers' Training Colleges as a basic and examinable subject so that teachers at primary schools would be equipped to carry out a general physical education program at this level;
- 2) private schools as well as the various homes and orphanages should be required to have on their staffs at least one teacher trained in physical education and to devote a specified period each week to physical education;
- 3) the Chaguaramas Gymnasium should be restored and equipped as a residential training center for the preparation of national

- teams and should be the headquarters for all indoor sports;
- 4) the voluntary nature of sports administration at the level of clubs, leagues, regional and national associations should be preserved in the context of amateur sports;
 - 5) no government assistance should be given to the national sporting associations for the employment of full-time personnel;
 - 6) training courses for sport administrators (including referees, umpires, etc.) should be sponsored by government;
 - 7) persons selected for national teams should not suffer hardship on that account. The regulations governing the conditions of service of government employees should be amended to provide for the granting of special leave as is the case in the Police Service. Employers in the private sector should be requested to grant similar facilities;
 - 8) the sociological aspects of sport must be taken into account and the expenditures regarded as an investment in the physical and mental well-being of the nation.

(Unpublished Report of the Commission of Inquiry, 1974)²²⁴

Concerns of the Youth in Trinidad and Tobago

There does not appear to be as much emphasis on youth movements today as there was during the colonial era. However, those movements which are flourishing receive considerable public support and subsidies are readily available from government, which enables them to promote their programs.

The overall major concerns of the youth today are education, and profitable employment.

Interestingly enough, today's youth are not particularly interested in white collar occupations, as was the case prior to national independence, but they are concerned about making money. There appears to be tremendous interest in craftsmanship and technical work.

Young people generally are concerned about the double standards which exist in the society, and are not afraid to voice their opinions. This is the case with all racial groups in Trinidad and Tobago.

It is believed that sport is an integrative force to the extent that it brings people of different ethnic groups together, and it is seen by the nation's youth to be one of the least corrupt of social institutions. There is however, evidence of divided loyalty when the Indian and Pakistani touring cricket teams visit Trinidad.

In the opinion of one citizen interviewed:

"The youth of the nation are disenchanted with government's lack of response to requests for more facilities and opportunities within sports. Consequently, many of the nation's youth are turning away from sports." 225

Chapter 7

ANALYSIS OF TABLES, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Sport as a means of mass entertainment, appears to be very important to the government and people of Barbados but as indicated by some of the respondents, this only applies to cricket, and inevitably, when one refers to sport in Barbados, one is referring to cricket. Other sports cannot be considered to be forms of mass entertainment, because there is no mass participation either by way of primary or secondary involvement. Therefore, to be placed first in rank order of importance is somewhat misleading. If all sports had been considered simultaneously, it might well be that sport as a form of mass entertainment in Barbados, would be more consistent with Guyana, Trinidad and Jamaica, all of which rank this category in the fifth or sixth position in order of importance. It is somewhat surprising that sport as a means of mass entertainment is only considered to be moderately important to the Guyanese, in view of the fact that there are relatively few cinemas and theaters and no television. However, other than cricket and the recently developed mass interest in boxing, sport generally does not appear to provide mass entertainment.

Only in certain sports can Jamaica claim that sports are a means of mass entertainment. Horse-racing, which is well attended by a cross section of the Jamaican public is to some extent a means of mass entertainment, cricket, only when international tournaments are being played, and soccer which has appeal mainly at the grass-roots level of the society. Inter-school track and field meets are well attended, but this only occurs once per year. Netball has appeal for women, but sports such as golf and tennis cater to relatively few enthusiasts.

Many other forms of recreational activity exist in Trinidad, as alternatives to sport which include television, steelband organizations and movies that cater to ethnic group tastes, for example Indian movies which cater to the East Indian population.

Mass participation in sport ("sport for all") appears to be very important in all four nations, but in none of the nations, with the exception of Guyana, does mass participation appear to be directed toward specific socialist objectives. Mass participation as a means of mass-mobilization for political objectives is only evident in Guyana. Sport and physical education are an integral part of the youth pioneer cooperative and play an important role in mass spectacles to celebrate days of national significance, such as national independence. Minister Field-Rigley made special reference to the fact that mass-participation in sport is very important, however, it would appear that her concern was directed mainly toward the grass-root element of the society, and sport as a means of increasing their participation in the society generally, and the development of positive feelings of self-worth. Also in Guyana, the socialist idea of combining school with work is evident, but sports programs and the selecting out of talented youngsters for special consideration have not yet taken place. Perhaps the limiting factor is the financial cost.

In Jamaica attempts are being made to encourage mass participation at the grass-root level of society, particularly in the rural districts, by providing an administrative structure and regional coaching schemes, but the objectives of this government effort are unclear. It would appear that the objectives are consistent with those of Barbados and Trinidad, which are in turn consistent with the Council of Europe (1949) model;

that is, sport being made available to all citizens, irrespective of age, sex, occupation or means. Guyana's land reform bill which made under-utilized facilities available for mass participation is also consistent with this ideal. In addition, the breakdown of social barriers and the more liberal acceptance laws in clubs, in all four nations, have also contributed to this type of mass participation.

Sport as a means of gaining recognition and national prestige. For all nations in the Commonwealth Caribbean, the fact that the West Indies are the world champions of cricket, has increased the awareness of the importance of sport as a means of gaining recognition and national prestige. To quote Orlando Patterson (1973)²²⁶, "they have beaten their masters at their own game."

Sport as a means of recognition and national prestige appears to be relatively important for the government and people of Barbados, but again it was indicated that although it is important, recognition and prestige have only been attained through success in cricket. Barbadians take great pride in the fact that as a small nation they are known throughout the cricketing world as having produced some of the finest players in the world. Gary Sobers, who is perhaps the greatest player of all time, is a Barbadian, and the nation's greatest national hero.

Although Guyana has produced relatively few outstanding athletes, as a nation they still recognize the importance of sport as a means of gaining recognition and national prestige. But as one of the major objectives of more advanced socialist states, it would appear that Guyana has not yet reached the stage where sport is used directly as a means of legitimizing the socialist system.

Jamaica has had greater all round sporting success than any of the four nations in international competition. Consequently, it would appear that the importance of the role of sport in the gaining of recognition and national prestige goes back to the 1930's and 1940's. The suggestion made by one of the respondents that the reason why Jamaica did not support the African nations' boycott of the 1976 Montreal Olympics, was that she had a chance of winning a medal with Don Quarrie, is consistent with the stated importance of sport and the gaining of recognition and national prestige. There is no evidence however, that sport is being used directly as a means of legitimizing "Democratic Socialism."

Sport in Trinidad is not as important a medium as the religious festival of Carnival, as a means of gaining recognition and national prestige. However, a great deal of importance was attached to Hasely Crawford's gold medal victory in the 100 meters at the Montreal (1976) Olympics. Prime Minister Eric Williams' statement that "we have beaten the super powers" is indicative of the new awareness of the importance of sport. Government's recent attempts to sponsor international competitive sport, for example the 5th World Netball Tournament, is also indicative of government's acceptance of the importance of sport as a political tool. However, Prime Minister Williams has also made reference to the fact that he will not allow government to influence sport by appointing a Minister of Sport. The fifth position in the rank order of importance is consistent with this point of view. There is no attempt to legitimize a certain political ideology, according to any socialist doctrine. Millette (1979) 227 has clearly indicated the government's opposition to socialism, but there are some attempts to bring recognition and prestige to a small developing nation through sport.

Sport as a means to establish national identity. Sport as a means toward the development of national identity (citizenship) in Barbados is only moderately important as indicated in the rank order of importance. As pointed out by one respondent, "this situation will not change, until the government takes the lead and introduces national programs toward achieving such objectives." "Pride of nation and national identity are enhanced when we as a people identify with the successes of our international athletes," and the flying of the national flag evokes an emotional response at international sporting events.

However, recently the masses have demanded the recognition of their sports of body-building and weight-lifting and the government responded to these demands by appointing Darcy Beckles, a world champion body-builder, to the position of government sports officer, and promises of greater sponsorship.

In the case of Guyana the moderately important fourth position in rank order of importance of sport as a means of establishing national identity, is rather surprising in view of what is taking place in Guyana generally. There is considerable Communist Chinese influence, which becomes evident in sport during mass celebrations, such as the independence day celebrations. Formal gymnastic displays, and crowds of assembled schoolchildren chanting slogans of indoctrination are characteristic features of the socialist system. Sport was also used specifically for political ends when the Government of Guyana staged a "welcome home" celebration for boxing hero Lennox Blackmore, who became a champion in the Commonwealth Games in Canada. The political importance of this event was fully endorsed by the fact that the Prime Minister sent his Beechcraft aeroplane to meet him in Trinidad when it was feared that he would not arrive

on time for the planned celebrations. It would appear that these are definite attempts to use Sport to enhance national identity and feelings of citizenship. However, as indicated by Minister Field-Rigley, much more needs to be done, but the limiting factor is money.

Interestingly enough, it would also appear that sport as a means of establishing national identity is not particularly important to the Jamaicans, who rank this item in fifth order of importance, inspite of their professed socialist objectives. This ranking might however be accounted for by the fact that most of the administrators and leaders of sporting organizations in Jamaica are from the middle class conservatives, who are generally opposed to ideas of socialist domination. On the other hand, in the stadium which is controlled by the government's Institute of Sport, one cannot help but notice the socialist slogans on the billboards surrounding the arena. Theoretically, it would appear that the government has plans to implement some socialist practices, but sport evidently falls low on their list of national priorities, plus the fact that many of the government's socialist ideas meet with considerable resistance. The government is generally believed to talk a lot, but do little or nothing with respect to the development of sport. Nevertheless, it would appear that the government recognizes the instant national prestige gained by successful international athletes, who enhance national pride among the Jamaican population. Consequently, they encourage elitism in sport.

The recent successes of Masely Crawford in the Montreal Olympics not only had its impact on the international scene, but internally in Trinidad and Tobago, this national hero has enhanced the spirit of national identity. He immediately became an advisor to the government with respect to the

development of sport in Trinidad, and he is used in schools throughout the nation to promote and develop the sporting interests of the young people. He is a visible role model for the nation's youth. In addition, the successes of the women's netball team in world competitions has also contributed to feelings of nationalism. The recency of these events might well have contributed to the higher place in rank order of importance of sport as a means of establishing national identity.

