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Education and inequality in Jamaica

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City University of New York, 1988

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EDUCATION AND INEQUALITY IN JAMAICA

by

MOULTON G. POPLIN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1988

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Abstract

EDUCATION AND INEQUALITY IN JAMAICA

by

Moulton G. Poplin

Adviser: Professor William Kornblum

This study is designed to serve two functions. Firstly, it is meant to satisfy the requirements for the degree for which it is submitted. Secondly, because it deals with sociological theories as they were applied to educational development in a Third World Country. It is hoped that it will be of interest to educational administrators, teachers, and to students of education.

The study contains an introduction and seven chapters. The introduction gives an overview of the country in which the study was conducted; it shows the socio-political framework into which Jamaican education has been cast from its very beginning.

Chapter 1 discusses a number of sociological theories of education as they relate specifically to Jamaica as a Third World Country.

Chapter II gives a detailed introduction to the Jamaican society. It tries to give the reader an idea of the influence of British colonialism on the social structure in general, but more so its profound and lasting influence on education.

Chapter III deals with the development of secondary education in Jamaica, from the colonial period to independence. It tries to show the ethnic background, and the changes in the social structure of the Jamaican colonial society which necessitated the establishment of secondary schools.

Chapter IV gives a detailed description of the nature of the schools and pupils with which the study is particularly concerned. The chapter tries to show that the Jamaican society in general, and Jamaican education system in particular, were ill prepared for the establishment of New Secondary Schools. Because of this, these schools have been plagued with problems from their very inception, and after more than twenty years these problems have not been resolved. In fact, some aspects of these problems seem to have intensified.

In Chapter V, the study looks at the relationship between secondary education and the Jamaican labor market. The chapter tries to show the changes which have taken place in the employment situation over the years, and the relative changes which have/or have not occurred in secondary education. The chapter tries to show that contrary to expectations, New Secondary Schools have been doing more towards maintaining colonial stratification in employment, rather than enhancing social mobility for the masses.

Chapter VI gives a detailed description of how the study was planned and executed. It contains copies of the instruments which were used in the collection of information, and also shows other formal or informal methods used in obtaining information. This chapter also contains the data obtained and discussions concerned with the evaluation of these data.

Chapter VII deals with a number of issues relative to Jamaican education, and offer suggestions as to how these issues may be resolved.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation could not have been completed without the help of others. I am, therefore, indebted to several people for the contribution they have made towards the successful completion of this dissertation. I would like to thank the members of my committee, Professor William Kornblum, Professor David Lavin and Professor Michael Brown. These gentlemen have all been extremely generous in their advice and suggestions. However, I would like to record my special thanks to Professor Kornblum, the chairman. Not many people would have given someone burdened down with all the problems involved in writing a dissertation the privilege to call him at home to discuss a problem. Sir, I would like you to know that this kind gesture will always be remembered.

To the principals and teachers with whom I had both formal and informal discussions, I would like to record my profound thanks. I would also like to thank those persons in the Jamaican Ministry of Education for their help in obtaining information which were needed for this study.

My profound thanks to Miss Jerrilyn Smith for the many hours she spent typing, printing and collating the final draft of this dissertation. The interest which she displayed in doing this study was greatly appreciated.

Finally, I would like to record my profound thanks to the two women in my life - my wife and my daughter. To Millie and Paulette I dedicate this study. Thanks for the encouragement you have always given; for the typing and for the reading of the rough drafts. Above all, thanks for never having lost faith in me.

M.G.P.

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INTRODUCTION

This is a study of secondary education in Jamaica. The island is a former colony of England, and for over three hundred years had a type of education which could be termed "Education for Inequality." The study attempts to determine how much of the colonial situation remains, and to what degree the modern state has instituted more equality in Jamaican education.

All aspects of the Jamaican Education System were originally designed to perpetuate the plantation mentality among the former slaves. Secondary education was for the elite class; it was not available to the children of working class parents. In this respect, therefore, secondary education had a divisive effect, and created a master-servant relationship between the privileged and the under-privileged.

After Jamaica got its independence in 1962, the government thought of making secondary education available to the masses. With a great deal of publicity as the institutions that would at last bring secondary education to the independent Jamaica, New Secondary Schools were introduced into Jamaica in 1966. These schools were used by the government as one of its election promises. The public was led to believe that New Secondary Schools would provide quality education for the masses.

My contention is that this did not actually occur. I will show that the New Secondary Schools are performing at a much lower level than are the Traditional Secondary Schools. I further submit that the education offered by these schools is not a substitute for that given in the Traditional Secondary Schools. Since the vast majority of students in New Secondary Schools are from low income families, it appears that the children of working class families in Jamaica are still being denied the quality of secondary education which will bring about any significant change in their socio-economic status.

There are now 78 New Secondary Schools in Jamaica with a total enrollment of 100,195 as compared to 46 Traditional Secondary Schools with an enrollment of 51,480. These figures show that the Jamaican New Secondary Schools are by far the largest single producers of potential workers and condidates for higher education.

In the 1983/84 school year 17,503 students graduated from New Secondary Schools. In a country as small as Jamaica, with a population of only 2,296,604, it is rather depressing to think that over 17,000 students might be leaving school with an inferior secondary education. In this regard, one should not speculate, but a positive effort should be made to ascertain the extent to which these students are prepared.

In this study, I will try to prove that the New Secondary Schools in Jamaica are not providing their graduates with the basic educational skills in English Language necessary for them to compete successfully on the job market, or in higher education, against graduates from the Traditional Secondary Schools. To prove my point, I will compare the performance of Jamaican secondary schools which were established during the pre-independence period with those established since 1962.

The aim is to try to determine to what extent parity has been established between the two types of schools. In trying to ascertain if, and to what extent parity has been established, I will look at output quality, staffing, and physical facilities in the two types of schools. I will also try to determine to what extent expansion in secondary education since 1962 is adequate to the need for secondary education in Jamaica. Finally, I will analyze how inequality in Jamaican secondary education reinforces and recreates existing patterns of class inequality in the nation.

The primary objective of education is to prepare students to live a full and useful life in their particular society. Students and parents, however, tend to see the role of secondary education mainly as preparation for employment. The vast majority of secondary school graduates in Jamaica will not continue their formal education, so for

them secondary education is terminal. The manner in which these student will be able to live a full and effective life in the Jamaican society depends to a great extent on what they take with them when they leave school.

If the society perceive their final "product" as having social currency, then they will be on their way to gainful employment, and the possibility of improvement in socio-economic status. On the other hand, if the society accords little value and low status to the final "product," then the opposite is true -- unemployment, low status, low paying jobs, with no foreseeable means of breaking out of the vicious circle of poverty in which their families have been trapped for generations.

CHAPTER I

EDUCATION AND THE THIRD WORLD: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Ever since its establishment by Emile Durkheim,[1] the sociology of education, in its endeavour to apply sociology effectively to the various aspects of education, has experienced a number of important theoretical developments. These developments have been to a large extent shaped by changes in theoretical orientations in the broader field of sociology. Durkheim's early lead was followed in 1928 by the work of Robert C. Angell.[2] Angell took the position that the sociology of education should specialize in research on the educational process. He claimed that sociology of education should use the school as a source of data.

According to Angell, the application of sociology alone to the educational process does not, however, supply all that is necessary to administer and determine educational policy. Because when school administrators are faced with the problems entailed in organizing and directing an educational system they of necessity must utilize information provided by, for example, psychology and economics. For this reason, Angell contended that the problems of sociology

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[1]Emile Durkheim, Education and Sociology, New York: Free Press, 1956

[2]Robert Angell, "Science, Sociology, and Education," Journal of Ed. Soc., Vol. 1 (1928), pp.406-13.

of education involve a broad technology. In 1935, another leading sociologist, E. B. Reuter,[3] expressed views similar to those of Angell, thus helping to crystallize this phase in the history of sub-discipline.

It was rather unfortunate that neither Angell nor Reuter followed this clear delineation of the sociological study of education with an elaborate analysis of the field. However, at about this time another sociologist, Willard Waller, published what has come to be regarded as the forerunner of contemporary sociology of education. This text, The Sociology of Teaching,[4] published in 1932, was the first major attempt to analyze the role of education in relation to the community. It provided a useful analysis of the social structure, and although there were some limitations relative to the theoretical and methodological state of the field at that time, this work is an analysis of a school system in relation to its community and culture.

In spite of the contributions of these early sociologists, it was only after a long period of being very problem oriented, (1920-1950), that this tendency declined and was replaced by a new orientation. In fact, up to 1950 only a few research sociologists or even educators had made any significant contributions to our knowledge of the social

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[3]E. B. Reuter, "The Problem of Educational Sociology," Journal of Ed. Soc., Vol. 9 (1935), pp.15-22.

[4]Willard Waller, The Sociology of Teaching, New York: John Whiley & Sons, Inc., 1932.

aspects of education. Many sociologists have tried to determine the reasons for this lack of studies in the sociology of education up to World War II. For example, Corwin[5] conjectured that the problem was centered in the earlier educational sociology because it promised too much with regard to the improvement of education. Consequently, many people became disillusioned.

The new trend was marked by an attempt to steer the field of education into a much closer relationship with the broader concerns of sociology. As a result, the beginning of the 50s saw a resurgence of interest in education, and between the 50s and 1960 there was a rapid increase in research, not only in volume but also in quality. During the decade of the 50s, the sub-field was dominated by Structural Functional Theory which had become the leading sociological theory of the period. As postulated by Parsons,[6] it offered this emerging area both an all-encompassing theoretical framework and a valuable conceptual guide for setting research priorities. However, possibly because of its great emphasis on the role of technology, and

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[5]Ronald Corwin, A Sociology of Education, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965.

[6]Talcott Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in american Society," Harvard Educational Review 29 (Fall 1959), pp. 297-318.

a corresponding under-estimation of the importance of conflict and ideology (Bowles and Gintis),[7] structural functionalism fell into disrepute.

In fairness to the protagonists of functionalism, it must be admitted that during the height of its influence some very important studies were advanced. Among these (Clarke, 1960; Turner, 1960; and Trow, 1961)[8] are some among the more respected achievements of educational research.

Reflecting the spirit of the period in which it came to prominence, functionalism placed undue emphasis on consensus and equilibrium in society. Technological functionalism also tried to justify educational growth in the post-war period but was unable to answer the economic question with which policymakers were specifically concerned; namely, whether educational investment was worthwhile. This question was taken up by the economists, and their response took the form of the well-known Human Capital Theory. This theory was a major competitor of functionalism and contributed to the decline of the latter.

The theory of human capital was not entirely different from structural functionalism. In fact to a great extent it was consonant with the forms of technical functionalism which appealed to many sociologists in the 50s. Both

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[8]Burton Clarke, "The Cooling-Out Function of Higher Education," American Journal of Sociology 65 (May 1960), pp. 569-576.
Martin Trow, "The Second Transformation of American Sec. Ed.," Int. Journal of Comp. Sociology, September 1961, pp. 144-166.

theories stressed the technical function of education and emphasize the efficient use of human resources. What was most remarkable about this theory, however, was that in one stroke it transforms the exploited wage earner who holds no property into a capitalist by its insistence that the worker is a holder of capital, as embodied in his skills and knowledge, and that he has the capacity to invest in himself.

It was not surprising, therefore, that this theory received generous sponsorship in the United States because it reaffirmed a basic value of the American way of life. The theory was also "forced" on Third World countries through the influence of such international organizations as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The theory was diffused through sponsored publications, international conferences, and consultations with leading educational policymakers. The compatibility of the theory with the ideology of liberal progressivism and its ability to align itself with the increasingly powerful interests of the higher education industry were undoubtable factors in its attractiveness to the holders of research funds, quite apart from its intrinsic merits as an intellectual tool of analysis.

Despite its theoretical and emperical deficiencies, the influence of the human capital approach on social policy, as mentioned earlier, extended beyond the shores of capitalist countries into nations of the Third World. The nations of

the Third World, Schultz postulated, were poor not because of the structure of international, economic relations but because of their own internal deficiencies--notably their woeful lack of human capital. The same type of treatment which was given to the poor within the advanced countries was transferred to the poor nations of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. It was not conceived that conditions in these required radical structural changes. It was stressed that development was possible and would be ensured if only the poor and inadequate human resources were improved. Consequently, attention was focused on individuals rather than on the structural variables in which the source of the problems were to be found.

In spite of this success, in receiving the sponsorship of world organizations, the scientific value of the theory of human capital soon came to be questioned. Some of its most ardent critics were Bluestone (1972),[9] Thurow (1972),[10] Carter and Carnoy (1974)[11] and Boyles and Gintis (1975).[12]

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[9]Barry Bluestone, "Economic Theory and the Fate of the Poor," Social Policy 2 (Jan.-Feb. 1972), Chapter 18.

[10]Lester Thurow, "Education and Economic Equality," The Public Interest 28 (Summer 1972), Chapter 17.

[11]Michael Carter and Martin Carnoy, "Theories of Labour Markets and Worker Productivity," Discussion Paper. Palo Alto, California, Center for Economic Studies, August 1974.