Promotion and development of the talents of promising sportsmen and sportswomen. The promotion and development of the talents of promising sportsmen and sportswomen appear to be only moderately important in Barbados, placed fifth in rank order of importance. If there is an emphasis on the role of sport in the national development of Barbados, it would appear to be with the promotion of "sport for all," rather than with selectivity and the promotion of excellence and elitism in sports. However, even though the government has plans for the future development and sponsorship of sport, no positive methods can be pin-pointed which would suggest an interest by government in the special development of outstanding young athletes. Through the voluntary associations, some outstanding young sportsmen and sportswomen are encouraged to reach higher levels, but at present the government of Barbados appears to go along with the status quo.

In Guyana on the other hand, the promotion of the talents of promising young athletes is very important, which would appear to be consistent with the socialist objectives of the government. Elitism and excellence which contribute to the legitimacy of the socialist system are definitely encouraged. In addition, recognition of the working-man through sport and by the encouragement of mass participation at the grass-

roots level is also very important, again consistent with socialist objectives.

In Jamaica at the present time, it would appear that the promotion and development of the talents of young athletes is only moderately important, although historically there has been evidence of special instruction and accommodation of talented young sportsmen and sportswomen. Perhaps national discouragement of the promotion of talented young athletes stems from the fact that traditionally they have left Jamaica and have accepted athletic scholarships in North America. Consequently, it is believed that their talents are exploited by more powerful nations with more to offer. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that many of these athletes return to compete for their nation in international competitions, and inevitably, bring recognition and national prestige to the nation. In addition, selectivity at an early age is a socialist objective which might well have been rejected by Jamaica's middle class conservatives.

In Trinidad and Tobago, it would appear that the promotion of the talents of promising sportsmen and sportswomen is very important. Increased awareness by government and the recent recognition of the benefits of athletic success in national development might well have prompted the current positive support for elitism in sport. In addition, the government's conservative stance to the suggested democratization of sport as evidenced by the Evans Rees Commission report regarding Queens Park and the control of cricket in Trinidad and Tobago, is consistent with the support of elitism in sport.

Sport as a means of channeling rivalries into constructive channels. The rank order of the importance of sport as a means of channeling rivalries

into constructive channels is consistently, only moderately important for all four nations, being rated in sixth or seventh position on a nine item scale. The social class and color rivalries in Barbados have traditionally been constructively fought on the cricket and soccer fields throughout the island, but to the extent that most of these barriers have been broken down, many of the traditional rivalries have been dissipated. In this sense, sport has been an integrative force.

Similarly, in Guyana social class, ethnic and color rivalries have been constructively fought on the sports field. Social class barriers have been removed, ethnic clubs have been eliminated and color rivalries are non-existent in modern day Guyana. Politically however, ethnic rivalries still exist and there does not appear to be any particular desire on the part of government to use sport to reduce political segregation along ethnic lines.

In both Guyana and Trinidad, where there are large East Indian populations, instead of sport being an integrative force, we have seen occasions where sport has functioned as a segregative force. For example, when the East Indian populations support India or Pakistan when they are in competition with the West Indies, identifying with their hereditary ethnic group. Internationally, the Trinidadians are particularly concerned about sport used to promote goodwill between neighboring member nations in the region.

In Jamaica it is interesting to note that whereas sport has been used in an attempt to integrate the classes, by the introduction of community based competitions, sport has again been seen to be a segregative force, to the extent that most of the middle-class are withdrawing from

competitive contact sports because of the aggressive nature of competitors from the grass roots level of society.

Constructive involvement in sport for the youth of the nation in the form of worthwhile healthy activity. For three of the four nations, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad, constructive involvement in sport for the youth of the nation in the form of worthwhile healthy activity, is very important. For Barbados, on the other hand, this item does not appear to be particularly important. This situation might be explained by the fact that Barbados is politically stable, and the youth of the nation present no particular threat to the stability of the nation. Therefore, sport as a diversion for the youth or sport as a means of social control has no particular relevance.

The case of Guyana and the other nations is somewhat different from Barbados. Guyana is following a policy of so-called "cooperative socialism", which is a revolutionary move in the Commonwealth Caribbean. The political situation which is based to some extent on ethnic polarization, along with the numerous economic problems to be faced by the government, result in a constant threat of political instability. Sport therefore, has an important role to play in the development of the nation by acting as a diversion and as a means of social control by dissipating excess energy and helping young people to play by the rules. However, Minister Field-Rigley has pointed out that the greatest threat to the social, political and economic changes which have taken place stem from the middle class adult population rather than the youth of the nation. This is explained by the fact that the middle class adults are the ones who have stood to lose the most as a result of the changes

which have taken place.

The political and economic system of "Democratic Socialism" in Jamaica has also led to a certain amount of uncertainty. The high unemployment rate, the vocal youth and economic austerity, all contribute toward creating situations of political unrest among the masses of the population. Sport therefore, has an important role to play as a diversion (diverting their attention away from the problems of the society), and as a means of social control (by teaching young people to play by the rules).

In spite of its new-found wealth as a result of oil dollars, a state of anomie hangs over Trinidad and Tobago. The promises of better standards of living for the masses often go unfulfilled. Inequalities and corruption in government appears to be rampant and ethnic divisions seem to be on the increase. Sport therefore, has an important role to play in the development of Trinidad and Tobago in an attempt to bring the people together and also as a diversion and a means of social control.

Sport as a means of economic development. Sport as a means of economic development is relatively unimportant for all four newly developing nations in the Commonwealth Caribbean. For Barbados and Jamaica, where tourism is a major industry, second only to agriculture, sport has a minor role to play in the promotion of tourism. Recent research has indicated that hotels which offer golf and tennis in addition to aquatic sports, do much better business on average than comparable hotels which do not offer these facilities.

It has been indicated that there is no significant degree of tourism in Guyana, and the little tourism that does exist is totally unrelated to the type of tourism that exist in the other Commonwealth Caribbean territories, which depend on a tourist economy. In addition, since

independence, the commercialization of sport by the private business sector of Guyana has been discouraged. These facts are supported by the low rank order of importance of sport as a means of economic development.

In Trinidad and Tobago, the tourist industry is relatively small compared with that of Barbados and Jamaica. Consequently, sport does not play any significant role. Most of the tourist promotion in Trinidad and Tobago is directed toward the national religious festival of Carnival.

Nevertheless, private businesses play a major role in the sponsorship of sport in Trinidad and Tobago and in return they are able to gain advertising rights. This capitalistic rather than socialistic use of sport as a means of economic development is consistent with the stated policies of Trinidad and Tobago.

Other than as a means of promoting tourism, sport is not seen as being particularly important as a means of increasing economic development in Jamaica. However, the government has considered the possibility of developing a sports equipment industry for local consumption as well as for export. But they do not see the possibility of being able to compete with more productive nations, mainly because of the cost of raw materials. Sport as a means of increasing productivity by developing youth who are mentally and physically alert. With the lowest rank order of importance, it would appear that sport has little or no part to play as a means of increasing the productivity of the four nations being investigated.

The economy of Barbados is stable, the geographical location of the island to some extent ensures health and the youth of the nation are relatively productive with a 95 percent literacy rate.

Even though the ranking for Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad is relatively low for this item, there is considerable concern for the youth in each of these countries and a general need for increased productivity. In Trinidad it is felt that productivity is low inspite of the apparent wealth of the nation. Millette (1977)²²⁸ has pointed out that in industries other than the petroleum industry, productivity is generally low.

Sport as a means of increasing productivity by developing youth who are mentally and physically alert, does not seem to be at the root of the problem with respect to the youth in Jamaica. There is much more concern with lack of discipline than with the mental and physical capabilities of their young people.

In Guyana, it would appear that the people see no connection between participation in sport and the increased productivity of the youth. This socialist ideal therefore appears to have little relevance to Guyana or the other nations in the region, with the exception of Cuba.

Table 4

Percentage opinions of key experts in 4 Commonwealth Caribbean countries on the role of sport in development, answering "very important" on items.

	Barbados	Guyana	Jamaica	Trinidad
1. Sport as a means of gaining recognition and national prestige	14 (9.15)	13 (8.50)	14 (9.72)	10 (6.17)
2. Constructive involvement in sport, for the youth of the nation in the form of worthwhile healthy activity	10 (6.54)	14 (9.15)	14 (9.72)	15 (9.26)
3. Sport as a means to establish national identity	12 (7.84)	13 (8.50)	9 (6.25)	10 (6.17)
4. Sport as a means of increasing productivity by developing youth who are physically and mentally alert	2 (1.31)	10 (6.54)	3 (2.03)	5 (3.09)
5. Sport as a means of economic development	3 (1.96)	3 (1.96)	3 (2.03)	3 (1.85)
6. Sport as a form of mass entertainment	17 (11.11)	12 (7.84)	9 (6.25)	7 (4.32)
7. Sport as a means of channeling rivalries into constructive channels	9 (5.88)	11 (7.19)	4 (2.78)	10 (6.17)
8. Mass participation in sport ("sport for all")	16 (10.46)	15 (9.80)	15 (10.42)	12 (7.41)
9. Promotion and development of the talents of promising sportsmen and sportswomen	10 (6.54)	16 (10.46)	14 (9.72)	13 (8.09)
TOTAL	93	107	85	85

Percentage opinions of key experts in 4 Commonwealth Caribbean Countries on the role of sport in development, answering "important" as compared with "unimportant" in 9 items.