[12]Samuel Boyles and Herbert Gintis, "The Problems with Human Capital--A Marxian Critique," American Economic Review 65 (May 1975), pp. 74-82.

The aspect of this theory which has been most criticized is its unrealistic assumptions that perfect competition in labour markets makes it reasonable to assume that greater earnings reflect greater productivity. These critics were emphatic in pointing out that in the real world, wages are not so determined. For example, Bluestone stresses that many other factors besides worker characteristics determine wages. Bluestone points out that, "the manpower training approach favoured by some economists as Schultz did not address itself to a crucial underlying problem--that the income attached to the low-paying jobs occupied by the substantial proportion of poor people who work full-time remain the same regardless of the human capital characteristics of the individuals holding them."[13]

Application of this theoretical framework to Third World countries very often led to diverse and unsuccessful results. For example, Foster[14] shows that the active sponsorship of technical and vocational education evoked little popular response in Ghana. Virtually uncontested when it burst on the scene in the early 60s, the human capital theory came under strong assault by the end of the decade. It was discredited because its policy failed both in the fight against poverty in the United States, as well

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[13]Ibid.

[14]Phillips Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning," in Anderson and Bowman, Education and Economic Development (Chicago: Aldine Press), 1966.

as in the fight to promote economic development in the Third World. In the face of strong criticism the theory could no longer (not that it really did in the first place) provide an adequate framework for understanding the relationship between education and the economy. It was, therefore, natural that a new line of argument would be advanced, not only to replace, but also to further discredit human resource proponents. Conflict theories supplied this new line of argument.

It was natural that conflict theories should have gained prominence in the 60s and 70s, because whereas the 50s could be regarded as the era when the dominant mood was social stability, "change and upheaval expressed the spirit of the 1960s."[15] There was strong advocacy against the traditional appeal of neutrality and a sense of urgency to find an argument powerful enough to convince people that our unfairly structured world needed changing not mere understanding. The availability of Marx and Weber provided a rich source of inspiration different from the conservative capitalistic orientations of functionalism and human capital theory. The works of sociologists and anthropologists such as Gluckman[16] and Dahrendorf[17] during the 1950s, set the

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[15]Karabel, J. & Halsey, A.H. Power and Ideology in Education, New York: Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 28.

[16]Max Gluckman, Custom and Conflict in Africa, London: Basil Blackwell, 1955.

[17]Ralph Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959.

stage for a heightening and sharpening of antagonism against class, racial and national injustice, that seems to have produced a new generation with a dramatically different social and political outlook.

Collins,[18] one of the chief proponents of conflict theory drew his inspiration from Max Weber's[19] work. One of Collins' major concerns has been to explain the rapid escalation of educational credentials and requirements. Collins draws from Weber the notion that education serves to reinforce "status cultures" by identifying "insiders" and posing barriers to "outsiders." The center of this status-based conflict over education lies in the labour market where organizations use educational requirements to allocate people to jobs with varying rewards. When education is viewed in this light, it appears that in the final analysis struggles over educational requirements are nothing more than conflicts between superordinate groups trying to monopolize positions of privilege, and subordinate groups trying to gain access to them. As the dominant groups in the society raise educational requirements higher in order to reinforce their privileged position, groups of lower social status demand access to more education. As a result,

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[18]Randall Collins. "Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification," American Sociological Review 36 (Dec. 1971), Chapter 4.

[19]Max Weber, "Selections on Education and Politics," in Education: Structure and Society, ed. by B. R. Cosin, Middlesex, Peng. 1972, pp. 211-241.

there ensues an educational spiral resulting in educational expansion but not necessarily in technical development. In other words, there is structural change without technical development. If Collins' theory is true, this points to the educational system as a crucial agent in the differential socialization of school children by status groups or origin.

Bowles and Gintis interpret conflict theory from a Marxist perspective. They look first to the character of the forces and social relations of production for a key to the analysis of education systems. Much of their work is devoted to showing that the education system is a crucial element in the reproduction of a division of labour that is itself largely a reflection of the hegemony of the capitalist class. The centrality of the education system in reproducing a system of inequality favourable to capitalist interests makes the schools an arena of class conflict. in support of their Marxist position, Bowles and Gintis postulate that it is impossible to understand the workings of the educational system independently of an analysis of the class structure in which it is embedded. Consequently, the nexus uniting the three institutions--family, work, and school--forms the basis for their theory of the role of education in the reproduction of the social division of labour. They feel that the work place is the ultimate decisive member of the triumvirate. They point to position in the authority structure at the work place as the source of differing values constitutive of class sub-cultures.

Unlike, for example, Kohn,[20] who sees this difference as one of middle-class self-direction and working class conformity, Bowles and Gintis see it as internalized norms reflecting the demands of their positions in the hierarchy of production.[21]

Bowles and Gintis have also applied conflict theory to an area of acute ideological controversy in education--the I.Q. Deficit Theory and the explanation of class and racial inequalities. In attacking what they term the "technocratic-meritocratic" concept of the hierarchical division of labour, they argue that cognitive abilities as measured by I.Q. are not a crucial determinant of economic success. In opposition to genetic explanations of social inequality such as those postulated by Jensen,[22] and Eysenck,[23] they present an analysis which shows the role of I.Q. in intergenerational transmission of inequality to be trivial. They argue that cognitive factors play a minor role in the allocation of individuals to positions in the class structure. More important, they argue, are the non-cognitive personality

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[20]Melvin L. Kohn, Class and Conformity: A Study in Values, Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1969.

[21]Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life. New York: Basic Books, 1976.

[22]Arthur Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement?" Harvard Educational Review 39 (Winter 1969), pp. 1-123.

[23]Hans Eysenck, Race, Intelligence, and Education. London: Temple Smith, 1971.

factors that are necessary for the proper performance of tasks at a given level in the hierarchy of the social relations of production.[24] If Bowles and Gintis are correct, then schools which show favouritism--treat students of varying social origins differently--are guilty of reinforcing those class-based personality traits that help to maintain the status quo. Therefore, those factors, much more than cognitive differences, explain why the children of the privileged tend to occupy the higher positions in the social division of labour.

In essence, therefore, the fundamental differences between the earlier theories and Marxist-oriented conflict theory is that while functionalists, for example, take for granted that the superior technical knowledge of highly schooled individuals is responsible for their higher earnings, Marxist-oriented conflict theorists conclude that cognitive differences offer at best only a partial explanation for their visible superior status, and point instead to class-based personality factors. It can also be argued that where functionalists have provided a description of the relations existing between the educational system and other social institutions, conflict theorists have advanced an explanation as to why these relations exist in the first place, and how they change or are changed over time.

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[24]Herbert Gintis, "Education and the Characteristics of Worker Productivity," American Economic Review 61 (May 1971), pp. 266-279.

Another striking difference is that, where functionalists have tended to look at the socialization process as one that generalizes those common values that hold a society together, neo-Marxists and neo-Weberians have examined the interests that underlie these values and have noted that socialization differs systematically according to social class. Finally, where functionalists have quite often viewed the educational system as offering opportunities for mobility for individuals, conflict theorists have generally emphasized the role of education in maintaining a system of structured social inequality.

Conflict theory has gained much popularity and is progressively extending its influence among educational researchers. It is important to note that the theory has engendered the emergence of radical academic journals, for example, the Review of Radical Political Economics and the Insurgent Sociologist, which spread the views of conflict theorists. But what, however, is most striking is that conflict theorists have not really generated much new data. It is the same old information which was available to earlier theorists, but under Weberian and Marxist interpretations, these have taken on new dynamism.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION AND THIRD WORLD DEVELOPMENT

Within the framework of this broad outline of the field, I will be concerned with the problem of the role of education in developing countries; or what can more broadly be referred to as the problem of education and social

change. In the early phase of the modernization and development literature, which was dominated by Structural Functional Theory, the role of education was conceptualized in a number of ways. These can briefly be summarized as:

(1) Education and Economic Development,

(2) Education and Modernization,

(3) Education and Values and Social Change,

(4) Education and Political Development.

Most discussions of effective meaningful change in society often end up discussing education. This is so because many people often conceptualize education as a panacea for the problems of society. This assumption, however, not only oversimplifies the magnitude and complexity of societal problems, but also grossly exaggerates the potency of education as an agent of change. Indeed education sometimes acts as an impediment to social change. In any event, when education does cause change, its influence is in competition with other agents of change. Consequently, the changes are often indirect, complex, and subtle.

On the other hand, theoretical positions emphasizing the importance of education are not entirely without merit. In fact, these approaches resulted in significant programs of development because the widespread belief that education is a primary avenue towards the achieving of industrialization. Consequently, both technologically developed and Third World Countries have designed their educational

programmes to achieve certain economic goals. Increased educational facilities for its population has been a major goal of every country seeking to enhance the productivity of its people. In this respect education has, therefore, become one of the major areas of investment for economic development.

One should, however, be aware of the fact that the relationship of education to social change is not exclusively concerned with economic development because all facets of the social structure are intimately related to education. The political, religious, and familial institutions of our society, our systems of stratifying people into social classes, social mobility, and our opportunity structures are clearly related to our educational system. The paradox, however, is that the educational system can simultaneously function both to preserve and/or modify all aspects of the social structure.

In discussing the effects of education on social change, there are two important principles which should not be overlooked. First is the principle that rates of social change vary greatly from one society to the other. For example, in highly isolated societies the rate of social or cultural change is relatively slow because there is little opportunity to receive information and resources from other cultures. In contrast, societies having ready access to the ideas and materials of others through trade, travel, and rapid communication change more rapidly.

The second principle concerns the difference in the rates of change in the different segments of society. Differential rates are more likely to be found in rapidly developing societies. Customarily, material things such as tools and machinery and the techniques associated with them are discarded more rapidly than the non-material such as family structure, religion, government, and other normative aspects of the social structure. This is evident in industrialized countries such as the United States and Canada, where much value is placed on new mechanical devices. But, conversely, there is not only a great reluctance to accept the new in family, religions, and government institutions, but there is pressure against doing so. What we find, therefore, is that there is a tendency to foster differences by accelerating change in some areas and retarding change in others.

On the other hand, efforts to prevent change in one area of the society and foster change in another have not been very successful because of the interrelatedness of all institutions. We cannot, for example, accelerate changes in tools, machines, and gadgets without producing related modifications in the structure of our social order and our beliefs and values. All facets and features of society are functionally interrelated, and this includes education. Schools are established by society and as such they are a part of the total social system; therefore, we must examine the educational system within the context of the total society.

Although the belief that education can and does serve as an agent of change is well established, we in fact have only limited knowledge of how or under what conditions it serves this function. The diverse and complex nature of the relationship between education and change in other areas of society makes it extremely difficult for one to analyze or to determine the precise nature of the relationship. As we have already stressed, the educational system is constantly interacting with all other aspects of the society. In this respect, education is, therefore, only one of many variables which interact to produce social change. The concept of education as producing or impeding social change is made problematic by the fact that the educational system is itself a part of the society which it is changing. Consequently, the real issue is one of the actual interrelationship between educational institutions and other aspects of the society.[25] It appears that in spite of all the arguments and suggestions, we still do not have all the tools for analyzing how education affects--positively or negatively--social change. This does not, however, mean that things should be held in abeyance until we can be absolutely sure that we have gathered all the tools, because we can at present identify several factors which are important to our understanding of the problem.

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[25]Olive Banks, The Sociology of Education. London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1968.

EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The extent to which the population of a society is educated has been linked to its productivity by the human capital theorists. While it is clear that levels of education and economic productivity are correlated, the reasons for this correlation are not clear. Bowman maintains that "the world-wide emphasis on education both as an instrumental variable in public policy oriented to growth and as a national prestige symbol is a situation in which schooling must almost inevitably lead economic development rather than following upon it."[26] The emphasis upon education is developing nations may, therefore, create a situation in which the educational level increases before changes in economic productivity occur. In fact, there may be several intervening variables, or both the development of education and productivity may result from a common set of variables which are characteristic of developing societies.

Whatever the case at this time, the evidence which supports a primary role for education in economic development remains slim and confused. What is even more disconcerting is that this concept can lead to misplaced efforts and destructive frustrations in countries that can ill afford either. Since poor countries cannot afford to invest as much in education as rich countries,

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[26]Mary Jean Bowman and C. A. Anderson, "The Human Investment Revolution in Economic Thought," Sociology of Education, Vol. 39, No. 2, 1966, pp. 111-137.

"They have, therefore, to establish priorities in terms both of quality and quantity."[27]

Although there have been many studies of the relationship of investment in education to economic growth, it is noticeable that most of these have been made in highly developed nations. For example, Schultz's Human Wealth Hypothesis, was tested by studies done in the United States. Prof. Schultz is quite clear and emphatic about his pragmatic belief in high priority for increasing investment in education. He cites various bits of evidence to support his belief. However, his primary argument focuses on research priorities and analytical methods that would test its validity. He urges the use of a human capital concept and the analysis of investments in education as "Human Capital Formation."

Another important piece of work which stresses the importance of education as a development priority was done by Alfred Sauvy.[28] Sauvy arrives at a high priority rating for education by a process of deductive reasoning that starts with the objective of assimilation of young people into the main-stream of the economy. In trying to establish this argument, he challenges a number of things; for

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[27]W. Arthur Lewis, "Education and Economic Development," Social and Economic Studies (Jamaica), Vol. 10, 1961, pp. 113-129.

[28]Alfred Sauvy, "Education and the Economic Assimilation of Youth," Readings in the Economics of Education, UNESCO, 1968.

example, Malthusian fears of population surplus and disregard of complementarities in demands for human skills. Sauvy shows a vivid imagination by extending time horizons, and then he goes on to argue the importance of building up the stock of human productive capacities for the future. Although he differs from Schultz in the manner in which he conceptualizes cost returns in his treatment of the "consumer" or cultural components of schooling, they both stress the fundamental view of education as an economic investment that augments a society's stock of human productive resources.

Arthur Lewis approaches the concept of education and economic development from quite a different standpoint. His careful analysis of criteria of resource allocation among levels of education by stage of development, looking especially to Africa with Jamaica as a case for comparison. Lewis claims that, from the standpoint of economic development, there are two types of education--one which increases economic productivity, this he terms investment education. The other type--consumption education, he claims does not increase productivity. In this respect, he claims it is imperative that poor countries should decide not only how much money will be spent on education but on what type of education it will be spent.

A surplus of highly educated personnel with advanced degrees in social science, for example, concurrently with a shortage in clerical and agricultural workers has led

manpower specialists to be critical of the types of education emphasized in traditional societies. The assumption is that if the proper number of people were given appropriate type of education, maximum level of employment and thus productivity could be achieved. This has generally resulted in the advocacy of more vocational and technical education and less higher education is the non-technical fields. It was also assumed that people educated in specific vocational or technical fields will be employed in these needed occupations. However, the Foster[29] study of Ghanian education led to a widespread questioning of this assumption. Foster found that many vocationally trained individuals were not engaged in the specific occupations for which they were trained, but rather were employed in clerical and commercial jobs where there was great demand and higher pay.

EDUCATION AND MODERNIZATION

Many different terms have been used to characterize the economic and technological developments of industrialized nations. One commonly used symbol for such developments is the term "modernization" or "modern." Nations which are identified as emerging or developing are commonly referred to as "modernizing" nations. The idea behind the typical

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[29]Phillips Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning," in Anderson and Bowman, Education and Economic Development (Chicago: Aldine Press), 1966.

application of the term "modernization" to a developing society is the belief that the society is emerging from a more traditional state into a more valued "modern" condition. The idea that all new economic, political and social developments are progressive is not easily agreed upon by most scholars of social change. What is progress to one may not be progress to another.

Further, analysis of modernization also reveals that the concept is often applied and limited to economic developments. The notion that progress is attached to certain economic developments may be appropriate, particularly when they are viewed as a society's achievement of planned economic goals. In this way, the increased production of goods and services to satisfy the rising needs or wants of a society may be viewed as progress. By the same token, any increases in pollution and health hazards which may be undesired outcomes of the same increased production would not be considered progress. Possibly it would be best to consider progress as an evaluation of the outcomes of productivity or modernization which may or may not be appropriate depending upon one's focus.

Although economic variables were emphasized in the early characterizations of development, other examples soon became integral parts of the attempt to the development process. Among the first sociologists to suggest new

variables was Lerner.[30] The variables suggested were the spatial mobility of population, the associated willingness to move, and appreciation of life in other locations. Traditional societies have been characterized by residence in relatively isolated villages with limited stock of knowledge and simple means of communications. The members of societies have seldom migrated very far beyond local community boundaries. Modern societies, on the other hand, are characterized by high mobility rates, large stock of knowledge and extensive contacts with the world outside their local communities of residence. Mobility in highly industrialized societies involves movement from one industrialized center to another.

In the modernization process, it is characterized by mobility from rural village to urban centers. The patterns of mobility and industrialization, of course, are highly associated with the process of urbanization, since sources of power, patterns of trade, and factory systems of mass production concentrate populations in urban centers.

Closely associated with the whole movement to urban centers and knowledge of the other societies is the use of communication media other than that of face-to-face group interaction. In traditional societies the communication is almost exclusively based on face-to-face personal relationships. Modernization, according to Lerner, is much more

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[30]Lerner, David, The Passing of Traditional Society, New York: The Free Press, 1958.

dependent on the mass media for communication with those outside the immediate primary group. The modernization process, therefore, is associated with an increase in literacy. It is at this point that Lerner thinks that the educational system makes a vital contribution to the modernization process. This is in contrast to human capital theorists.

Brookover and Erickson[31] think that there are other concomitants of modernization. For example, as people have become more urbanized and mobile, and as their communication and knowledge of the outside world have increased, changes in the traditional family structure also occur. Women are more likely to participate in economic and political activities. The attitude of people toward change and their ability to see themselves in new roles and new situations develop through the expanded interactions which people have. Both Lerner and Brookover emphasize the fact that the whole process of education and human existence are so interwoven and complex that the function of education in modernization will entail correlation with other factors.

EDUCATION, VALUES AND SOCIAL CHANGE

It is generally accepted that the transmission of the values of the society is a function of the educational system. However, it is noticeable, as Banks suggests, that

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31Wilbur B. Brookover and Edsel L. Erickson, Sociology of Education, Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1975.

schools tend to create a mental set for change by introducing new needs and expectations. Brookover and Erickson feel that the effect of education may be greatly modified by the value which the society places on change and stability.

In the industrialized nations, society values change in technology very highly, and such values are related to the whole notion of progress or retardation in affluence and comfort of living. In these circumstances, education is valued as a means of promoting progress. In other societies, the norms relevant to the processes of change are drastically different. For example, Myrdal states that "Many South Asians commonly accept hardships and inconveniences with a belief, often fostered in schools, that one should 'make do' with what is available."[32] It is obvious that if an educational system transmits the norms and values of accepting a situation as it is, the status quo is much more likely to be maintained than if progress is promoted. In short, education is affected by and in turn affects the whole complex of norms and values associated with change in the society.

There is evidence that the social effects of education relative to values and change vary with religious sponsorship or control of schools. In societies with strong and socially dominant religious forces operation to control

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[32]Gunnar Myrdal, The Asian Drama, Vol. 3, New York: Pantheon, A Division of Random Hours, 1968.

education, there is a tendency to use schools to foster or retard changes in values. In other words, where the educational system is greatly influenced by religion, there is a greater tendency towards cultural transmission rather than transition. Conservative education is preferred to liberal or radical. Armer and Youtz,[33] for example, found that years of education in Muslim schools were negatively associated with individual modernity in northern Nigeria.

It should not, however, be taken for granted that religious groups are always averse to cultural transition, or changes in values. Many religious groups in both eastern and western societies have sponsored educational programmes to foster major changes in their society. For example, Myrdal also points out that Buddhism encouraged revolt against the caste system in India.

When demands are placed on shcools as a result of, for example, shifts in economic priorities, it is reasonable to expect that there will be groups who will attempt to adapt their school to those outside pressures. Brookover and Erickson refer to this as the adaptive functions of education. They cite the shift in science and mathematics education in the United States after Sputnik, to illustrate the school's adaptation to their environment.

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[33]Armer, Michael and Robert Youtz, "Formal Education and Individual Modernity in African Society," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 76, No. 4 (Jan. 1971), pp. 604-626.

There are, however, more subtle ways in which schools adapt to shifts in values and other cultural changes in society. Numerous changes in educational activities are made to help the schools adapt to external changes. One of the interesting but nevertheless frustrating aspects of the way individuals adapt to pressures is to create images of change without initiating any real change. In this respect, sometimes we find school systems reorganizing with very little change in outcome.

Educational systems evade pressures sometimes by indicating that they have changed when in fact it is buusiness as usual. But on the other hand, schools cope or adapt themselves to their environment sometimes by making "real" changes and sometimes merely giving illusions of change. Brookover and Erickson believe that, sometimes people might think that the school has tried but failed to achieve some community ideal when in fact the school has not tried.

The role of education in the development of modern nations involves changing individuals' attitudes and values. However, the exact nature of the personal qualities which characterize modern man have not been fully identified, but Inkles[34] has identified a set of seven personal qualities that fit a theoretical concept of modern man. These are all

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[34]Inkles, Alex, "Making Men Modern: On the Causes and Consequences of Individual Change in Six Developing Countries," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 75, No. 2 (1969), pp. 208-225.

associated with related characteristics of modern societies and are clearly interrelated and associated with the attitudes, values, and behavior of the people in society. One hypothesis concerning this ralationship holds that different types of education differently affect such attitudes and values. Educational programmes designed to perpetuate traditional beliefs, attitudes, and values are very unlikely to produce modern societies.

EDUCATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

When we think of education in relationship to politics, it is important that we think on two levels. First we should think of the politics of the state, and then the politics of education. Scotter, Kraft and Haas define state politics as "the acquisition and effective use of power."[35] The dynamics of the political process does not, however, occur only within the rules and constraints of the broad policies of the state, but it also occurs within those areas where it may be considered legitimate to use power to achieve goals. Applied to education, this can, and has been shown to amount to control and dispensing of resources to further the aims of interested groups within the society.

Continuing this line of argument, Scotter, et al., go on to point out that educational politics is "that process by which educational values (or resources) are distributed

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[35]Scotter, R. D., Kraft, J., Haas, J. D., Foundations of Education, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1979.

(or allocated) within a society by the legitimate uses of power through govermental action."

In the second definition, the emphasis must be on the phrase "legitimate use of power," because these words force us to think of the subjective nature of the word legitimate. If it is true that the dynamics of politics can be subjectively and selfishly applied to education, then it is possible for education to become the tool of the political organization. In other words, education for political development can become education for political indoctrination.

Brookover and Erickson think that direct political action is one of the most important forces shaping a school's responses to its environment.[36] They contend that as power in the society becomes centralized in the government, increasingly the school is likely to act in the interest of that institution. While this appears to be true, it must be remembered that the government in any society is generally an arena in which many contesting forces vie for power. Consequently these bureaucratic groups with vested interests in government often do not agree on how education should be administered. In this respect it appears that schools will never totally be free of external forces. Brookover and Erickson, however, believe that schools in those nations in which there are

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[36]Brookover, W. B., Erickson, E. L., Sociology of Education, Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1975.

many divergent political forces will enjoy a greater degree of freedom than schools in nations where power is concentrated in one group.

Other writers on education and politics, for example, Coleman,[37] try to link political development with per capita investment in education. Similar views are held by Lerner[38] and Apter.[39] Coleman maintains that the more educationally advanced a society is, the more likely it is to be a politically democratic society. He observes that countries with more schooling per capita are also more likely to have Western-style democracies; i.e., free elections and representative government. Coleman, therefore, concludes that raising the average level of schooling in a society will automatically create more democratic institutions.

It is possible that this may occur when more schooling per capita is accompanied by other changes. For example, if investment in physical capital is accompanied by increasingly equitable distributions of wealth and income. These factors do not necessarily follow from higher schooling expenditure, because it can be seen that in many countries increases in schooling have not led to increase in so-called western democracy.

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[37]Coleman, J. S., Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

[38]Lerner, Daniel, The Passing of Traditional Society, New York: The Free Press, 1958.

[39]Apter, D. E., The Politics of Modernization, Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1965.

Events have clearly challenged Coleman's assumption. In the first place democratic institutions, as we know them, have undergone such radical transformation in some societies that it would be sheer nonsense on our part not to recognize that they have become something else. For example, how should we regard a country like India, where the spirit of representative government is embedded in a Congress party so much larger than the opposition.

In fact, recent educational changes in Cuba give the lie to Coleman's postulations. Plant[40] points out that between 1950 and 1959 American investment in Cuba rose from $624 to $955 million, and Cuba had the highest per capita income in any country in Latin America. However, because of the unhealthy imbalance in the spread of wealth, intense poverty, unemployment, and a decline in education existed. This deterioration was in part responsible for the revolution in 1958-59. Plant, as well as Bowles,[41] point out that the revolution has brought about significant changes in education. This writer sees educational development in Cuba since the revolution as highly instructive for Third World nations.

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[40]Plant, John, Cuba and the United States: Long Range Perspectives, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1967.

[41]Bowles, S., "Cuban Education and the Revolutionary Ideology," Harvard Educational Review, 41, No. 4, November, 1971, P. 474.

THE JAMAICAN SITUATION

Jamaican education before the 1950s cannot, with any degree of accuracy, be placed in any theoretical framework. The colonial governments in Jamaica seemed to have had only one clear idea about education, i.e., it should not bring about any appreciable change in the lives of the common man. Consequently, what was given as education cannot really be cast in any sociological framework prior to the 1950s.