	IMPORTANT				UNIMPORTANT			
	Barbados	Guyana	Trinidad	Jamaica	Barbados	Guyana	Trinidad	Jamaica
1. Sport as a means of gaining recognition and national prestige	17 11.11	16 10.46	16 11.11	17 10.49		1 0.65		1 0.62
2. Constructive involvement in sport, for the youth of the nation in the form of worthwhile healthy activity	14 9.15	17 11.11	15 10.42	17 10.49	3 1.96			1 0.62
3. Sport as a means to establish national identity	17 11.11	16 10.46	15 10.42	18 11.11		1 0.65	1 0.69	
4. Sport as a means of increasing productivity, by developing youth who are physical and mentally alert	7 4.53	12 7.84	12 8.33	12 7.41	10 6.54	5 3.27	4 2.73	6 3.70
5. Sport as a means of economic development	10 6.54	4 2.61	11 7.64	5 3.09	7 4.53	13 8.50	5 3.47	13 8.03
6. Sport as a form of mass entertainment	17 11.11	16 10.46	15 10.42	18 11.11		1 0.65	1 0.69	
7. Sport as a mean of channeling rivalries into constructive channels	15 9.50	14 9.15	13 9.03	16 9.83	2 1.31	2 1.31	3 2.08	2 1.22
8. Mass participation in sport ("sport for all")	17 11.11	16 10.46	15 10.42	17 10.49		1 0.65	1 0.69	1 0.62
9. Promotion and development of the talents of promising sportsmen and sportswomen	17 11.11	17 11.11	15 10.42	18 11.11			1 0.69	
Total	131	138	127	138	22	24	16	24

Table 6

Rank Order Index of Similarity
by Importance, Weighted Scores on Items 1 through 9

	Barbados	Guyana	Jamaica	Trinidad
1. Sport as a Form of Mass Entertainment	1 (34)	6 (27)	5 (23)	6 (25)
2. Mass Participation in Sport ("Sport for All")	2 (33)	3 (29)	2 (29)	3 (28)
3. Sport as a Means of Gaining Recognition and National Prestige	3 (31)	4 (28)	1 (30)	5 (26)
4. Sport as a Means to Establish National Identity	4 (29)	4 (23)	5 (23)	3 (23)
5. Promotion and Development of the Talents of Promising Sportsmen and Sportswomen	5 (27)	1 (33)	4 (26)	1 (31)
6. Sport as a Means of Channeling Rivalries into Constructive Channels	6 (22)	7 (22)	7 (14)	7 (24)
7. Constructive Involvement in Sport, for the Youth of the Nation in the Form of Worthwhile Healthy Activity	7 (21)	2 (31)	2 (29)	1 (31)
8. Sports as a Means of Economic Development	3 (5)	9 (-10)	9 (9)	9 (-6)
9. Sport as a Means of Increasing Productivity by Developing Youth who are Mentally and Physically Alert.	9 (-6)	3 (17)	3 (10)	3 (11)

Index of Similarity = $2 \times (n_1) + (n_2) - (n_3) - 2(n_4)$, item rank order weighting

Table 7

Rank Order Table for Five Major Categories of Respondents
on 9 Items of the Importance of Sport in National Development

BARBADOS

	National Politics	Civic Voluntary	Intellec- tual	Business & Press	Defense & Social Cont.
1. Sport as a means of gaining recognition and national prestige	1 (10)	3 (6)	2 (7)	1 (6)	1 (2)
2. Sport as a form of mass entertainment	1 (10)	1 (8)	1 (8)	1 (6)	1 (2)
3. Mass participation in sport ("sport for all")	1 (10)	1 (8)	2 (7)	1 (6)	1 (2)
4. Sports as a means to establish national identity	4 (8)	3 (6)	2 (7)	1 (6)	1 (2)
5. Promotion and development of the talents of promising sportsmen and sportswomen	5 (7)	3 (6)	5 (6)	1 (6)	1 (2)
6. Sport as a means of channeling rivalries into constructive channels	6 (5)	3 (6)	7 (4)	6 (5)	1 (2)
7. Sport as a means of economic development	7 (3)	8 (2)	8 (2)	8 (0)	8 (-1)
8. Constructive involvement in sport for the youth of the nation in the form of worthwhile healthy activity	7 (3)	3 (6)	6 (5)	6 (5)	1 (2)
9. Sport as a means of increasing productivity by developing youth who are physically and mentally alert	9 (-2)	9 (-3)	9 (1)	8 (0)	9 (-2)
Total	41	34	42	33	24

Table 8

Rank Order Table for Five Major Categories of Respondents
on 9 Items of the Importance of Sport in National Development

GUYANA

	National Politics	Civic Voluntary	Intellec- tual	Business & Press	Defense & Social Cont.
1. Sports as a means to establish national identity	1 (10)	5 (6)	3 (5)	5 (5)	1 (2)
2. Mass participation in sport ("sport for all")	1 (10)	4 (7)	3 (5)	1 (6)	1 (2)
3. Promotion and development of the talents of promising sportsmen and sportswomen	1 (10)	1 (9)	1 (6)	1 (6)	1 (2)
4. Sport as a means of gaining recognition and national prestige	4 (9)	5 (6)	1 (6)	5 (5)	1 (2)
5. Constructive involvement in sport for the youth of the nation in the form of worthwhile healthy activity	4 (9)	1 (9)	3 (5)	1 (6)	1 (2)
6. Sport as a means of channeling rivalries into constructive channels	4 (9)	7 (5)	8 (2)	3 (4)	1 (2)
7. Sport as a form of mass entertainment	7 (7)	1 (9)	6 (4)	5 (5)	1 (2)
8. Sport as a means of increasing productivity by developing youth who are physically and mentally alert	3 (6)	3 (0)	7 (3)	1 (6)	1 (2)
9. Sport as a means of economic development	9 (-6)	9 (-6)	9 (-2)	9 (2)	9 (1)
Total	39	41	41	36	17

Table 9

Rank Order Table for Five Major Categories of Responses on 9
Items of Importance of Sport in National Development

JAMAICA

	National Politics	Civic Voluntary	Intellec- tuals	Business & Press	Defense & Social Cont.
1. Sport as a means of gaining recognition and national prestige	1 (7)	1 (8)	3 (7)	1 (6)	1 (2)
2. Constructive involve- ment in sport for the youth of the nation in the form of worthwhile healthy activity	1 (7)	1 (8)	1 (3)	7 (4)	1 (2)
3. Mass participation in sport ("sport for all")	3 (5)	1 (8)	1 (3)	1 (6)	1 (2)
4. Promotion and develop- ment of the talents of promising sportsment and sportswomen	3 (5)	1 (3)	3 (7)	1 (6)	1 (2)
5. Sport as a means to establish national identity	5 (4)	5 (7)	6 (5)	4 (5)	1 (2)
6. Sport as a means of mass entertainment	5 (4)	5 (7)	5 (6)	4 (5)	6 (1)
7. Sport as a means of increasing productivity by developing youth who are physically and ment- ally alert	7 (3)	9 (1)	6 (5)	9 (1)	6 (1)
8. Sport as a means of channeling rivalries into constructive channels	7 (3)	8 (2)	3 (3)	4 (5)	6 (1)
9. Sport as a means of economic development	9 (1)	7 (3)	9 (2)	3 (2)	6 (1)
Total	41	38	42	39	29

Table 10

Rank Order Table for Five Major Categories of Respondents
on 9 Items of the Importance of Sport in National Development

TRINIDAD & TOBAGO

	National Politics	Civic Voluntary	Intellec- tual	Business & Press	Defence & Social Cont.
1. Mass participation in sport ("sport for all")	1 (10)	3 (7)	7 (4)	4 (5)	1 (2)
2. Sport as a means to establish national identity.	2 (9)	5 (6)	4 (6)	1 (6)	5 (1)
3. Promotion and development of the talents of promising sportsmen and sportswomen	2 (9)	2 (8)	1 (8)	4 (5)	5 (1)
4. Constructive involvement in sport for the youth of the nation in the form of worthwhile healthy activity	4 (3)	1 (10)	1 (8)	7 (3)	1 (2)
5. Sport as a form of mass entertainment	5 (7)	8 (5)	4 (6)	1 (6)	5 (1)
6. Sport as a means of channeling rivalries into constructive channels	5 (7)	5 (6)	3 (7)	8 (2)	1 (2)
7. Sport as a means of gaining recognition and national prestige	7 (6)	3 (7)	4 (6)	1 (6)	5 (1)
8. Sport as a means of increasing productivity by developing youth who are physically and mentally alert.	8 (-3)	5 (6)	7 (4)	8 (2)	1 (2)
9. Sport as a means of economic development	8 (-3)	9 (-3)	9 (-4)	4 (5)	9 (-1)
Total	42	41	40	38	33

Barbados

Barbados is one of the most densely populated countries in the world, and in historical perspective, the local political scene was dominated by a small group of British plantation owners and tradesmen. It was not until the 1930's that a movement for political rights was begun by the educated descendants of emancipated slaves. One of the leaders of this movement, Sir Grantley Adams, founded the Barbados Labor Party in 1938.

Significant progress toward more democratic government for the island was made in 1951 when universal adult suffrage was introduced. This was followed by steps toward increased self-government which culminated in 1961 when Barbados achieved full internal autonomy. After years of peaceful democratic and evolutionary progress toward self-rule, Barbados attained independence on November 30, 1966.

According to its constitution, Barbados is governed by a parliamentary democracy modelled on the British system, and the two main political parties are the Barbados Labor Party (BLP) and the Democratic Labor Party (DLP). The BLP was formed in 1938, and the DLP was formed in 1955 by a group of dissidents from within the BLP. It is claimed that both parties are moderate with a socialist orientation and philosophy similar to that of the British Labor Party. The DLP is closely allied with the island's principal labor union, the Barbados Workers Union. The two parties are divided not so much on basic objectives as on the means of achieving those objectives. Consequently, electoral contests and political disputes are essentially partisan encounters often with political overtones.

Unlike Guyana or Trinidad, the East Indian population of Barbados is very small. The predominant ethnic group is Black of African extraction, with a sizeable number of white and mixed people. To this day, the aristocratic whites still occupy an upper class social position, although only a few remain as plantation owners. The poor whites, whose ancestral background was similarly of British origin, still constitute a recognized portion of the peasant lower class social structure.

In as much as the island's population is predominantly black, the government, judicial and medical services are now dominated by a black ethnic group. Consequently, using education, occupation and income as indicators of social status, it appears that Barbados, Guyana, Trinidad and Jamaica all have an upper class black bureaucracy. Beneath the black bureaucracy, a much larger lower class black population exists, which together with the lower class white population in Barbados, constitute what can be called "the peasantry."