The decade of the 50s is a meaningful one for Jamaica. The country had been granted universal adult sufferage and semi-representative government during the previous decade. The opposition party in the government was clamouring for independence from Britian, while the conservative ruling party was trying its best to keep the country firmly tied to the "apron string of the mother country." It was not surprising, therefore, that when Parson postulated his theory of structural Functionalism, Britian saw this as a very applicable theory for agitating colonial people. Functionalism, both structural and functional, because it places great emphasis on consensus and equilibrium in society, found support among the British, and British "trained" Jamaican educators. Since Jamaican education was always plagued by insufficient funds, the policy makers were not really concerned that functionalism could not really answer the economic question relative to expenditure in education. Without any commitment to functionalism they, therefore, capitulated to the new Human Capital Theory. As

in many other Third World countries, Jamaican educators did not even stop to analyze the Human Capital Theory before accepting it. If they had, then they would have seen that it was a case of "swapping black dog for monkey."[42]

Human Capital Theory was not really much different from Functionalism. Both theories stressed the technical function of education in the development and use of human resources. Human Capital theory however, injected a new dimension into this concept, i.e., poorly developed human resource was that way because the fault for their poor development was inherent. The theory was effective in accounting for the poor in capitalist countries, consequently it did not only receive much support in these countries, but they campaigned for its adoption by Third World Countries.

Jamaican educators were willing participants. They were converted or coerced through international conferences, sponsored publications, foreign consultants, or conditions for obtaining financial aid. Economists who postulated the Human Capital Theory were presented as saviors to Third World Countries. In Jamaica for example, T.W. Schultz's "The Economic Value of Education" became the bible of the Ministry of Education.

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[42]Jamaican term, which means an even exchange.

Towards the end of the decade of the 60s the opposition party in the government was actively campaigning against the educational policy of the government. Politicians like Michael Manley, Eric Bell, Eli Matalon and Florizel Glaspole were loud in pointing out that Human Capital Theory, as postulated by the economists had a major flaw when applied to Third World Countries. Its assumption that perfect competition in labour markets makes it reasonable to anticipate that greater earnings reflect increased productivity, and consequent greater social mobility, was greatly critized. For example, Michael Manley at almost every public function at which he spoke during this period, stressed the fact that in spite of what the government was saying that education was accomplishing, the income gap between the "haves and the have-nots" in Jamaica was widening instead of narrowing, for the simple fact that the income attached to low paying jobs had not changed over the years. In other words, regardless of the characteristics of the individuals holding these jobs, because the jobs were conceived as low status jobs from colonial days, the pay remained the same. For example, household helpers who were now graduates of secondary schools, and trade training centers, were receiving almost the same pay that their counterparts received before and during the 50s. It was not surprising that as soon as the socialist party under Michael Manley took office in 1972 they adopted a new approach to education.

As in many other developing countries, the spirit of the 70s in Jamaica was one of hope and great expectations. The people had dispensed with a government whose primary objective was social stability. The new government was an advocate of change--change that would significantly affect the lives of working class people. It was natural, therefore, that Conflict Theory gained prominence during the period of Manley's government.

Many reforms in education were instituted during this period. For example, there was much democratization. Local school boards, and student councils were instituted to name only two; and the education system experienced some measure of decentralization. The most outstanding achievement of this period, however, was the new approach which the government brought to bear on the whole concept of the triumvirate of family-work-school. The country started seeing education in a new light, it started to see work in a new light, and for the first time in Jamaica the common man started to see himself as an important member of the Jamaican society. Because of the emphasis placed on the dignity of work, during this period Jamaicans discarded much of the colonial divisive attitude towards education and work.

In 1980, the socialist party of Manley was defeated at the poles, and the conservative Jamaica Labour Party under Edward Seage once more became the government. Since 1980, Jamaica seems to be going through an educational interregnum. The country has changed some seven ministers of

education, teachers appear to have lost respect and confidence in the administrators of education, schools are being closed for lack of equipment; in other words, education seem to lack clear cut direction. One cannot with any degree of accuracy place Jamaican education policy as it is today in any theoretical category. If one should hazard a guess, however, it would seem to be a mixture of Parson's functionalism, Schultz' human capital theory, and a confusion between Arthur Lewis' investment and consumption education. In other words, since 1980 Jamaican education has been steadily deteriorating because the government seem not to be able to chart a clear-cut theoretical course. Government has been giving lip service to the concept of human development but at the same time it is doing everything to stifle change. In fact the government since 1980 has done more to retard than to enhance change in the Jamaican society. As it stands today, it appears that the educational administrators need to formulate a clear policy which will put an end to the waste of human resources. In other words, the country must transform its under developed secondary school graduates into assets for economic and social development.

The major complaint of all employers in Jamaica today is the low level of literacy and numeracy of new secondary school leavers. When this is coupled with their poor work attitude, and low trainability level, it appears that a very

large percentage of Jamaican secondary school leavers fall well below the level required by the productive sectors of the Jamaican economy.

In order to comprehend the seriousness of this situation, and to fully appreciate its implications for Jamaica in the 21st century, it is important to give an historical perspective of the Jamaican society.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE JAMAICAN SOCIETY

JAMAICA IN THE AGE OF EXPLORATION

Like the rest of the western hemisphere, Jamaica was discovered during that period, termed the age of discovery; the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. During this period, explorers set out on expeditions that led them to the geographical limits of the known world. They were not content with sketching the outlines of the inhabited world, these men also established national outposts almost everywhere they landed.

Settlements were necessary because the interest was not in discovery per se, but rather, it was discovery with the intention of acquiring for their particular countries areas that were known or believed to be of economic importance. Precious metals and lands were the main sources of wealth and power, so the seizure and exploitation of new lands generally offered fortunes for those who could find them.

The economic success of the colonies of Spain and Portugal, especially those in the Canary Islands in the fifteenth century, encouraged the search for more lands still further removed from the known continents. Trade, particularly of the long-distance type, was not as sure, hence a less attractive way to new wealth, however, when successful it was extremely lucrative.

Precious commodities from the east exchanged for staples from the west brought great wealth to those who risked investment. Two large-scale oceanic trades, the westward trade of Spain and the eastward trade of Portugal, arose during the sixteenth century. These were national in character; they were established by governmental decree and guarded by naval force. Most of the explorations by other nations during the century were inspired by the hope of breaking or circumventing one or the other of these monopolies. Of the two, Spain's was the greater in both bulk and value. It was within its empire -- the first in the New World, that the fortunes of Jamaica was originally cast. The island's pattern of economic and social development was thus established at the very beginning of her modern historical life.

The early years of the seventeenth century, marked the start of intense rivalry among the major European powers, Spain, France, England and Holland, for control of lands in the Caribbean area. This scramble resulted in what Bacchus[1] termed the "political balkanization" of the region. The conflicts between them, especially England and Spain, and to a lesser extent, France, were reflected in the early history of Jamaica.

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[1]M. K. Bacchus

1980: Education For Development or Underdevelopment. Wilfred Laurier University Press, Ontario, Canada

This competition for new lands was motivated by the mercantile philosophy which was predominant in Europe at that time. The belief then was that power bred wealth, and command of the high seas and key geographical possessions overseas was imperative if the power and wealth of the mother country was to be protected. In 1835, Martin[2] tried to give a classification of colonies according to their importance to the mother country. The criteria used were territorial expansion, commercial value, and maritime position. Jamaica was described as combining all three.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE JAMAICAN SOCIETY

The island of Jamaica, the third largest of the West Indian Islands, after Cuba and Hispaniola, lies in the heart of the Caribbean, 111 miles south _____ of Florida, 100 miles west of Haiti, and 90 miles south of Cuba. It's approximate area of 4,500 square miles, supports a population of approximately 3,000,000. The climate is subtropical, a land of warm weather without the extremes of climate experienced on the mainland of the United States of America. There is really no winter in Jamaica because the temperature very rarely ever falls below 60°F. Hills and mountains form the backbone of the island, ranging from the

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[2]R. M. Martin

1835: The British Colonies, Their History, Extent, Condition and Resources. Vol. 1 London and New York: J. & F. Tallis

gentle sloping Cockpit Mountains in the west, to the high rugged John Crow, Bull Head and Blue Mountains is the east.

From the central highlands, the island slopes gradually into forested mountainsides, hillsides cultivated with banana, plantain, citrus, and yams, and then into undulating plains with waving sugarcane, and grazing cattle. The beaches of Jamaica are among the finest in the world, and they provide one of the main attractions for a booming tourist industry. Jamaica is basically an agricultural country; her main economic crops are sugar, banana, citrus, ginger, coffee, pimento, and coco. The chief mineral found in Jamaica is bauxite, and since the development of this industry, it has become the island's number one export. Marble is also mined, but this is in very small quantity. Iron ore has been located in certain areas, but not in sufficient quantity or richness to make mining economically viable. At present extensive drilling for oil is being done in different areas of the island.

The island became known to Europeans in 1494 when Christopher Columbus landed on the northern shore. The spot where he landed was later named Discovery Bay. Columbus came into contact with natives who were of the same type as those he met in Cuba and Hispaniola. These original inhabitants of Jamaica were at a level of development anthropologists refer to as the Polished Stone Age. They were called Tainos, and were regarded as a branch of the Arawaks.

In 1510, the Spaniards started their first permanent settlement in Jamaica. The then governor, Juan de Esquibel, founded the town of Seville on the spot where Columbus has landed. In 1515, under another governor, Francisco de Garay, Jamaica started to export foodstuffs and hemp. Thus, very early in her recorded history, Jamaica started the kind of export economy that was destined to become the life-line of her existence throughout the centuries.

Jamaica was not an attractive area for Spanish settlement from an economic point of view. Mining of precious metals was the primary concern of Spain in the New World, consequently the mainland with its gold and silver attracted most of the early Spanish settlers.

During the seventeenth century, Spain developed a vast colonial empire; this earned her the envy of all the other European nations who soon challenged, and tried to wrest some of her territories from her. It was an age of pirates and robbers. Armed aggression was the heart of commerce. Piracy and trade were practically synonymous, and there was no code of chivalry at sea. Nations were not averse to using rogues and pirates for their own advantage. In addition to being the age of pirates, this was also an age of privateers, and Jamaica's first contact with the European power that would dominate her for the longest period of time was through the English privateer, Sir Francis Drake. Drake arrived in the West Indies in 1585, and over a period of eighteen years, he launched private expeditions of organized

plunder. From these England profited immensely, and the then queen, Elizabeth I, and the government, encouraged rather then restrained Drake. In fact, he was knighted for his exploits.

In 1597, Anthony Shirley raided and occupied the only Spanish settlement of note on the island, Villa de la Vega. His men looted every available property of value; however, because there was not much of value, Shirley, driven by a domineering wife, returned to England. In 1603, a large joint force of English and French landed in Jamaica; however, this Anglo-French force was not really interested in conquest, so after taking all available food they left. Villa de la Vega was again raided in 1643 by William Jackson. Although Jackson's commission had the approval of the queen, he was more interested in privateering rather than military occupation, so he placed a price upon the town: 7,000 pieces of eight, 10,000 loaves of cassava bread, and 200 heads of cattle.

The daring privateers virtually opened up the Caribbean area for England. Up to 1580, English ships were rarely seen in the area, but by 1600, they were common. With this came great improvement in shipping and seamanship. Knowledge of the ocean and its shores, and mastery of the organization and conduct of large long-distance expeditions were skills of vital importance for the period of settlement and colonization that were to create a British Empire in the West Indies in the seventeenth century.

It was in England rather than in Spain that the economic argument of permanent settlement in the colonies was now heard. The Spanish pattern of conquest, trading post, and stockade was not followed by England. English leaders perceived that colonies would enrich the crown and also English merchants and manufacturers by serving as a market for English products. It was also conceptualized that colonies would also serve as a source of commodities that were needed at home, or could be re-exported to the continent at higher prices. In this respect, the colonies would provide a lucrative trading asset.

Britain used different methods in her quest for colonies. One was to send people to unclaimed territories, establishing a kind of protectorate over the area in the name of the crown. St. Kitts in 1624, and Antigua in 1632, were settled in this manner. Another course that was adopted by England in her quest for colonies was the capture of the weaker links in the Spanish Empire. Under Cromwell's Western Design, Jamaica was captured in 1655, by Admiral Penn and General Venables, after they had failed to take Hispaniola. The Spaniards in Jamaica surrendered without a shot being fired, and the then governor, Don Arnaldo de Ysassi, left the island; ironically, only four miles east of the spot where Columbus landed 161 years earlier. However, bands of Spaniards and African slaves carried on a long period of guerrilla warfare.

Although disappointed at the failure of his Western Design, Cromwell was nontheless determined to change failure into success. An adequate population for repulsing would-be aggressors was imperative, so Cromwell marshaled the resources of the state to ensure the success of the Jamaican venture. More troops were sent out from England to reinforce the garrison, and soldiers were encouraged to settle. Grants of land were given out, mainly in fertile well watered areas. Other methods to augment the population were tried. Prisoners taken in Royalist uprisings were sent out from England as servants of the state. Cromwell also tried to recruit settlers from North America, and according to Hurwitz[3], some 300 did arrive. Settlers also arrived from Bermuda and Barbados.

Despite government propaganda and the promises of low taxation and virgin land, there was no wave of migration towards Jamaica. No flourishing tropical agricultural economy developed as was anticipated. However, there did emerge a flourishing commercial center, Port Royal, which later gained notority as the haunt of the buccaneers.