From an institutional analysis, survey research consisting of in-depth interviews and research of historical documents and newspaper articles, it can be concluded that the Government of Barbados is moderate, consisting of members of the Black middle class who are mainly concerned about maintaining political, economic and social stability. To quote Hoyos:

"Though the cause of progress and reform has made rapid strides during the past two decades, it is remarkable how restrained the majority has been in the exercise of the power it now enjoys. The recent history of our island home could have been quite different if bitterness and resentment had taken the place of tolerance and goodwill.
(Hoyos 1970:16)²²⁹

Although Hoyos was writing about the previous administration, the DLP, conditions are very much the same today.

Little direct concern has been given to the role of sport in national development by government; either prior to or since independence. Historically, there is evidence of political leaders infiltrating sporting clubs and prior to self-government, the struggle for trade union representation was centered around sporting clubs in which there were members of similar social and economic backgrounds. In many cases, the leaders of these clubs were also the leaders of the trade union movement, and later they formed the nucleus of political leadership for the masses.

Traditionally, organized sport, like other institutions, was controlled and influenced by the ruling plantocracy, until gradually, through the channels of adult suffrage and changes in political power, sport as an aspect of popular culture was in the hands of the majority.

During the colonial era, Barbados was basically a two class society, founded principally on social status and color prejudice. In spite of the clearly divided segregated society however, sport provided one of the few avenues of upward social mobility in a society that was not completely closed. Competitive sports in the leading government secondary schools were integrated, even though the students went their separate ways at the end of each school day. Out of school, there was little or no mixing of students of different ethnic or social backgrounds, either socially or in their sporting pursuits. Students took on the social environment of their parents, with its characteristic life style. It is believed that this integrated in-school sport involvement over the years has been a contributing factor toward the breakdown of the strict social distinctions of class and color. The fact that the elite government schools in the society competed in national sporting competitions, further contributed to overall trends of eventual integration within the society.

Wanderers Cricket Club, which dates back to the days of the plantocracy, was the first sports club to be formed in Barbados, and in the years that followed, several clubs sprang up which were based either on class, color or both of these factors.

In the late 1920's and early 1930's both cricket and soccer provided means by which the poor could experience some degree of upward social mobility; soccer being much more popular then than it is today. The best athletes in both sports were given the opportunity to play for representative national teams inspite of their social status, "as long as they were not an embarrassment to the other team members, and indirectly to the country." Consequently, as a result of the development and increasing importance of sport, greater recognition of the average man was observed.

The 1937 Riots which were a struggle for adult suffrage and better living conditions, spread throughout the region and out of these social uprisings, the trade union movement was formed, which gave credence to the working-man. Sporting clubs for the grass-root element of the society developed and out of these clubs grew representative teams which competed in the national sport competitions.

Professionalism and rapid growth in sport followed World War II which provided even more opportunities for outstanding players from the lower socio-economic groups of the society, and which resulted in earnings in excess of the average local professional employee. Outstanding players have been proven to be among the nation's greatest ambassadors, and have brought recognition and prestige, as Barbados has become a household word in the cricket-playing countries of the world.

It is evident therefore, that sport has had an impact in nation-building and there has been a gradual recognition by government that through sport the masses have gained role models and greater representation.

Following national political independence, but not directly as a result of changes in government policy, the segregated club structure broke down and increased opportunities and representation was observed for the masses. They demanded recognition of their own sports of body-building and weight-lifting in addition to cricket and soccer, and the few changes that have taken place, came as a result of pressure for change rather than initiative taken by the government.

The "open-door" policy of the newer clubs has led the way for the older well-established clubs to follow, but within the older clubs, social cliques have developed which continue to exclude others in unobtrusive ways. Consequently, members reserve the right to identify socially with those with whom they have most in common. It can be concluded therefore, that the clubs are open only to the extent that primary sport involvement is permitted. Class-consciousness still persists, but it does not present any real threat to the status quo.

Sport in Barbados has not been used by government for political ends, neither does it appear likely to be used in the future in this way. There is no evidence of Cuban or socialist influence, although the government has established diplomatic relations with Cuba, as have the other developing nations of Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

There is no evidence of the nation attempting to achieve socialist objectives through the use of sport. Barbados is a consumer society, and sport as a form of mass-entertainment only applied to cricket, not because of any limitation in other forms of entertainment, but because

cricket is very much a part of popular culture and it influences the lives of Barbadians at home and abroad. The only national heroes in Barbados are sportsmen, and by sport, Barbadians mean cricket. Cricket has gained this new nation world renowned recognition and prestige, and all Barbadians including the government, are aware of the important role sport plays in this respect. Therefore, elitism in sport is encouraged, but not for purposes of legitimizing the political system, but rather as a means of national identity both internally and throughout the world. Cricketers seem to develop naturally as a result of mass-interest and participation and not as a result of selectivity of talented young athletes at an early age.

Mass participation in sport appears to be a theoretical objective in Barbados, but not for purposes of mass mobilization, increasing productivity, defense or collective training, but rather according to a European Council (1971) model, as a means of recreation and worthwhile use of leisure time. There is no relationship between work and sport or the use of physical activity to increase total work output. There are no obvious plans by government to develop socialist symbols in sport, such as institutes of sport, sport medicine facilities or schools of sporting excellence. However, there does appear to be an increasing awareness of the importance of sport in national development, as evidenced by increased sponsorship of sport by government and plans for an organizational structure under the direction of a newly formed national sports council.

There are no plans to increase national revenue through the production of sporting equipment and the only commercial use of sport occurs in the promotion of certain sports - aquatic, golf and tennis, to benefit

the tourist industry, and the sponsorship of teams by private companies.

Sport in Barbados is organized on a voluntary basis with little or no intervention by government other than some sponsorship and the employment of national coaches who are predominantly ex-international players.

Barbados is very often referred to as "little England" and in many respects, the political and social climate resembles this metropolitan state. The political, social and economic situation of Barbados appears to be relatively stable and therefore it can be concluded that there is no need for drastic social or political change. The role played by sport in the nation-building of Barbados reflects the political, social and economic environment.

Guyana

Guyana is situated on the northeast coast of South America, and is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, Brazil, Surinam and Venezuela. The ethnic composition of Guyana is comprised of East Indians (51.4%), Africans (30.6%), Mixed (11.2%), Chinese (0.6%), Portuguese (1.3%), Amerindians (4.4%) and Whites (0.5%). 90% of the inhabitants of Guyana live along the coast, where the population density is more than 300 per square mile.

After many years of gradual preparation of British Guiana for home rule and ultimately for independence, the British Government in 1945 extended the franchise to include all literate adults with small incomes or property qualifications. In 1953 a new constitution was introduced with adult suffrage, a bicameral legislature and a ministerial system of government.

The British Government, believing there was a threat of communist dictatorship, suspended the constitution on October 9, 1953; an interim government, composed wholly of nominated members and senior officials of the civil services was established. A constitutional amendment of 1956 allowed the inclusion of elected members of the Legislative Council. The 1961 elections were held under a new constitution which provided for internal self-government and in 1964 officials were elected under a system of proportional representation.

In a constitutional conference held at London in November 1965, the leadership of the coalition parties (People's National Congress and United Force) and the United Kingdom Government, agreed on the provisions of a constitution and set May 26, 1966 as the date for independence. Guyana became a Republic on February 23, 1970, the 207th anniversary of a slave revolt in Guyana.

Prime Minister Forbes Burnham brought to office in 1965 by Anglo-American intervention that ousted the proclaimed communist Cheddi Jagan from power, has since described the ideology of his party as Marxist-Leninist and his government has forged close collaborative links with Cuba, the Republic of China and several African socialist governments (Premdas 1978:133).²³⁰ Burnham has stated that he intends to establish Guyana as the first orthodox socialist state in South America. In recent years, Burnham has indicated that his government's party should play a more important role than the government itself. He is attempting to organize his People's National Congress (PNC) party into a disciplined, elit group to mobilize Guyana society for rapid development. Burnham has said publicly that private enterprise has only a limited future in Guyana, and all major segments of the economy have either been or are about to be nationalized. Hart (1978)²³¹ has pointed out that in the "Cooperative Socialist Republic" of Guyana, "even though there are very few cooperative societies, there has been considerable nationalization, and 80% of the country's productive capacity is now said to be owned by government." Hart contends that "if the Guyanese Government intended to advance socialism, nationalization would be a logical first step," but nationalization does not necessarily lead to socialism, "it could in fact be used as the basis for growth and enrichment of a national bourgeoisie."

The political elite of the major parties are westernized and educated and have much in common and the masses, whose loyalties have been manipulated in the past for political ends, are now the objects of the new socialist experiment (Premdas 1978).²³²

The PNC ideology asserts that both capitalism and traditional communism centralize power, the first in the hands of business oligarchs, the second

in the hands of civil servants. But through the cooperatives, Burnham claims "the little man can become a real man", as he enters into the economic planning and decision-making. Burnham describes the cooperative as an organization in which the consumers own the means of production, which are managed "by direct and indirect representatives of the consumers and producers" in association with the state.

The Guyana National Service accommodates 1,500 Guyanese youth aged 14 to 24 in camps in the hinterland for 18 months of land clearing, agricultural pursuits and some para-military training. Although most trainees are volunteers, a few have been inducted to satisfy an obligation, now required of all university of Guyana students. It is believed that this training will eventually be compulsory.

With the exception of one opposition newspaper which is communist, the government controls the media and general information services.

In historical perspective, sport in Guyana as in the region generally, has been influenced by the elitist club and school system in which segregation along class and ethnic lines was clearly drawn. Cricket was the most popular sport and during the colonial era the upper class whites of the Georgetown Cricket Club dominated the sport. Traditionally, women were not allowed in the members' stand, and it was not until the middle 1970's that the situation changed under Minister Shirley Field-Rigley who was able to enforce change because of her political position. Today, the government is pushing women's sport, although at the present time it cannot be equated to men's sport mainly because of the traditional values with respect to the role of women in West Indian society.

It would appear that sport has an important role to play in the

development of Guyana by creating in the people positive feelings of self-worth and eliminating negative perceptions of their colonial past. In Guyana, it is recognized that sport provides an outlet for the nation's youth in the form of worth-while health activity and a new realization among the masses of the people that participation in sports is for everyone and not just for an elit group of the society. Within the club system, class and ethnic barriers have been broken down, which has increased the availability of sport for the masses.

Under Guyana's new socialist policies, the Minister of Information and Sport has jurisdiction over sport generally in the nation, and she is responsible for the implementation of government objectives. The associations do not run on an autonomous basis, for there is considerable input by government. Consequently, it would seem that the government is very much aware of the political implications of sport and has no hesitation in voicing its point of view.

In Guyana, there is evidence of attempts to use sport for political ends and to achieve socialist objectives, although the nation's current economic situation presents a limiting factor in further exploitation of sport as a political tool. Minister Field-Rigley (1979)²³³ has stated quite clearly that the government's objectives relative to sport have changed significantly since independence and the establishment of Guyana as a socialist cooperative republic. All sport in Guyana today falls under the authority of the government body responsible for sport - the National Sports Council (NSC) which has seen the need to advance sports and to help realize government objectives of nationhood. As an indication of increased government involvement in sport since national political independence, Minister Field-Rigley (1979)²³⁴ has stated that:

"Firstly, the government felt that it was its responsibility to foster, stimulate and encourage sport in the nation and to establish a structure to do so.

Secondly, the government has introduced as a first priority mass-participation in sport, with emphasis upon spreading sport nationwide, and the third objective is to achieve standards of excellence."

The government of Guyana has been greatly influenced by the People's Republic of China, and has at the present time, several advisors from China in various capacities including advisors in the development of sport.

Guyana is also influenced by Cuba and sports competitions have taken place between the two countries. Cuba has also sent coaches to Guyana and vice versa on an exchange basis, organized by government.

National political independence has affected sport in Guyana by giving it greater prominence on the schedule of national priorities, as well as enhancing its attractiveness as a means through which the individual can strive toward the attainment of excellence and national esteem. Greater emphasis has been placed upon sports at the grass-roots level of society and significant progress has been made toward mass mobilization for purposes of indoctrination and achievement of political objectives.

The establishment of a land commission led to the re-organization of the land utilization policy and the government take-over of the Georgetown Turf Club after horse racing was no longer a viable entity. The acres of land once occupied by the track is now a national park and the club house is being utilized as a government ministry. Similarly, the Georgetown Golf Club was taken over by government because of under-utilization of land.

Minister Field-Rigley has predicted that there will be greater governmental expenditure on sport in the future and further points out that there has been greater participation in sport in the recent past for the

following reasons:

- 1) the government's thrust in the field of sport;
- 2) the allocation of sports budgets at government and local government levels;
- 3) greater awareness of the masses of the people, of their role in the development of the nation, and the importance of sport as an avenue toward greater recognition and societal participation;
- 4) the introduction of free education and the upgrading of all government secondary schools which has made inter-school competitive sports much more meaningful.

The government of Guyana is very much involved in the internationalization of sport, and is vehemently opposed to the apartheid policies of South Africa. Consequently, it does not hesitate to use sport for political ends in order to stress such opposition. Evidence of moves toward socialist objectives in sport can be concluded from the following: in the military and para-military groups, there are signs of increasing emphasis on sports which will be inevitably harnessed for health and fitness in preparation for defence if such a need arises. However, although there has been party infiltration into the military and other social institutions, consistent with the ideas of Morris Janowitz (1964)²³⁵, there is no connection between sport and the military as a front for the training of national athletes as is apparently the case in the more advanced socialist states. In the penal institution, sport not only functions as a diversion, but also as a worthwhile healthy activity which can produce in the inmates positive feelings of self-worth and opportunities for social acceptance and upward social mobility. The inmates are able through sport to make significant contributions to the development of Guyana.

Elitism in sport is very important to the Guyanese as indicated by the rank order table, although there is no evidence of selectivity at an early age of talented young athletes for special training. However, it might be concluded that elitism, within the context of sport, as a means of gaining recognition and national prestige acts as a motivating factor in the provision of excellence, and as a means of helping to legitimize the new socialist regime.

Sport as a means to establish national identity is also of importance to the Guyanese leaders, who use sport specifically as a medium for the development of political conviction as is seen in the case of Lenox Blackmore the boxing hero, and government's identification with him as a symbol of the working man's success. The importance of the establishment of national identity is also seen in mass mobilization spectacles as the youth of the nation participate in formal gymnastic displays and chant patriotic slogans following a Chinese pattern of indoctrination.

The economy of Guyana is almost totally in the hands of the government and although there is an apparent need for an overall increase in the level of productivity, the Guyanese have not yet reached the stage of socialist development to identify sport as a means of increasing total work output. Neither does sport as a means of economic development have any relevance to Guyana at the present time.

There is no significant amount of tourism in Guyana and therefore the commercialization of sport in relation to tourism is minimal. Since independence, the commercialization of sport by the private sector has been discouraged by government, although some companies still make donations for the promotion of sport as an end in itself.

The major concerns of the youth in Guyana are such that they want to be taken seriously by the power structure. Education, particularly technical

education, and jobs are of immediate concern in a society with a 30 percent unemployment rate among this element of the population.

Constructive involvement in sport of the youth of the nation in the form of worthwhile healthy activity is of considerable importance in Guyana and it would appear that to the extent most of the middle aged adults have left the country, and the fact that 60 percent of the Guyanese population is under the age of 25, young people have a very important role to play in the national development of this new nation. The youth in any new and radical political regime present a threat to social and political stability, although Minister Field-Rigley is quick to point out that the real threat in Guyana comes not from the youth but the discontented adult middle class. The political uncertainty of Guyana, its severe economic problems, and the political division of the major ethnic groups create a built-in state of potential unrest. Therefore, constructive involvement of the youth must be of political significance to the Guyanese.

The introduction by government of a Ministry of Information and Sport is indicative of the increasing importance of sport within Guyanese society and stresses a major difference in political outlook between Guyana and neighboring Trinidad. It is interesting to note that Barbados also has a joint ministry for sport (Ministry of Community Services and Sport) but the objectives for the development of sport in Barbados are not socialist.

Mass participation ("sport for all") is very important to the Guyanese and is one of the government's major objectives. It would appear however, that mass participation serves two functions in Guyana, one, the political function of mass mobilization behind a political party, and the other for the worthwhile use of leisure time. Without television and with a

limited number of other leisure time pursuits, it would appear that sport has an important role to play, inspite of the fact that sport as a means entertainment does not appear to be very important at the present time on the rank order table. From the point of view of spectator sports, internationnal cricket and more recently, boxing are the only two sports that provide some means of mass participation. It might well be that there is greater active participation and less secondary participation in the present form of mass participation for the worthwhile use of leisure time.

Interestingly enough, sport as an integrative force does not appear to be particularly important to the leaders of Guyanese society, inspite of the fact that a distinct political division exists between the East Indians and the Blacks. One of the first priorities of the government upon receiving political independence was to eliminate the ethnic clubs which resulted in a government-imposed type of integration. However, the government has not made any attempt to integrate these two groups politically, even though the sports and social clubs have been successfully integrated. Like Trinidad, sport also acts as a segregative force when the East Indian population supports India and Pakistan during international competitive cricket.

At this point in time, it might well be to Burnham's political advantage to keep the two major ethnic groups separated politically, to the extent that his party members have infiltrated the military which is 90% black and strictly pro-government. Consequently, the integrative nature of sport in this case would be counter-productive.

Jamaica

Jamaica is the third largest island in the Caribbean and is in close proximity to Cuba. Its population is under 2 million people, 55.1% of whom are under twenty-five years of age. The people of Jamaica are predominantly of African origin, with a diversity of other groups. Traditionally, Jamaica has enjoyed harmonious racial and cultural relations, and within recent years, class distinctions which have lingered from colonial times are being reduced through education and direct governmental policies.

After a long period of British colonial rule, Jamaica began to achieve local political control in the late 1930's. This period of development was marked by social unrest and occasional violence. During this time, the groundwork for Jamaica's leading political parties was laid by Sir Alexander Bustamante (Jamaica Labor Party - JLP) and later his cousin, Norman W. Manley (People's National Party - PNP).

These two political parties having their roots in well organized and powerful rival trade unions, have dominated the Jamaican political scene since the institution of adult suffrage in 1944. The JLP formed the first government under adult suffrage in 1945 and won again in the 1949 elections, but it lost to PNP in the 1955, 1959, 1972 and 1976 elections. Jamaica attained its political independence from the United Kingdom in 1962 and remained a member of the Commonwealth.

The unemployment rate in Jamaica is 25% and is fuelled by a high birth rate and an educational system that has not been able to meet the needs of a growing population and a developing and modernizing economy.

Today, Jamaican Prime Minister, Michael Manley, describes the

political and economic system he advocates as "democratic socialism", which is defined by Robertson (1977)²³⁶ as "a political and economic system that aims at creating a high degree of social equality while preserving the freedom of the individual." Manley (1974)²³⁷ explained in his book that only the public utilities will be taken totally into public ownership and contends that "the ordinary manufacturing sector belongs naturally in private hands.

In practice however, it appears that Manley's government has gone further in the direction of state ownership than had been originally envisaged, due to the urgent necessities of the national economic situation. These facts according to Hart (1978)²³⁸ "are measures which though not in themselves inconsistent with the preservation of capitalism, are nevertheless capable of forming the basis of a future advance towards a socialist economy." But, "it is no secret that persons who are in favor of the government adopting a genuinely socialist goal are in a minority in the Cabinet and Council of Ministers." Prime Minister Manley told the National Executive Council of his People's National Party in September 1975, "'Democratic Socialism' is an end in itself and not a transitional program between capitalism and communism." It is believed that by communism he meant a total socialist economy.

The PNP has historically drawn its support from the middle class National Workers Union (NWU), which generally represents a higher skill level of labor than the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU). More recently, it has evolved into a mass-based populist party.

In Jamaica it is generally accepted that sport is critical as an integral part of nation-building, but although the government recognizes the importance of sport in theory, and in the speeches of politicians, it is believed that they have consistently denied support for the

development of sport on a nationwide basis.

Sport has a long and varied history in Jamaica, and the introduction of formal sport occurred early in the English conquest when military and naval competitions were held. As civilian settlements progressed social games that were popular in England and Europe were brought to Jamaica; a situation that was similar to the development of sport in the other areas of the Commonwealth Caribbean.