Privateering, conquest, and settlement, all helped to shape social life in Jamaica during the seventeenth century. Economic returns, while plentiful at times were not sustained. The mercantile design up to this point had not been

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[3]Hurwitz, S.J. & E.F.

1971: Jamaica, A Historical Portrait, Praeger Publishers, N.Y. P.127

realized, so it became clear that new methods would have to be tried. Two things were needed, a crop that was cheap and easy to produce and a large labour force that could work effectively under tropical climatic conditions. Sugar became the crop, and men and women from Africa provided the labour. Thus, African slavery and the plantation economy brought to a close the century of conquest and ushered in the era of settlement for Jamaica.

CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE

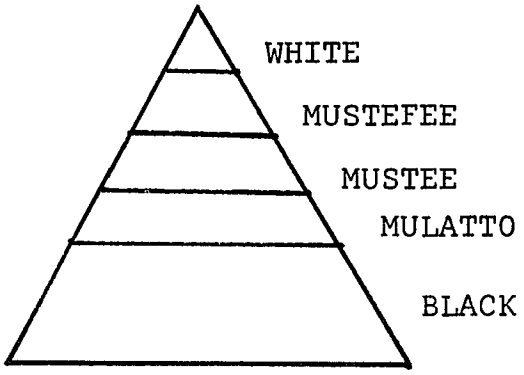
Spanish colonization gave way to British colonization when the island was captured by Britain in 1655. With the coming of the British, the number of African slaves on the island increased tremendously since there was greater urgency on the part of Britain to establish a strong colony in order to resist frequent raids by the recently deposed Spaniards. By this time, the indigenous people of Jamaica, the Tainos, were virtually extinct, so there were only two ethnic groups. A small European group in which ownership, authority and power were concentrated, and a very large African group which owned nothing, not even themselves.

The present racial mixture of the Jamaican population really started during the early period of British colonization. Because there were not many white women in Jamaica, it was not long before a third colour group was created. These people who were termed mulatto, were the offsprings of

black slave mothers, and white fathers. This group created a problem for the planter government since they were neither slaves nor free people, so in the course of time, the government passed the law of manumission declaring these people "free people of colour." This law signalled the start of what can be termed a "scramble for colour" in the Jamaican society.

The emphasis was on "upgrading the colour," in other words, mulatto women aspired to bear children for men who were lighter in colour, and the offsprings in turn aspired towards the same end, so before long a number of colour groups developed within the group of "free people of colour." The two extremes in pigmentation were black and white, so a colour continuum with the two races at the extremities evolved. The white end of the continuum was accepted as the good or desirable, because this was the end from which power and prestige eminated. The nearer to this end one fell, the more status he had. Conversely, the black end of the continuum was the bad or undesirable end, and the nearer in pigmentation one was to this end, the less status he or she had.

Henriques[4] defines the various colour groups as follows:



According to Henrique's description, Mustefees and Mustees to all appearance were white; the only noticable difference being the colour of the eyes. Henriques, however, failed to mention two other groups. Granted that these were not as numerous as the others, they were nevertheless products of the same inbreeding process. It is suspected that Henriques was not unaware of these people, but did not mention them because, in terms of prestige, they ranked lower than mulattos, so in fact, they did not enter the "colour scramble."

The larger of these two minor groups was the Sambo; these were the offsprings of mulatto and black. Sambo had the type of hair as mulatto, but the pigmentation was black. On the other hand, the other group had the pigmentation of mulatto but the hair texture was black. This group was

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[4]F. Henriques

1956: Family and Colour in Jamaica.
Eyre & Spottiwood, London.

referred to as Red-Ibo, which was regarded as a derogatory term. The most serious aspect of this color consciousness was that it filtered down among the slaves. Henriques pointed out that slaves who were selected for household work were generally those who were lighter in pigmentation. In essence, therefore, a color hierarchy also developed among the slaves.

Emancipation in 1838 resulted in an upward movement among the coloured group. Many inherited land and wealth, and since to all appearance they were white, they divested themselves of their black ancestry, and any aspect of the culture with the slightest trace of blackness. For the black population, emancipation was only a legal term because for them there was no social emancipation. In other words, after emancipation whites moved out, coloureds moved up, but blacks did not move at all.

After emancipation, the scramble for wealth and colour became even more marked. The result was a small rich white upper class, a wealthy, coloured middle class, and a very large black and poor lower class. Automatically, therefore, social class stratification was also economic as well as colour stratification.

A second type of inbreeding started among Africans and East Indians, and Chineese, who were brought in to supplement the African labour on the estates. The offsprings of

Africans and East Indians were referred to as "Coolie Royal"[5] and those of Africans and Chineese as "Chinee Royal." In terms of social status "royals" were regarded as "half breeds," who had very little social status. Derogatary terms such as "nowhereians,"[6] "nation"[7] and "Chinee-Nyam Dog,"[8] showed how the society perceived them.

In later years, however, as the Chineese started to gain economic strength, and with it a certain measure of prestige, the status of "Chinee-Royals" started changing. Viewed in another light, it could be conceptualized that the changing status of "Chinee-Royals" was not totally divorced from the colour consciousness which pervaded the society then. This idea seamed to gain support from the fact that as a group, the social status of "Coolie-Royals" lagged way behind that of "Chinee-Royals." Not necessarily because they were poorer, but because, by and large, they were darker, since it was noticed that the few "Coolie-Royals" who acquired early prestige were invariably of much lighter pigmentation.

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[5]The term Coolie was used exclusively to refer to East Indians.

[6]No-Whereians: This term showed the unspecific nature of the individual's ancestry.

[7]Nation: Term used to refer to individuals whose parents were "royals". Eg. A coolie-royal's father and a chinee-royal's mother.

[8]Chinee-Nyam-Dog: Chineese eat dog.

It was strongly believed that the early chineese in Jamaica ate the meat of dogs.

The fact that even long after emancipation the social stratification of the Jamaican society resembled that of the plantations during and just after slavery; gives an idea of rather lethargic nature of change. It was remarkable how the old patterns persisted. They persisted to the extent that up to 1962, Phillips[9] theorized that black college students in Jamaica all suffered from a feeling of inferiority. It was seen that more than a century after emancipation the "bosses" were still all white, holding all managerial and supervisory posts, living in geographically separate areas, from which the rest of the population was precluded, mixing socially only with one another, and having sexual relationships but not inter-marrying with anyone who, according to Henrique's scale, was ranked lower than mustee. In other words, an individual who could "pass for white." The "bossed," on the other hand, who were by far mainly black, were largely common labourers, and even on the plantations -- now termed estates, they never rose above the position of headman.

The persistence of this social structure was largely due to the amount of political power, and the influence which the white upper class had both locally and in the metropole. For example, their continued control of most of the good arable lands, even though in most cases these lands

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[9]A. S. Phillips: Self-Concept Among Teacher's College Students in Jamaica (Unpublished)

were under developed -- 50 heads of cattle grazing on 500 acres of good pasture lands. This was due to their power in the local legislature, coupled with their influence on the colonial administration. This facilitated the use of state apparatus to foster their own ends.

Another source of influence and mutual support were the churches, and later schools which helped in the "required" socialization of the population. The major aim of elementary schools was not to teach literacy per se, but rather to ensure that children were brought up in the christian faith. The hope was that the churches would help to socialize children into accepting their lowly position in society, the dominant position of the ruling class, and the superiority of European culture. As Smith[10] noted, "Schools and churches were held to be the best instruments for the tranformation of a rebellious slave population into a peaceful and obedient working class."

The Jamaican legislature did nothing to help the blacks, and in fact up to the late 1850's enacted legislations that were detrimental to their welfare. Most hated by the white ruling class, and the coloured middle class, were those blacks who had become independent farmers. Much of the legislations were specifically aimed against them.

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[10]R. T. Smith

1962: British Guiana, London, Oxford University Press, p145

Boats, canoes, horses, mules, and donkeys that were used to bring their produce to market or to work their land were taxed at rates that favoured the large planter over the small settler. A law gave the local authorities the right to kill any stray goats or pigs that were found wondering away from their owners. The term "wondering away from their owners" was never clearly defined, and hence was generally arbitrarily and subjectively interpreted. The Jamaican ruling class and their allies, the coloured middle class were strongly opposed to an independent black peasantry because they wanted a large pool of labour to work the estates, and to do other menial jobs. The larger the pool the lower the wages.

Nor did they want the black peasantry to share in the political life of the island. Taxes, for example, hereditaments, and poll, were made prerequisites for voting; these effectively excluded blacks from the franchise. A common fear and distrust of the black majority consolidated the white upper class and the coloured middle class. Likewise and factional disagreements between these two groups would be submerged in the face of the black threat. According to Herwitz, "Antagonisms between planter and merchant, city and country, northside and southside, were always submerged when it comes to dealing with the negro masses".[11]

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[11]Ibid.

THE DOMINANCE OF EUROPEAN CULTURE

One of the major characteristics of the Jamaican society, and for that matter, all West Indian societies, was the pervasiveness of the influence of European culture. By the middle of the nineteenth century the indigenous Arawak population was completely wiped out, consequently the society which developed was influenced only by two cultures, African and European. Since European culture was the culture of the ruling class some of the elements of African culture were assimilated into the dominant European culture resulting in what has been termed a creole culture. However, the dominance of European, or to be more precise, English culture remained in Jamaica, as in all other British West Indian colonies. According to Mintz, "the societies in the Caribbean are only superficially non-western, taking on their particularity precisely because they are in some ways, and deceptively, among the most western of all countries outside Western Europe."[12]

British influence was seen in dress, language, and in many of the values which the Jamaican society came to accept as worthwhile.

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[12]S. W. Mintz

1971: "The Caribbean as a Socio-Cultural Area," in Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean. Ed. by M. M. Horowitz, N.Y. American Museum of Natural History. P.18

In 1836 Sturge one of the Quakers who visited Jamaica wrote, "'ladies' who had toiled under a burning sun during the six days of the week attired on the seventh in silk stockings and straw-bonnet with parasol and gloves and the 'gentlemen' in black coats and fancy waistcoats".[13] If one can overlook the inuendo in this quote, then one can accept the measure of truth which it contains.

Fanon pointed out, what he termed, the difference in acculturation between Africans and West Indians. He wrote:

> "The West Indian was a Euroupean, a quasi metropolitan, not a Negro. Until 1939 the West Indian lived, thought, dreamed, composed poems, wrote novels exactly as a white man would have done...Before Cesaire, West Indian literature was a literature of Europeans. The West Indian indentified himself with the white man, adopted a white man's attitude, was a white man."[14]

It is obvious that Fanon is too general in his postulation, from the West Indian as well as from the African perspective. This however, can be pardoned because of the amount of truth which his observation contains.

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[13]Harvey, T. Sturge

1838: The West Indies in 1837
London, Hamilton, Adams & Co. P.84

[14]Frantz Fanon

1967: Towards the African Revolution
N.Y. Grove Press Inc. P.26

R. T. Smith writing about the creole societies in the West Indies observed:

> "The basic facts about a creole society are that it is rooted in the political and economic dominance of the metropolitan power, it was colour stratified, and was integrated around the conception of the moral and cultural superiority of things English."[15]

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND EDUCATION

The influence of social stratification on education engendered by the type of plantation system which persisted for a long time in Jamaica, affected not only the major function of education, but also the rate of increase in the provision of educational services. For example, the types of institutions that were established, and the content and nature of education offered in the schools.

The plantocracy and other members of the ruling class had a vested interest in retaining the essential characteristics of the plantation society with its rigid system of stratification. This could be seen from the efforts which they made to prevent the extension of education to the children of the slaves. The belief was that a literate slave population could not be easily kept in bondage, so

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[15] R. T. Smith

1967: "Social Stratification, Cultural Pluralism and Integration in West Indian Societies," in Caribbean Integration. Ed. by S. Lewis and T. G. Matthews, Rio Padras: University of Puerto Rico, P.234

they tried to thwart the efforts of the missionaries to teach, or even to christianize the black population. However, when it was seen that the British Government was adamant in its commitment to abolish slavery, the planter dominated government accepted the suggestion of the missionaries that education should be administered by the church. Hurwitz points out that the doctrine of brotherly love preached by the missionaries, and their belief in the equality of all men in the eyes of god were considered dangerous beliefs for the slaves to hold. Planters and overseers quickly came to distrust the missionaries. They were barred from preaching on many estates, and slaves were forbidden to go to the churches.[16]

For such a profound change to have taken place -- that the very people who were barred were not entrusted with the job of educating the people from whom they were barred, to have taken place the missionaries must have capitulated to the plantocracy and convinced the planters that education could become a valuable instrument for the socialization of the children of the ex-slaves; a means by which they could be taught to accept their roles as "hewers of wood," and "drawers of water," in a white dominated society.

The result was a rapid expansion of a church-controlled system of primary education. The curriculum content of these schools consisted basically of the three R's and

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[16]Hurwitz: Jamaica - A Historical Portrait. P.70

religious instructions, with the latter inextricably interwoven in the teaching of reading. The intent of these early efforts was to transmit those values which would make the ex-slaves voluntarily accept their position of subservience and become more productive labourers -- values such as honesty, hard work, obedience, respect for authority -- all of which were interpreted as developing a christian attitude towards life.

These efforts, however, were not completely successful in pacifying the black population, so instead of remaining as a servile labour force on the estates, most Blacks left the estates and established independent villages, termed "Free Villages" in the hilly regions of the island. They reverted to a kind of life reminiscent of their African origin. They planted food crops, reared domestic animals, and therefore developed a great sense of economic independence. They returned to work on the estates sometimes, but only to satisfy their immediate needs. Any black person who continued living or returned to live in the barracks provided for estate workers were referred to in the derogatory terms, "black coolie" or "barrack naga."[17]

Emancipated slaves in Jamaica also to a great extent, freed themselves from the brain-washing influence of the christian church and returned to the practice of African cult worship which was prohibited while they were slaves.

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[17]Naga: Coloquial for Negro.

Aspects of christian worship were incorporated into cult worship and vice versa so a kind Afro-Christian syncretism in their worship developed.

At first this mixture of African cult worship and Christanity was practiced only among working class people. These groups were led either by a man, termed shepherd or a woman termed a mother. Where the shepherd was married his wife would be the Mother-Leader. Mothers were not generally married, but if one was, her husband was not given any special status in the camp/church.

The congregation in these camps would sing christian hymns, but to a different tune from the tunes sung in the regular churches. They would beat drums, and dance to the rhythm while they make weird gutteral sounds. In the early days, all aspects of this form of worship was frowned on by middle and upper class Jamaicans. There have been changes over the years, however, and today it is not uncommon to find drumming and aspects of the dance being incorporated in even Anglican and Roman Catholic churches.

Another example of the black man using religion to free his mind is the Rastafarian Movement. Members of this movement who are termed Rastas or Rastafarians see Haile Selassie as the returned Messiah. Hurwitz states that as Selassie claims descent from Soloman and the ancient people of Israel and is known as the Lion of Judah, Rastafarians claim the same descent for all black people. They, like their Messiah, are among god's chosen people: And as their

savior resides in Africa, this is their Zion, rather than ancient Israel. Drawn from the depressed and lower classes, these Jamaicans have found a way of gaining self-esteem through a unique combination of both African and Western Traditions.[18]

The continued dominance of the ruling class and their supporters was due not only to their political power and influence but also to the general acceptance by the non-whites of the cultural, and moral superiority of the whites. The schools in Jamaica played an important part in passing on to the population a belief in the superiority of all things "white," especially all things English. The culture of all other groups was considered barbaric or superstitious, with the result that up to the late 1950's very little attempt was made to familiarize students in school with aspects of cultural heritage. The acceptance of the superiority of the English culture was also reflected in the fact that the curriculum content of the schools, especially secondary schools, was very often carbon copies of English schools.

The social structure of the society also had a direct influence on the educational aspirations of black people. The plantation mentality mitigated against, not only social mobility, but also against the desire for advanced education, possibly because the majority saw this as impossible.

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[18]Hurwitz: Jamaica - A Historical Portrait. PP.190-191.

Not only because secondary education cost money, but more so because it was seen as being beyond the capability of Blacks. The fact that only Whites and Coloureds were able to obtain secondary education gave legitimacy to job segregation. In other words, the possession of a secondary education was used to legitimize the status and income differences between the holders of different types of jobs. In many instances, this was also seen among individuals doing the same type of work.

The natural development was that the masses started to see education as an instrument through which their children could qualify for the more prestigeous jobs -- the white collar jobs. Education was, therefore, conceptualized as divisive -- something which when acquired would set the black person apart from other Blacks. Good examples of this were the few token black men who went to Oxford and Cambridge during these early days. They all returned to Jamaica more English than the English. This period could be termed the "age of the super-nigger."

The concept of the "super-nigger" grew out of a lack of secondary educational opportunity for the masses in Jamaica. Because the common black person had no hope of achieving any great degree of social mobility through education, the colonial government occasionally selected the token black person to be held up as inspiration to other blacks. The bottom line, however, is that these "tokens" were few and

far between. They were never selected on the same basis as other selectees from secondary schools; in fact they could not, since they were from two different educational worlds.

In spite of the fact that the selection of these "tokens" at times appeared patronizing, and many of them returned to Jamaica with an acute personality complex, some gave valuable service to Jamaica.

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN JAMAICA

The history of education in Jamaica will have to be accepted as commencing with the English period since the island has retained no trace of Spanish educational influence. As already noted, during this period the society was stratified according to colour which determined social, economic, and political status. The white minority population stood at the top of the social hierarchy while African slaves who formed the vast majority of the population stood at the bottom. As formal education was not considered necessary for slaves, the first schools were set up for white children. It was only when an attempt was made to convert the the slaves to Christianity that missionaries established schools for the teaching of scripture readings to slaves. As a result of the establishment of these schools, the missionaries were chosen to administer the Negro Education Grant. This was an annual grant of £30,000, to be used for the provision of elementary education for the recently freed slaves in the British West Indian islands. Jamaica's share of the grant was £7,500; this was based on the number of ex-slaves. This grant marked the first attempt at government level to provide elementary education for the masses. It is important to note that this grant was never intended to, and while it lasted, it was never used to provide any form of secondary education for the masses.

The early schools started by the missionaries were patronized by those whites who could not afford to send their children to England to be schooled. Since these schools were reported to be seldom of high order[1] sums of money were donated by planters for starting other schools. White[2] also reports that the earliest donation was made by one Raines Waites in 1694 for the establishment of schools in Clarendon and Manchester. Many of the older grammar schools had their genesis in such bequests throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Table I gives a list of some of these schools. The date, benefactor, the original school, and the schools which have survived are shown.

TABLE I

DATE	BENEFACTOR	ORIGINAL SCHOOL	SURVIVING SCHOOL
1721	Charles Drax	Drax Free School	Jamaica College
1730	Thomas Manning	Mannings High	Mannings High
1736	John Wolmers	Wolmers' High	Wolmers' High
1744	P. Beckford	Beckford & Smith	St. Jago High
1770	Martin Rusea	Rusea Free	Rusea's High
1797	Munroe	Potsdam	Munroe
1825	Dickenson	Malvern	Hampton

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[1]White, Millicent. A Short History of Education in Jamaica. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1977, p. 17.

[2]Ibid., p. 45.

The early benefactors of education in Jamaica were concerned with the education of free people, so the endowments were made for the benefit of the white population who lacked the financial resources to procure an English education. The schools were supposed to provide the white population with education similar to that available in England. The teachers were from England and the curricula of the schools were copied from English models.

After manumission, it was not long before the "free people of colour" had acquired so much wealth that the whites started fearing, not only their numerical, but also their economic strength. Wealthy "free people of colour," generally mustefee, mustee, and octuroons, aped the whites in almost everything they did. Many sent their children to England to be schooled, and those who could not, were able to secure entry in the established high schools. It is important to note that although these schools were established for the education of free people, it was not free people per se, because the bottom line for entry was not money but colour. Only white and those who could "pass as white" were accepted.

It was out of necessity, therefore, that another type of secondary school came into existence. Many "free people of colour" who were darker in pigmentation (Quadroons and Mullatos) were not able to gain easy access to the bequests high schools, so the churches endeavoured to provide secondary education particularly for these people.

White[3] also states that the increasing provision of elementary school places resulting from the Payment by Results System meant that there was increased demand for secondary schools.

While the Negro Education Grant assisted the denominations in their provision of elementary and teacher education, no assistance was given to churches in their attempt to provide secondary education during the latter part of the nineteenth century. In the church's endeavour to meet this demand, a number of church affiliated high schools were established. Table II shows the dates, the founding denominations and the schools.

TABLE II

SECONDARY SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED BY CHURCHES

DATE	FOUNDER	SCHOOL
1843	Baptist	Calabar College
1850	Roman Catholic Society of Jesus	St. Georges College
1858	Roman Catholic Franciscan Sisters	Immaculate Conception High
1876	Methodists	York Castle High
1875	Anglicans	St. Hilda's High
1897	Anglicans	Cathedral High
1882	Baptist	Westwood High
1898	Society of Friends Quakers	Happy Grove

[3]Ibid., p. 46.

These secondary schools, in an endeavour to rival the bequest high schools compounded an already bad situation. They modeled their curriculum on that of the bequest schools, so in reality both sets of schools gave an English-oriented type of education. The church affiliated schools, however, were of lower prestige, largely because they catered for those students who, on the basis of their color, were regarded as belonging to a lower social class.

Hurwitz[4] stated that "with little support from the government and limited contributions from abroad, the schools had to charge tuition to meet their operation expenses. As a result, a large majority of negroes were excluded from the classroom."

What Hurwitz did not say is that Afro-Jamaicans were excluded not only because they could not pay but because their colour was a barrier to entry. In the same way that quadroons and mulattos could not gain easy access to the bequest schools, the blacks found it extremely difficult to gain entry to the denominational schools. In essence, therefore, secondary education was provided for the white upper class, and the coloured middle class, but non for the black lower class.

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[4]Hurwitz, Samuel J. and Edith F., Jamaica: A Historical Portrait. London: Praeger Publishers, 1971.

An hierarchical structure developed among the schools. The bequest schools were ranked higher than the denominational schools. But among the denominational schools a second order hierarchy also developed; in this the schools were ranked according to their church affiliation. Those schools founded by the Anglican church which was then termed the Church of England or the High Church, were accorded the highest prestige, with the Roman Catholics, Baptists, and Methodists scrambling for positions. The lowest ranked secondary school had higher prestige than the best elementary school. It follows, therefore, that since most blacks could not pay to receive secondary education, their education was regarded as inferior since it was terminated at elementary level.

On the other hand, since most coloureds could pay, most received secondary education. This was reflected in the population of the secondary schools up to 1958 when the Common Entrance Examination was instituted. Before then, there were very few black children to be found in any secondary school in Jamaica.

The sociological implication of this educational stratification was that black people were at a great disadvantage where better jobs were concerned. The secondary schools prepared pupils for the Cambridge and Higher Schools Examinations. These were used, as criteria for entry into the civil service, and other government and commercial jobs.

The highest level of education which was available via the elementary school was the Third Jamaica Local Examination.

We find, therefore, that in the job market, it was elementary education against secondary education. This invariably also meant black against white and fair-skinned, which in the final analysis was upper and middle class against lower class. It is not difficult to imagine that those who were white or fair, from the upper or middle class, and were the graduates of secondary schools were always preferred over those who were black, from the lower class, and had received only elementaary education.

Hurwitz[5] states that "Racial distinction and racial consciousness, a legacy of slavery, continued to be strong for many generations. Black skin colour was considered a stigma, a mark of shame. Whiteness was always a sign of prestige." What Hurwitz did not show, however, was how education was used to further divide the classes. From the beginning secondary education was intended to provide more privileges for those who could pay to get it, and since wealth and colour were tied up, then the privileges were exclusively for the white and fair-skinned members of the society. In this respect, job discrimination was not only based on colour, because the colour basis for discrimination was legitimized by the difference in educational qualifications.

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[5]Ibid., pp. 140-141.

It is evident that bequest schools were located in parishes where benefactions were made. Schools established by the religious denominations were located in populous areas. On this basis, many areas were without secondary schools. Under the Secondary Education Law of 1892 the government attempted to meet this need. Provision was made for the government to establish Secondary Schools in other populous areas where none existed. In spite of this, over a period of many years only one such school, the Montego Bay Boys School, now Cornwell College, was built.

The recommendations of the Lumb Commission (1898), so named because it was chaired by Judge Lumb, which gave priority to elementary education, suggested that "secondary schools should be established only when finances were available." White[6] could have influenced government's attitude. Furthermore, the sugar industry was at this period experiencing great difficulties and funds for any kind of development were scarce. It would, therefore, be rather naive for anyone to believe that a government under so much financial strain would at that time put money into education.

In 1911, Piggott, an English inspector of schools, visited Jamaica in order to inspect secondary schools and to make recommendations for their improvement. Among other things, Piggott commented on the wide variation in control

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[6]Ibid., p. 48.

over secondary schools. He noted that some were managed by local boards, some by trustees and others by religious denominations. He recommended that there should be common clauses governing all secondary schools, and that the Director of Education be made a member of all bodies governing schools.

In the matter of curricula, he found that courses and subjects taught were rather irrelevant or inappropriate. He noted that schools taught French, German, and Latin. In his view, these subjects were too demanding for children who failed to master the English language. He saw Spanish as more relevant to Jamaica. He also pointed out the need for teaching the history of Jamaica instead of Greek and Roman history.