During the colonial era, sport was one of the few means of upward social mobility for the masses and it was encouraged by parents of school age children. Today, the social structure has changed, and twelfth grade students tend to forgo sports in order to pursue academic courses of study. Young people are no longer interested in following both academic and sporting careers, and materialistic considerations take precedence over all other in career decisions. Consequently, in the Commonwealth Caribbean, it is very often the school drop-out who represents the nation at sport, which suggests tremendous social change by way of new opportunities for many previously under-privileged members of the society.

After gaining political independence in 1962, the government pledged its concern for the masses, which led to the planned organization and development of sports throughout the nation. The building of a national stadium was one of the most outstanding examples of government support for sport during the independence era, but as one critic observed, "As well as being a symbol of what government can do for sport, it also represents all that needs to be done, for it is under-utilized."

In 1972, the government increased the number of personnel in the

Sports Division, and for the first time administrative considerations were introduced into a national sports plan. Community development in rural as well as urban areas was introduced using sport as a major vehicle toward this development.

In 1978, a National Institute of Sport (Insport) was formed which coordinates under one central administrative unit, all agencies that promote and develop sports in Jamaica.

National independence tended to broaden the base of sport and an effort was made to take sports to the masses, particularly in rural areas. Today, all clubs in Jamaica have much more liberal membership laws, but not as a result of direct changes in governmental policy. However, as in Guyana, there is evidence of a lack of discipline among the masses, and in the opinion of some institutional leaders, many sports have been adversely affected by the implementation of community leagues which tend to pin-point the undisciplined nature at the grass roots level of society.

Sport in Jamaica is of value in national development, not only as a means of health and fitness, the promotion of a competitive spirit, or as a means toward the acceptance of discipline, but also as an integrative force by way of stimulating a collective conscience and the development of recognition and national prestige; and although women play an important role in the development of the nation through sport, their recognition is not comparable to their male counterparts.

Netball is the number one sport for women in Jamaica, replacing basketball which was introduced into the island in 1910. In 1959 the Jamaican national team refused to participate on Sundays, during the

first tour to Trinidad, and in the 1960's several West Indian women were offered athletic scholarships to study physical education in England. During the same time period, an official was sent to represent the West Indian Netball Association at the inauguration of the International Netball Federation in Ceylon. Jamaican women, like others in the Commonwealth Caribbean, also participate in cricket and field hockey.

The Jamaican Government is encouraging a type of hero worship in sport, which might be one reason why they did not join Guyana in the boycott of the Montreal Olympics (1976), in support of the African countries protest against New Zealand's support of South Africa.

Following the belief that "he who pays the piper calls the tune", sporting associations in Jamaica are very conscious of the amount of financial support given by government, and many of the voluntary associations never allow the government to donate more than a certain percentage of expenses to send teams abroad. This is partly the reason why they have been able to maintain some degree of autonomy.

Unlike Guyana, boxing has not gained in popularity among the grass-roots element of Jamaican society, inspite of a considerable amount of influence in sport from neighboring Cuba. Some of the persons interviewed in Jamaica are of the opinion that Jamaica's association with Cuba will eventually help in international competitive sport. "Cuba's schools of excellence have opened the eyes of the Third World Countries." It is also believed however, that by giving Jamaica a gift of three sports schools, the Cuban Government would try to impose its curriculum upon the use of those schools, but although the Jamaican Government seemed responsive to this idea, the strength of the Physical Education Association has been

responsible for resisting that possibility.

In view of this successful resistance, it would appear that the democratic nature of the Jamaican type of socialism enables a dominant middle class to impose its will on what it labels as "public issues". It would also appear that the government lacks the coercive power to over-ride such resistance if such needs arise.

According to the Chairperson of the Institute of Sport, the Government of Jamaica is very much involved in the internationalization of sport, and has several international sporting agreements with Cuba, the USSR, Bulgaria and the United Kingdom, and he is also of the opinion that Cuba has greatly influenced Jamaican society and sport in particular. Sixty Jamaicans are at present being trained in physical education and sport in Cuba, and Jamaica plans to go into sports medicine very seriously in the future, following a Cuban example.

Like Guyana, constructive involvement in sport for the youth of the nation in the form of worthwhile healthy activity is very important to Jamaicans and possibly for similar reasons. Political uncertainty, high unemployment and economic austerity, in addition to class-consciousness, create a situation of potential unrest. The vocal and politically conscious youth, who it is claimed, lack discipline, present a real threat to social and political stability. It is hoped that through sport the youth of the nation will learn to play by the rules of society. Their major concerns center around jobs and housing, honesty in government, and the need for a voice in local and national government.

Sport as a means of gaining recognition and national prestige on the local and international scene appears to be very important to the people and government of Jamaica, which along with the support for elitism

in sport, might well be interpreted as an attempt to create a positive image of Jamaica, and by so doing legitimize the new political system. But as in the other Commonwealth Caribbean nations, selectivity for specialized training of talented young athletes at an early age does not occur, as in the case of the more advanced socialist states. The development of the talents of young sportsmen and sportswomen was encouraged by past Jamaican governments, but they might have been discouraged by the fact that many of the nation's talented young athletes leave on athletic scholarships to North America and England and the benefits of their training are lost to the more developed nations.

Mass participation in sport for purposes of mass-mobilization and indoctrination is not as actively pursued in Jamaica as in Guyana. However, there is evidence in Jamaica of attempts at socialist indoctrination as seen by the political slogans on the bill-boards surrounding the stadium:

Independence Means Sacrifice
Unite, Struggle, Produce
Work Together for Self-Reliance
Together We Shall Overcome

Provision for sport facilities and recreation grounds are low on the government's list of priorities, which would appear consistent with the government's believed "rhetoric, but do nothing policy". Nevertheless, a realistic appraisal of Jamaica's current fiscal situation reveals the inevitability of sport taking second place to the much more pressing needs of jobs, food, shelter and clothing.

Only in certain sports can Jamaica claim that sports are a means of mass entertainment. Horse racing which is well attended by a cross section of the Jamaican public is to some extent a means of mass entertainment; cricket only when international tournaments are being played and soccer which has appeal mainly at the grass-roots level of society. Netball

has entertainment value mainly for women and inter-school track and field finals are well attended, but they only occur once a year. Of the recreational sports, golf and tennis cater to relatively few participants of the local population.

Sport as a means to establish national identity or citizenship is not seen as one of the major concerns of the Jamaican people, which is surprising in view of the stated political ideology and also the national heroes that the country has produced particularly in track and field. As role models they appear to play an important role, but as symbols of national identity and unity, their role is only moderately significant. On the international level, their visibility is important, but locally they seem to be met with some degree of apathy. As a socialist objective therefore, the use of sport as a means to establish national identity does not apply in Jamaica.

There is no connection between sport and the military in Jamaica which would suggest no direct socialist influence in this respect, and unlike Guyana, sport in penal institutions is not particularly encouraged. Neither is there a connection between work and sport nor is sport used in any way to increase total work output. Generally it would appear that Jamaicans are opposed to the commercialization of sport, but there are nevertheless many commercial firms that sponsor sport through advertising.

In government, the Tourist Board has sponsored sport in Jamaica since the 1960's. In fact, it would appear that the Tourist Board would play an active role in almost any sport which would focus the attention of the outside world on this developing nation.

Unlike Guyana, horse-racing in Jamaica is a thriving industry and

is very much a mass participation sport. The Betting, Gaming and Lottery Act in Jamaica which states that "major taxes from such activities should go to the development of veterinary medicine, horse-breeding and the promotion of sport in general", does not live up to its stated objectives. Instead, the government places millions of dollars acquired in this way into the consolidated fund and consequently none of the funds are ever returned to sporting associations. It would appear therefore, that the government is using the commercialization of sport to bolster the national budget in times of severe financial difficulty.

Trinidad and Tobago

Trinidad has a cosmopolitan English-speaking society with blacks (43%) and East Indians (40%); in addition there are Syrian, Chinese and European groups. The East Indians who arrived in the last century as indentured agricultural laborers, have mainly stayed on the land as independent farmers, although they are also prominent in business and the professions. Tobagonians are mostly black.

Tobago lies 19 miles northeast of Trinidad and has an area of 166 square miles. In 1883, Trinidad and Tobago were merged to form a single colony, which obtained full independence in 1962, and became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

The capital city, Port-of-Spain, is the principal commercial center in the Eastern Caribbean, located on the major sea and air lanes between South America and the United States and Europe. San Fernando, Trinidad's second largest city is located on the south-western coast and is a center for the petroleum and petro-chemical industries.

The first real political party in Trinidad and Tobago with a continuing organization and program emerged in 1956, the People's National Movement (PNM) under Dr. Eric Williams. It has held control of the government since 1956.

In 1976, Trinidad and Tobago adopted a new constitution and became a republic. In political terms, the country severed its links to the Queen and elected a president.

During the pre-self-governing crown colony period in Trinidadian history, organized sport was greatly influenced by the club and elitist school system. Membership in sport and social clubs within the society was based on economic and social status factors as well as shades of skin color. Very often the color of one's skin was the determining factor

of one's social class, and as a consequence of being excluded from the more prestigious clubs, lesser clubs were established and social status and in some cases, ethnicity were the determining factors of membership. This situation was typical of the colonial experience in the cosmopolitan areas of the Commonwealth Caribbean region.

Labor agitation in the 1930's led to trade unionism and self-government legislation in the 1940's, but the sporting organizations under the jurisdiction of the club system changed very little. The prevailing attitudes of the ruling elite became deeply ingrained and promotion and sponsorship of sport by government was low on their list of priorities. Voluntary organizations were and still are, responsible for the running of sport throughout the island and the private sector has traditionally been the major sponsor.

Prior to national political independence, sport was seen as a leisure time pursuit, and an ad hoc approach to making grants available for teams travelling abroad was the extent of government involvement, and "everyone fought for their slice of the pie."

In 1969, a Parliamentary Secretary for Youth Affairs and Sports was appointed with offices located in the Community Development Division and responsible to the Minister of Planning and Development.

In 1970, responsibility for the Community Development Division was assigned to the Ministry of the Prime Minister and the provision for sport remained under the Community Development Division. More recently, October 25, 1974, responsibility for sport has been assigned to the Minister of Education and Culture.

The greatest force toward social change in Trinidad, in addition to being the most significant threat to the administration of Dr. Eric Williams, came as a result of what was known as the February Revolution.

For eight weeks (February 26 to April 22, 1970) a small activist organization called the National Joint Action Committee (NJAC) led a mass movement of thousands of people that almost brought about the first successful Black Power revolution in the Caribbean.

On April 20, 1970, Prime Minister Williams declared a state of emergency, imposed martial law on the country, and had most of the rebel leaders imprisoned.

Cricket has remained the major sport in Trinidad and Tobago and it has been traditionally dominated by the members of the white expatriot club of Queens Park. This club was established in 1896 and has been the center of national and international cricket in Trinidad and Tobago since colonial times, but today it is threatened with social change. The club is under the scrutiny of the Rees Commission of Inquiry into the organization, promotion, administration and control of the sport at all levels. It is interesting to note that the report which was submitted to government by the commission about four years ago, has been shelved; which is evidence of an apparent 'do nothing' policy of the conservative government. The report calls for an end to the dominant role of the Queens Park Cricket Club (QPCC) in the control and administration of cricket nationally and internationally. In the view of the Commission, "the arguments in favor of a more representative and national body for the administration and development of cricket are overwhelming." Since the inception of a West Indian representative cricket team, Trinidad and Tobago is the only country which has been represented by a private club on the West Indian Cricket Board of Control, and "indeed only the club's representatives have had the authority to speak for the nation on cricket matters."

The promotion and administration of sport in Trinidad and Tobago at the level of clubs, leagues, regional and national associations, is conducted largely on a voluntary basis. However, it is maintained that the quality of administration of sport in Trinidad and Tobago is exceedingly poor.

In 1971, a National Sports Council was established to replace a Sports Advisory Committee appointed in 1970. The responsibilities of the Council are:

- a) to recommend subventions for 1971 to national sporting organizations, and,
- b) to draw up a five year plan for the further development of sporting facilities throughout the country with priority being given to a program for 1971.

Changes in the economic situation of Trinidad and Tobago resulting from the world's demand for oil, motivated the government toward increased sponsorship of sport and cultural activities. A Commission of Inquiry into major sports in the nation was appointed in 1973, and was commissioned to inquire into the organization, promotion and administration of all sports in Trinidad and Tobago exclusive of cricket and horse-racing.

In spite of the government's move however, toward greater sponsorship, it still maintains an aloof and conservative stand, and refuses to establish a position of "Minister of Sport" which would tie it directly to the role of sport in national development. In addition to increased revenue from the oil industry, Hasely Crawford's success at the 1976 Montreal Olympics, and the Trinidad and Tobago Netball team's success in the 1978 world series, have been major contributing factors toward increased government sponsorship and awareness of the importance of

sport in nation-building. Since Crawford's return to Trinidad, he has been appointed special advisor to the government on sport. To quote from the government Information Service publication:

"In retrospect, the construction of the massive sporting complex...may be attributed to the pioneering work of Hasley Crawford, who won this country's first Olympic Gold Medal in the 100 meters at the Montréal Olympics in 1976. Hasley's victory underlined the need to provide facilities to develop the wealth of sporting talent that abounds in Trinidad and Tobago.

(Info. June-July 1978:11)²³⁹

The Government of Trinidad and Tobago is conservative, as indicated by its attitude toward the role of sport in national development. It is neo-colonial and can be identified as an industrialized capitalist consumer society inspite of its nationalization policy of several industries.

There is no evidence of Cuban influence in Trinidad even though the government had a flirtation with Cuba and other socialist states in 1974 when diplomatic ties were established. Dr. William's present day anti-socialist stand was exposed by opposition leader Dr. James Millette, and is supportive of evidence which suggests that sport is not being used directly for political ends, nor to achieve socialist objectives in Trinidad and Tobago. Neither is sport used to legitimize the political system, although there is evidence to support the government's recognition of the benefits of international success in sport. In furthering the aims of national development it is recognized that participation in international sporting events fosters patriotism, national pride and feelings citizenship, and that "success on the field of play, is as good an incentive as any for citizens as a whole, to work toward the betterment of the country." Elitism in sport is encouraged and is evidently very important to Trinidadians (see Table 6), but it is not supported by any direct government involvement other than the financial support given to the building of facilities. There is no selectivity at an early age

of potentially talented young athletes, according to any socialist model; neither is sport used in any way to increase total work output. There is no evidence of interest in developing an institute of sport or sports medicine facilities, as is the case in socialist countries, nor are athletes supported by the state in Trinidad and Tobago.

Sport is not used as a medium for the development of political conviction, neither is it used for general health and fitness in preparation for defence, both of which are socialist objectives. There are no plans for the production of sport equipment for local consumption, and generally sport is not important as a means of economic development.

Unlike many socialist states, sport as a means of mass entertainment in Trinidad and Tobago is such that it is only one of several options, as a leisure time pursuit. However, international cricket and high school competitive soccer continue to attract large spectator audiences. That sport plays an important role in the lives of the people of this relatively small nation, is accentuated by the fact that although the population is a little over one million, there is active participation in thirty different sports.

The Black Power uprising in 1970, alleged corruption in government and runaway inflation are contributing factors to political awareness, potential instability and a state of anomie. Consequently, it would appear that the government is very conscious of the potential threat of the youth to national stability. Therefore, as a means of constructive involvement of the youth in the form of worthwhile healthy activity, sport is very important.

Like Barbados, mass participation in sport is of major concern, but not as a means of mass mobilization or political indoctrination.

Mass participation follows the Council of Europe (1971) model, as a leisure time pursuit in the form of recreation, amusement and personal development.

The integrative nature of sport is of some concern to the Trinidadians as a means of uniting people of different racial and economic backgrounds in a cosmopolitan pluralistic society. The ethnic composition of the club system in Trinidad and Tobago has changed as a result of direct government involvement. Clubs based on ethnicity have been eliminated, which has resulted in ethnic integration, although class distinctions and financial barriers still exist. The East Indian population however, has a tendency to identify strongly with visiting teams from India and Pakistan, people of similar ethnic heritage, and this situation could present a threat to the already tenuous racial political divisions. In this particular instance, sport functions as a segregative force, but under normal everyday conditions, sport appears to function as an integrative force. Therefore, sport as a means of channeling rivalries into constructive channels, is met with some degree of skepticism. The government of Trinidad and Tobago is also concerned that sport be used as a means of promoting regional integration.

As a Test of the Hypotheses with Respect to Barbados

Hypothesis 1: Sport will in the future be used for mass mobilization in the developmental process from capitalism to socialism.

There is no evidence at the present time in Barbados to support this point of view, there is no evidence of a transition from capitalist to socialist objectives as indicated through sport.

Therefore, in the case of Barbados, hypothesis 1 is rejected.

Hypothesis 2: The greater the need for social change, the more significant the role of sport in the developmental process.

The relative social, political and economic stability of the nation is such that there is no evident need for social change. Changes in the political and social structure of the island have occurred without major disruptions over the years, and this situation has inevitably contributed to the present stability.

Undesirable elements and influences, such as black power advocates, and radical agitators have been kept away, and consequently, it would appear that the role of sport has not had any significant part to play in this regard. Therefore, with respect to Barbados, hypothesis 2 is rejected.

Hypothesis 3: The more neo-colonial and conservative the administration, the less likely that sport will be used for political ends and the reinforcement of national values.

It can be claimed that the Government of Barbados is neo-colonial to the extent that the life style of the ruling black bourgeoisie is modelled after their British predecessors, and in many ways, they are just as conservative. Under their direction, no radical

changes have taken place and sport is not used for the acquisition of political objectives or the reinforcement of national values. In fact, not until recently have they taken the initiative in the organization and promotion of sport on a national basis. Therefore, with respect to Barbados, hypothesis 3 is upheld.

As a Test of Hypotheses with Respect to Guyana

Hypothesis 1: Sport will in the future be used for mass mobilization in the developmental process from capitalism to socialism.

By the declared political philosophy of Marxist-Leninism of the Guyanese Government, the development of a Cooperative Socialist Republic, direct association with the People's Republic of China, Cuba and other socialist states, and the nationalization of 80% of the country's productive capacity, there is little doubt that Guyana is seriously pursuing a socialist course of development. There is evidence that sport within this political context is being used to achieve political objectives in the developmental process from capitalism to socialism, and even though the major limiting factor appears to be financial, the stated position of Minister Field-Rigley suggests that in the future development of Guyana, sport will play an even greater political role. Therefore, in reference to Guyana, hypothesis 1 is upheld.

Hypothesis 2: The greater the need for social change, the more significant the role of sport in the developmental process.

The need for social change in Guyana stems from the fact that the new political philosophy constitutes radical social change from the

class based colonial society of the past. Evidence of resistance from the adult middle class, many of whom have fled the country, is indicative of the numerous social problems to be faced. Within this context, there is evidence of sport assuming a much more significant role in national development, particularly at the grass roots level of the society, and the use of sport to develop the human personality and feelings of selfworth. Therefore, in reference to Guyana, hypothesis 2 is upheld.

Hypothesis 3: The more neo-colonial and conservative the administration, the less likely that sport will be used for political ends and the reinforcement of national values.

Premdas (1978)²⁴⁰ has made reference to the fact that the political elite in Guyana are Westernized and educated, and Hart (1978)²⁴¹ has suggested that nationalization does not necessarily lead to socialism, it could be used as the basis for growth and enrichment of a national bourgeoisie. Evidence suggests that Premdas' statement is true, and Hart's statement might be true in Guyana. Nevertheless, the manifest policies are not neo-colonialist nor conservative, but socialist and radical, and within the context of these policies, attempts are being made to use sport to achieve political ends and to reinforce national values. Therefore, in reference to Guyana, hypothesis 3 is upheld, for the reverse is also true, i.e., the more socialist and radical the administration, the more likely that sport will be used for political ends and the reinforcement of national values.

As a Test of the Hypotheses with Respect to Jamaica

Hypothesis 1: Sport will in the future be used for mass mobilization in the developmental process from capitalism to socialism.

Although the Government of Jamaica has declared a policy of "Democratic Socialism", and has nationalized much of the private industry and public utilities, Prime Minister Manley has clearly stated that Democratic Socialism is an end in itself and not a transitional program between capitalism and a socialist economy. In addition, considerable resistance to socialist policies as evidenced through sport, is projected by the middle class, and many members of the cabinet. Nevertheless, because of Jamaica's association with Cuba, socialist influence appears to be filtering into Jamaican society. There is little or no evidence of attempts at mass mobilization in the developmental process, and no real indications that there will be attempts at mass mobilization through sport in the future. Therefore, hypothesis 1 in reference to Jamaica is rejected.