Following Piggot's report, the Secondary Education Laws of 1914 were formulated. These attempted to define and modify the curriculum. Secondary education was described as "education which does not consist chiefly of instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, but which includes instruction in Latin, the English Language and Literature, Modern Languages, Mathematics, Natural and Applied Science, Commercial, Geography, Bookkeeping, Shorthand, Drawing or in some such studies and generally in the higher branches of knowledge" (Piggott's Report on Secondary Education in Jamaica, 1911, Government of Jamaica Laws, Public Record Office, Spanish Town, Jamaica). This description was to give secondary education in Jamaica a literary slant for years to come. This slant made it impossible for manual

subjects to be associated with secondary schools. This had the desired effect, it further made secondary education a divisive force, separating its recipients from those having elementary education. Those students in secondary schools were regarded as more intelligent. It has already been pointed out that those who attended secondary schools were those who could pay, and since wealth and colour were "tied up" then the stigma of black inferiority was further accentuated.

In the first half of the twentieth century a few more secondary schools were built. The government built Montego Bay Girls School. Clarendon College was built by the Missionary Society of England and the Congregational Church. A Deaconess High School established by the Deaconess Home in 1913 was taken over by the Deaconess Education Board and became St. Hugh's High School. Excelsior High School was started by Wesley Powell, an outstanding Jamaican educator, in 1931, but was later taken over by the Methodist Church. Some schools which started out as preparatory schools later established secondary departments. Among these are Camperdown and Merl Grove, the two most prominent ones.

The first grants-in-aid to secondary schools were made in 1924. "An annual grant of £280 was made by government for the provision of £5 and later £10 scholarships to

these schools." White[7], the Department of Education, Jamaica: Annual Reports, 1914-1939, also showed that children in parishes without secondary schools were provided with special scholarships.

In 1941, grants to secondary schools were based on the grade of the school and the average attendance of the previous year. Two grades of school were created. Schools with an average attandance of at least sixty students and offering courses for the Cambridge School Certificate to at least ten per cent of the student population, as well as courses for the Higher Schools Certificate were ranked as Grade 1. Other secondary schools could qualify to be ranked as Grade 2, if they maintained an annual average of not less than thirty pupils, and offered courses for the Junior Cambridge School Certificate. Grade 1 schools were given grants of £6 per unit of average annual attendance, while Grade 2 schools received £4.10. The grants were payable for pupils over ten and under eighteen years old.

A clause in the awarding of grants which militated greatly against some denominational schools was that relating to the condition of the building. Unless the building satisfied a minimum standard then the school was not eligible to receive a grant. While this clause was a drawback to the poorer denominations, it favoured in particular the bequests schools, and those established by the Anglican

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[7] Ibid., p. 52.

Church. There were also other conditions which militated against the poorer schools. For example, White, 1977, p. 52, states "fees, adequacy of teachers in number and qualifications, governing body, length of pupil's school life, and the emoluments of teachers, made it difficult for some schools to become grant in aid."

It appears that under that system the poorer schools were destined to remain Grade 2 because the law created a vicious circle. The very factors which caused them to be Grade 2 were the same factors which prevented them receiving government aid. For example, if grants were dependent on fees, then it is clear that the schools catering for those pupils from the upper socio-economic class, who we have already identified as the whites and "passed as white" in the society, would continue to benefit. Likewise, since the teachers in secondary schools were either imported, or were products of the same school, it means that Grade 2 schools, since they did not offer Higher School courses, were largely doomed to be Grade 2 perpetually, since their staffs would largely be those having only Junior Cambridge Certificates or at most a few would have the Senior Cambridge Certificate.

To take a last example, "governing bodies." In essence, what this means is that those school boards having members who were influential, received more grants. In other words, it was those boards with the more political clout which

would secure most government aid. It is obvious that these would again be the boards of the bequest schools and those of the richer and more powerful denominations.

It was not surprising, therefore, that in 1943 another committee was appointed to inquire into secondary education. This committee was chaired by Professor Kendal of Teachers' College, Columbia University. The terms of reference were to investigate:

1) the relationship of secondary and elementary education, and
2) employment opportunities open to students completing secondary school.

The committee was also required to make recommendations concerning:

1) the curriculum of secondary schools,
2) the staffing of secondary schools, and
3) the utilization of secondary schools to supply elementary school teachers.

Up to the end of 1942, the control of education in Jamaica was fragmented. Elementary and teacher education were supervised by the Department of Education, while secondary education was under the control of the Schools Commission. The Board of Education was the advisory body to the Department of Education. Kendal pointed out the need for a single authority to control both elementary and secondary education. He suggested that schools be classified as Primary and Post-Primary instead of Elementary

and Secondary. He further recommended that there should be a variety of post primary schools, and pupils should move from primary to post primary. To facilitate this move, Kendal suggested that a Common Examination be held for children at the age of twelve years in order to discover their ability for post-primary education. Performance in this examination would determine which post-primary institution a child would enter. On the matter of private secondary schools, he suggested that they should operate on a license from government and should be subject to government inspection. Pertaining to grants-in-aid to secondary schools, Kendal disagreed with the then current system and suggested that grants should be made according to the needs of the schools. He also recommended changes in the curriculum of secondary schools.

Acting on the recommendation of Kendal, that there should be a variety of post-primary schools, the government established Senior Schools in 1944. From the very beginning there was ambivalence about these schools. In the first place they were supposed to give a sense of achievement to poor children who could not pay to attend the regular secondary schools. "They provided education for thousands of children who were unable to find places in Secondary Schools," said White.[8] What White should have said was not those children who were "unable to find places" but rather

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[8]Ibid., pp. 43-44.

those who were unable to pay the fees. The concept was to instill in the minds of not only the children but more so their parents that these Senior Schools were as good as the other secondary schools. However, the government could not name them secondary because this would mean that the masses would now be receiving secondary education. Since this would not only lower the prestige of the recognized secondary schools but also incur the displeasure of the elites, a convenient name had to be found.

At the same time, however, these schools were also intended to give some recognition to the recommendations of the earlier Moyne Commission report, which among other things recommended practical education. Senior Schools, therefore, placed great emphasis on agriculture, manual training, and domestic science.

In 1944 the term post-primary was used to include both Senior and Secondary Schools, and to help Senior Schools to acquire status. Two School, Kingston and May Pen, were later selected to carry out an experiment in secondary education. They were "equipped" to prepare students for the Cambridge Local Examination.

Prior to 1958, each post-primary school conducted its own entrance examination, but these were replaced by a Common Entrance Examination. This examination was open to all children between 11 and 12 years old, and on the result of performance, scholarships and free places were awarded to

grant-in-aid secondary schools. Annual scholarships were also offered to children of 13 and 16 years old who performed best in the Second and Third Jamaica Local Examinations. This move began the expansion of secondary education and the opening of doors of secondary schools to children of the poorer class.

During the period 1958-68 secondary education in Jamaica made its greatest improvement. In the area of curriculum development, technical departments were added to Grammar Schools and laboratory facilities provided. Business education was also started in some schools.

The institution of the Common Entrance Examination made it possible for many children from the lower socio-economic class to receive secondary education. However, it was not long before it was discovered that the vast majority of the children who qualified to receive free places were from middle and upper class homes and were largely from private preparatory schools. In other words, they were the children who would receive secondary education anyhow because their parents were able to pay. In fact, some were already paying fees almost as high as the fees for the secondary schools. For example, in 1959, out of total entries of 14,248 from primary school, and only 3,435 from preparatory schools, the preparatory schools were awarded 56% of the total number of free places. Likewise in 1961 there were 14,230 primary students and 3,929 preparatory students; however, the preparatory schools received 51% of the number of free places.

The purpose for which the Common Entrance Examination was instituted; i.e., to bring about a more equitable distribution between the classes, in the student population of secondary schools. This also meant a more equitable distribution between the colour groups in the society was, therefore, being defeated. In fact, up to five years after the examination was instituted, there was not an immediately obvious change in the ratio of black to white and fair students.

It was obvious that this could not be allowed to continue, so in 1963, the 70:30 per cent ratio was established. This means that 70% of the total number of free places to be awarded would be given to children attending government primary schools and the remaining 30% to children attending pivate preparatory schools. This immediately brought about the desired result, because the structure of the student population in all government aided secondary schools became representative of the society. For the first time, at last, black children became the majority in all government aided secondary schools in Jamaica.

Although the 70:30 ratio was instituted because of good intentions, it can nevertheless be criticized as discriminatory. However, this can well be regarded as positive discrimination. It was not long, however, before it was noticed that there was an increase in the number of students taking the examination who were from primary schools. At the same time, there was a decrease in the number from

preparatory schools. For example, in 1966, there was an increase of 2,362 among primary students and a decrease of 126 among preparatory students (Ministry of Education Report, 1967) over the figures for 1965. The reason for this is that many middle class parents had stopped sending their children to preparatory schools and were now sending them to primary schools in order to make them eligible to be classified among the 70%.

The government was faced with two problems. First, was the obvious one of not being able to offer secondary education to all. The second and more serious one was that conditions were reverting to what they were prior to the institution of the 70:30 ratio. In other words, most of the children who were awarded free places were from middle and upper class families. This writer knows that in many cases primary students who were offered half free places; i.e., they had to find a half of all school expenses, were not able to make use of the offer because their parents were not able to find the money. In essence, therefore, the vast majority of children from the lower socio-economic class were still being denied secondary education.

It was, therefore, necessary to make further improvements in the system with much fanfare as the schools that would at last bring secondary education to the masses in independent Jamaica, Junior Secondary Schools were introduced into Jamaica. This writer will never forget an address given by the then Minister of Education, the

Honorable E. L. Allen, to a group of primary school children on the eve of the 1967 general elections. Among other partisan electioneering remarks, he said:

> When you go home this evening tell your parents that all of you will be going to secondary school. All those who are going to Cornwall College and Montego Bay High and Mount Alvernia you are going to show them that you can go to secondary school too. And you know what? You don't have to pass any exam to go. All you need is your age paper. So tell your parents to get your age paper ready for all of you will want it to go to secondary school.

It is against this background of deception and lies that Junior Secondary Schools, later to be re-named New Secondary Schools, were ushered into the Jamaican Education System. The government used these schools as one of their electioneering promises. People were lead to believe, and still most believe, while others make believe, that these schools are providing quality education.

My contention is that this is not true. I believe that these schools, because of certain factors, are performing at a much lower level than the regular secondary schools. I further submit that the education given by these schools is not a substitute for that offered by the regular secondary schools. Consequently, since the vast majority of students in new secondary schools are from the lower socio-economic class, then it appears as if most of the students in Jamaica who are from working class families are still being denied the type of secondary education which will bring about any significant change in their socio-economic status.

In fact, the situation as it is today has not experienced much change. It is basically the same old game being played under different rules. In 1900 it was inferior elementary education competing against secondary education. In 1944 it was inferior Senior School education competing against secondary education. In 1966 it was inferior Junior Secondary education competing against secondary education. Now in 1988 it is inferior new secondary education competing against secondary education.

My hypothesis is that the new secondary schools are not providing their graduates with the basic educational skills in English language, necessary for them to compete successfully on the job market, and for entry to tertiary institutions against graduates from the traditional secondary schools. In order to test this hypothesis, this study will compare and contrast examination results in English language of Grade 11 students in both types of schools. Comparison will also be done between the physical facilities accommodation and staffing.

CHAPTER IV

THE JAMAICAN NEW SECONDARY SCHOOL AND ITS STUDENTS

Possibly more than any other sub-field in the sociology of education, the concept of modernization and development illustrates the ideosyncratic nature of the whole concept of education. Development means many things to many people; consequently, over the years we have seen a number of postulations as to what education should do for a society.

What is even more striking about the area of development is that concepts seem to change so often that with the passage of time, and the emergence of new theories, the field varies widely. The decline of different sociological theories, as discussed in Chapter 1, is a case in point.

One of the main factors which contributed to this decline has been the failure of these theories to explain the persistent realities of third world countries. Possibly to a less extent, but certainly equally significant has been a growing change in the composition of demand for social scientific information in third world societies. Largely as a result of the latter, third world countries have been rejecting the concepts of development conceptualized and formulated from the background, mentality, and philosophy of metropolitan industrialized societies. These countries have been demanding theories that deal explicitly with solving the problems created by the type of education, given or advised by their industrialized "overlords" over the decades. This type of education was basically education for

domination; education for cultural retardation, and education for preserving social stratification. In essence, education for inequality, and inequality in education.

It appears that this general turn towards critical theories of education was itself a natural outcome of the failure of the more technically oriented theories. For example, even a Bartimeous[1] can see that Parsons postulations on Structural Functionalism was not applicable to the problems of Third World Countries. Likewise, Coleman's idea on education for political development, was falsified by events in Cuba. It is in this general shift towards a search for more meaningful explanations of problems, as well as more logical suggestions for their solution that we can locate much of the current crisis in the concept of education for development in Third World Countries.

At the beginning of the post colonial period in Jamaica, the spirit of nationalism was very high. The problems in education which had their genesis in her long period of slavery and colonialism came to occupy the attention of educators in Jamaica. Many arguments were advanced as to what should be done to revolutionize Jamaican education, so that it would serve the needs of a new independent nation. Among these, the concept of a strong secondary school system to service the tertiary section was advanced.

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[1]BARTIMEOUS: Blind Biblical character healed by Jesus. Term is used to describe one who has difficulty understanding.

One cannot deny that efforts were made to make visible changes in education after independence. However, there was one basic problem which appears to be so ingrained that even today we are still, though to a much less extent, hampered by it. After independence, concepts of development and modernization, and the role of education in this respect was still controlled primarily by external elites.