Hypothesis 2: The greater the need for social change, the more significant the role of sport in the developmental process.

There is considerable need for social change at the grass roots level of Jamaican society, and evidence suggests that sport has played a significant role in the development of a positive self-image, social acceptance and as a means of upward social mobility. However, there is also a need in Jamaica for social change with respect to the neo-colonial class structure which still prevails inspite of declared socialist objectives of the government. The evident undisciplined

nature of the grass root element of the society, might be the result of class consciousness and feelings of relative deprivation. Within the context of sport, therefore, hostility is acted out in the competitive contact sports such as soccer and consequently the middle class element of Jamaican society are refusing to participate. There is however, evidence of persistence with sport as a means of coping with the class conflict and lack of discipline. At the grass root level, the need for social change is being met in part by a significant use of sport. Therefore, in reference to Jamaica, hypothesis 2 is upheld.

Hypothesis 3: The more neo-colonial and conservative the administration, the less likely that sport will be used for political ends and the reinforcement of national values.

Like other nations of the Commonwealth Caribbean, the ruling elite in Jamaica are Westernized and well educated. They have received the benefits of the British education system, and for many the British middle and upper class life style is their frame of reference. Therefore, inspite of the government's move toward socialist objectives, resistance comes from within the same government and from the middle class members of the society. Neo-colonialism and conservatism still exists among members of the Cabinet. Consequently, although the government projects a socialist image in sport and in the society generally, they are severely restricted by the dominant middle class and the current economic difficulties. There is no real evidence at the present time of sport being used for political ends and the reinforcement of national values, although the government does have positive plans in this direction for the future.

In reference to present day Jamaica therefore, hypothesis 3 is upheld inspite of positive examples of Cuban influence.

As a Test of the Hypotheses with Respect to Trinidad and Tobago

Hypothesis 1: Sport will in the future be used for mass mobilization in the developmental process from capitalism to socialism.

As a result of an in-depth analysis of the role of sport in the development of Trinidad and Tobago, it can be concluded that there are no indications at the present time of a transition from capitalist to socialist objectives. However, there has been considerable nationalization of major industries since political independence, but inspite of this, the government seems bent on developing a capitalist rather than a socialist economy. Within this context, there is no evidence of mass mobilization nor political indoctrination through sport. There has been a rejection of socialist ideology by Prime Minister Eric Williams as it relates to Trinidad, and a refusal to appoint a Minister of Sport, which would identify the government as being involved in the organization of sport. Sport is run on a voluntary basis with little or no government involvement. Therefore, in reference to Trinidad and Tobago, hypothesis 1 is rejected.

Hypothesis 2: The greater the need for social change the more significant the role of sport in the developmental process.

The need for social change is evident in respect to the suggested changes in the administrative power structure of cricket, and the government's apparent lack of concern for the role of sport in national development of Trinidad and Tobago until the late 1970's.

Increased national revenue from oil and international success in track and netball motivated the government to pay greater attention to the role of sport in nation-building, even though they refuse to become directly involved. In this respect, hypothesis 2 is upheld in Trinidad and Tobago.

Hypothesis 3: The more neo-colonial and conservative the administration, the less likely that sport will be used for political ends, and the reinforcement of national values.

Like the other newly developing nations in the Commonwealth Caribbean, the ruling elite are members of the black bourgeoisie. They are neo-colonialist to the extent that their attitudes and life styles are molded after their British predecessors and as in Barbados, they are in many ways just as conservative. There is evidence of resistance to social change in the administration of sport which would benefit the masses, inspite of their increased awareness of the importance of sport in nation-building. Sport in Trinidad and Tobago is not used for political ends in any socialist sense of the term, neither is it used for reinforcement of national values in any form of indoctrination. Therefore, in reference to Trinidad and Tobago, hypothesis 3 is upheld.

It would appear that under both socialist and capitalist systems, the encouragement of class sports in the form of elitism, as distinct from mass sports, is justified to the extent that there is a direct correlation between top performers and the building of the national image. Consequently, elitism in sport contributes directly to the legitimization of new regimes,

and is used specifically by the so-called socialist countries toward this political end.

In the developing nations of Africa, Uwechue (1978)²⁴² makes the point that although the problems of sport in nation-building are many, nevertheless, it is believed that the enormous amounts of money that are expended to build the national image, could usefully be used in the training of sports stars who bring instant recognition to the country.

The indirect correlation however, between "sport for all" and national development, appears to be a theoretical concept which is rarely put into practice on a national scale without total political commitment. Under its own interpretation of socialism Guyana has made a greater commitment than Jamaica although neither nation has made a commitment that could compare with the revolutionary changes of neighboring Cuba (Hart 1978).²⁴³

Under totally committed socialist doctrines, direct or indirect inculcation of ideals through the repetition of socialist objectives is a rite practiced whenever and wherever the masses of the people are formally assembled. This is particularly evident at national and international sporting events. On many occasions this vocalization of socialist ideology is accompanied by symbolic devices to arouse youthful emotions. Not only does repetition of the socialist ideology hold a prominent place in the functioning programs of the nation, but the importance of socialist objectives is repeatedly stressed in the literature of the movement. Symbolic demonstrations are dramatized which further appeal to the emotional commitment of the masses. The

social nature of these emotional experiences is almost certain to strengthen their feelings of solidarity with the immediate groups, and for purposes of cooperative endeavor, such occasions may be used legitimately to build esprit-de-corps. Such is the case of sports within the socialist system and under capitalism, it plays a similar function but to a lesser extent.

The symbolic demonstration of the "march past" at the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games is an emotional and electrifying experience as each participant reinforces nationalist identity and each nation proudly displays its national flag. Since however, the emotionalized athletic ceremony is certain to be associated with many other socializing experiences, the ultimate character building and citizenship training experiences must receive further consideration in regard to their conditioning influence.

The central ministry of sport in socialist countries approaches the problem of character-building from two fundamentally different perspectives. One approach is indirect and is represented basically by the method of learning by doing. Essentially, this method is a process of habit formation through personal experience and inward growth. The other approach is direct and is represented basically by a method of direct inculcation of ideas through repetition of socialist objectives. This is a method of fashioning character from an externally controlled position.

When principles are handed down from positions of authority and accepted by the athletes without critical examination, they are fairly certain, in many cases, to be learned as verbalizations largely removed from significant life experience. Words and symbols rather than meanings

are learned. If however, verbalizations of the socialist objectives become highly emotionalized through impressive ceremony, the influence of these principles may enter into the athletic experience on an altogether different basis. Ideals embodied in the socialist athletic objectives then become integrated with the emotional life of the athlete, but since these principles or ideals are uncritically accepted, they are not likely to become integrated with the intellectual life of the athlete. When surcharged with emotion in this way, accompanied by intellectual discrimination, socialist ideology in all probability will be accepted as rigid, inflexible rules to govern behavior in all situations and under all conditions.

If the socialist objectives are to be accepted by athletes as ends in themselves as seems to be implied in socialist sports programs, and if these ends furthermore are to be accepted without argument or critical examination, it must be that these ideals are looked upon as essentially static or fixed ends. As such, they can function only as moral absolutes, which by their very nature are authoritarian in origin and in their manner of functioning. If they are to fulfil their purpose as moral absolutes, they will be used as ready-made formulae for all occasions and situations. Life for the athlete, insofar as moral absolutes are concerned, thereby receives its sanctions from pre-established and essentially uncriticized patterns of behavior which may have but little relevance to the particular time and place.

Another reason for questioning the ethical soundness and the social effectiveness of acquiring ideals through direct inculcation is that a conformist rather than a creative morality tends thereby to be established.

Since ideals accepted by authority do not grow out of experience where primary concern is felt for the outcomes in developing situations, it cannot be expected that there will be intelligent generalizations of experienced good. Consequently, uncritical acceptance of ideals handed down by authority, also logically involves an acceptance of whatever interpretation of the ideal or the goal is given by authority.

It is also true that sports organizations in relation to the total culture in socialist countries may be thought of as represented by basic institutions in the overall society of which sport is a part. However, the total culture is certain to hand on far greater influence in character-building and citizenship training processes than any specific program such as sport functioning in that culture. Since today there is a strong probability that these social forces operating in the larger areas of living are paramount in their influence, and since there can be no doubt that some of these forces are highly undesirable and may go far in nullifying the "good" effects of any immediate and specific welfare program, it clearly follows that no organization with character-building and citizenship training as avowed major aims can consistently evade this larger social aspect of the problem, even though sport under the socialist system is an integral part of the total system.

The new nations of the Commonwealth Caribbean have their own specific difficulties; broad problems of nation-building generally involve such factors as traditional cultural and social barriers within the societies. Differences of religion, ethnic groups, customs and economic and political interests may become obstacles to national integration and development.

"Sport with its broad relevance to education, social welfare, culture, politics and health, if adequately planned, may serve the purposes of nation-building and foster integration." (Swanpo Sie 1978:555).²⁴⁴

Like Southeast Asian countries, the role of sport in the national development of the Commonwealth Caribbean seems to fit quite closely the situation outlined by Swanpo Sie (1978):

"Despite fine plans and programs and despite keen interest in sport on the part of the population, very little real progress has been made, especially in the implementation of sport movements in the interests of nation-building. Leaders and government authorities have frequently complained about shortages of facilities and experts. Governments and national sports organizations have often invited foreign coaches and experts from the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and other Eastern and Western European countries, however, most of these foreign experts have been invited to improve the performances of competitive athletes rather than to assist in the implementation of sport for nation building and national development. (Swanpo Sie 1978:556).²⁴⁵

As Swanpo Sie suggests, theoretically, sport in the Commonwealth Caribbean can play a unique and perhaps unmatched role in fostering national integration, national cohesion, national spirit and national identity. Unlike any other area, sport elicits tremendous enthusiasm and support from the population, and offers a key to the development of cooperation on local, national and international levels. Furthermore, it is easily adapted to support educational, health and social welfare objectives, but unfortunately, many governments of newly developing Western nations do not fully utilize the potential of sport in their plans of national development.

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