In other words, because our governments and educators subscribed in totality to the theories postulated by the capitalist industrialized countries, our schools continued to legitimate the system of external domination.

It must be pointed out, however, that in some cases the seemingly helpless reliance upon foreign experts to solve our educational problems was not of our own choosing. In some cases, the sending of these so called experts to Jamaica was contingent on the loans the country was granted. At the same time, however, our educational planners cannot be completely absolved from the "quackish" manner in which they accepted certain suggestions - or rather, directives from their metropolitan overlords in the U.S.A. and Canada. For example, it is this writer's belief that no country or organization has the right to dictate how a loan floated for a specific purpose should be alotted. If a loan is granted for education, all that the receiving country should need to do is satisfy the country granting the loan that it is spent in the field of education. Where in education it is spent, and how much is allocated to the different areas of

education should be the perogative of the receiving country. This was not the case in Jamaica. The country was told in what area of education the loan should be spent.

After independence, it appears as if our educational planners were so anxious to get on with the job of revolutionizing education that they did not take time to think seriously into what theoretical framework Jamaican education should be cast. Consequently, over the years our educational philosophy seems to have gone through a number of changes.

Immediately after independence, we seemed to have been "nourishing" the idea that Jamaica's future was in the area of technology, so in the spirit of Structural Functionalism much talk was given to emphasizing the technical aspects of secondary education. However, because, as was the case in the developed countries, Functionalism in Jamaica could not answer the economic question with which the financial organizations were specifically concerned; i.e. Was educational investment in poor underdeveloped countries like Jamaica worthwhile? It was, therefore, not surprising that when the metropolitan countries, especially the United States, adopted the Human Capital Theory, Jamaica followed slavishly. Again, it is possible to find some sympathy for our educational planners because this concept of development was "forced" on Jamaica by financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund, the Organization of Economic Cooperation, and the World Bank, from which loans were received.

This concept of development dominated Jamaican education throughout the early years of independence. Students were seen as inferior, inadequate beings who would have to be developed if the country was to progress. It was not conceived that conditions within the society would have to receive radical structural changes in order to foster human development. As a result, many years were wasted concentrating our efforts on individuals rather than on the structural variables wherein lies the source of the problems. What made this even more serious was that the few individuals who were "developed" during this period were largely from the elite classes in the society. The exceptions were the few students from working class background who were thrown in for tokenism.

In 1972, there was a change of government in Jamaica. The conservative government of the Jamaica Labor Party was replaced by the socialist government of the People's National Party. At about the same time Human Capital Theory started falling into disrepute. Writers such as Bluestone, Thurow, Carnoy, Bowles and Gentis, pointed out that in the real world worker characteristics were not the only factors which determined income, and consequently, social existence. It was not surprising that Conflict Theory which they postulated found ready adherents among the new government. It can be said that this theory dominated Jamaican education during the period of the People's National Party's administration. In 1980, this administration was replaced by the

Jamaica Labor Party government, and since then Jamaican education seem to be existing in a theoretical vacuum. The present government seems to be merely going through the motion of "keeping school." The government seems afraid to continue the radical approach started by the previous government, and yet reluctant to return to its original conservative ways. However, a report in the Daily Gleaner,[2] dated March 25, 1983, seems to give an idea of the intentions of the present government. In an article under the caption "Educating the 15-17 year-olds," Mrs. Fay Saunders, general secretary of the Jamaican Teachers' Association wrote:

> The Jamaican Teachers' Association takes note of news reports emanating from a press briefing on March 15, 1983 which gives the plans of the Hon. Minister of Education for Primary Education, and wishes to make the following comments, We regret that, if in making these comments we are seen to be negative or critical of government's policy. We would much rather spend our constructive energies in contributing to the shaping of such policies, but too often these days we are made aware of developments only after policies have been finalised, often on the advice of foreign experts, with little input from local educators in the field. Dr. Gilmour, continuing her "laudable" efforts to improve Primary Education in Jamaica is reported as saying that, "a new strategy will give 15-year-olds the opportunity of getting a secondary level curriculum."
>
> We are not sure what this means. We would have thought that any curriculum designed to meet the needs of youngsters of this age and such educational experiences as are offered them, would be classed as secondary.

> We certainly hope that this is not a harking back to an earlier definition, very often dealing with abstruse elements unrelated to the life experiences and needs of the adolescent, under the mistaken notion, that this represented a secondary (i.e. higher) level education.

The above quotation I think gives a clear picture of the present situation in Jamaican education.

Regardless of the government in power, or the theoretical paradigm adopted for education, there has always persisted a basic fault in Jamaican education. The degree of cultural reorganization which the education system should have endeavoured to bring about have never been seriously attempted. What we find, therefore, is that in spite of the changes made, the country still, to a great extent, depends on the diffusion of knowledge from the metropolitan countries.

My contention, therefore, is that if Jamaican education is to bring about the measure of modernization and development desired, then the educational planners must begin to conceptualize a type of education planned, designed, and executed in such a way that it will help to create a more socially equitable society.

Because of the number and variety of institutions which make up the educational sector, there are several ways in which it can become an instrument of domination. First, as Carnoy points out, the activity of transmitting knowledge

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[2]Daily Gleaner, March 25, 1983.

can easily become the occasion for legitimating a situation of domination and preparing people to function in it.[3] Under these conditions, education finds its purpose not merely in the transmission of knowledge, but rather in helping to maintain a particular order through the manipulation and control of consciousness.

Marcuse, also points out that this sector can become an instrument of domination through the ability of science and experts to legitimate and make possible situations of domination.[4] From this discussion one can conclude that the introduction of any type of educational institution is of fundamental importance to a society. This importance has greater significance when the society happens to be a fledgling independent post-colonial society.

There is a tendency in any society to place a premium on such concepts as growth and progress. This tendency is not subject to much debate, because we are living in a free enterprise system, the success of which depends on constant growth and progress.

Problems, however, arise when progress is confused with change. Although change can result in progress, there can be no assurance that all changes will. Among the primary reasons for this confusion between change and progress are hasty conclusions drawn from superficial evaluations.

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[3] IBID.

[4] Marcuse H.
1966: One Dimensional Man, Boston Press.

Frequently, one observes only what is obvious without questioning the basis for such observations. It is advisable, therefore, that when a new idea is introduced into an education system one should be careful in stating conclusively the progress which is anticipated from the new idea.

New secondary schools were introduced into the Jamaican School System in 1966 as a part of the post independence drive to reform the secondary education system, and to open it up to the working class. It was then stated that these schools would provide secondary education for all pupils over 12 years old.

The general assumption which, up to the present time, no one in government, has tried to correct, or even to refute, is that this meant secondary education comparable with that offered by the original secondary schools which were in existence before independence. It was assumed, and expected that as soon as a child enters a new secondary school he would begin to pursue the same type of work which is done in the traditional secondary schools. Two things are very clear; first, is that after 20 years since its inception there is still an inadequate number of new secondary schools, hence not all eligible pupils are provided with this facility. Secondly, there are many factors mitigating against those schools which have been established, making it difficult for them to realize their aims.

The aims of new secondary schools can be summed up briefly as:

> To provide opportunities for all pupils to progress according to attainment, aptitudes and ability; giving opportunity for the proper development of these children who will go on to the second cycle of secondary education while providing remedial work for the weak. Opportunities will be provided for the pre-vocational and vocational education for those who will not continue formal education, but will expect to be acceptable to employers for employment.[5]

It would thus appear that the main thinking behind the introduction of new secondary education into Jamaica was the need for trained persons to fill available jobs. Considering that only a small number of these pupils really go on to the second cycle of secondary education, it is obvious that the majority will be those, "who will expect to be acceptable to employers for employment."

In fact, the official journal of the Jamaican Ministry of Education, The Torch, Vol. 19, Nov. 1969, states, "It is against this background that the New Secondary School idea was conceived, with the definite intention of bridging the gap between the number of jobs available and the number of persons trained to fill these jobs, as quickly as possible."

Ministry of Education Paper No. 73 also states, "It is felt that it is essential that each pupil by the age of 15 years should have a good ground work in the use of English

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[5]Jamaican Ministry of Education, Paper No. 73, 1969.

as a communciation skill and to be able to do calculations necessary to hold his or her own in everyday life, and which is now necessary for employment in all but the most unskilled labour opportunities." It appears, however, that as far as the realization of these aims is concerned, there are many retarding factors acting against the efficiency of these schools. The failure of these schools to provide pupils with the type of education which will make them employable in our very competitive society could be directly related to unemployment, delinquency, and juvenile crime. Since there are 78 New Secondary Schools with an enrolment of 100,195, as compared to 46 Traditional High Schools with an enrolment of 51,480,[6] the New Secondary Schools are by far the largest single producers of potential workers, and candidates for tertiary institutions.

New Secondary Schools have grades 7 to 11 with a corresponding age range of 12 to 17. All eleventh grade students are 16+, so they are on the threshold of either venturing out into the harsh uncompromising world of competitive employment, or to seek admission to tertiary institutions.

The figures for 1984/85 showed that 17,503 students graduated from New Secondary Schools. In a small country like Jamaica, this number is sizable enough to have a significant effect on the society.

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[6]Ministry of Education Annual Statistical Review, 1984/85.

In trying to focus attention on some of the factors militating against New Secondary Schools achieving their expressed aims, this study will look at five different aspects.

(1) The number of schools.

(2) The siting of schools.

(3) The quality of pupils entering these schools.

(4) Some features of the organization.

(5) Staffing and qualification of teachers.

If the New Secondary School system is to achieve its aims, then the first requirement is that there must be an adequate number of schools if the system is not to discriminate against some pupils. What we find, however, is that after twenty years there is still not an adequate number of schools to accommodate all 12+ pupils who are elegible to attend. The seriousness of the inadequacy in the number of these schools will be more fully discussed in Chapter 7. However, it is important to state at this point that until there are at least enough schools to cater for all available pupils, providing secondary education for all elegible pupils in Jamaica will continue to be a dream rather than a reality.

One can hardly comprehend the principle behind the siting of New Secondary Schools. It appears as if population density is not the only criterion which determines the location of these schools. For example, it is difficult to understand why Montego Bay which is the second largest town

in the island, with a population of 59,614,[7] is provided with only one New Secondary School. There are, therefore, many pupils in this area who are deprived of the advantage of the education which these schools are supposed to provide. Another interesting point is the fact that since the inception of New Secondary Schools, many pupils now have to travel much further than they formally travelled.

For example, at Trinityville in St. Thomas, and Savanna-La-Mar in Westmoreland[8] there are pupils who have to travel up to six miles in order to attend a secondary school. It is hardly necessary to state that because of inadequate, and the cost of rural transportation, this results in lateness and non-attendance for these pupils.

The success of any system of education depends to a great extent on the quality of the pupils within the system; and the quality of these pupils is to a large measure determined by the standard they had attained when they became members of the system. In other words, performance of pupils in New Secondary Schools will be greatly influenced by the standard they had attained before entry. In Jamaica, chronological age is the only criterion for the transfer of pupils from primary to New Secondary School. Pupils are transferred at the age of 12 regardless of their academic

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[8]Jamaica is divided into fourteen parishes. Trinityville is a rural district in St. Thomas, one of the eastern parishes. Savanna-La-Mar is a rural town in Westmoreland, one of the western parishes.

[7]Population Census of Jamaica, 1980.

attainment. Once a primary school is designated a feeder, it is mandatory that all pupils be transferred at that age.

If we look at our primary school system, it can be seen that there are many unsatisfactory conditions acting against the efficiency of the teaching/learning process in most of these schools. Because of these unsatisfactory conditions, there are many pupils who at the age of twelve have not acquired the basic skills in literacy. In other words, many sixth grade pupils in primary schools cannot read and comprehend simple printed matter. It follows, therefore, that many seventh grade pupils in New Secondary Schools cannot cope with the syllabus designed for them.

Poplin,[9] in writing about a class of grade seven pupils states, "The admission register of the school shows that all the pupils were working in grade 4 at their previous school. In addition, we were informed that the result of the Nelson Reading Test carried out earlier by Ambre and Ambre of the Ministry of Education shows that only two pupils in the class were functional readers, and they can only read at grade 4 level." This condition is typical of many grade 7 pupils in new secondary schools.

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[9] M. G. Poplin, 1971.

A Study in Curriculum Development With a Bias to The Teaching of Science in New Secondary School, Cert. In Ed.U.W.I. Unpublished.

Another factor which militates against the quality of pupils entering new secondary schools is the Common Entrance Examination to the traditional secondary schools. The pupils with greater academic ability are creamed off for entry to these schools, and the rejects are left to be sent to new secondary schools. In other words the pupils who go to new secondary schools are those who fail to pass the Common Entrance Examination and so could not go to traditional secondary school. This writer does not intend to argue the merits or demerits of this practice, but would like to point out the effect it has on the rejected pupils. These pupils enter the new secondary schools with a mixed feeling of inferiority and superiority. They feel inferior because they have been rejected for the traditional secondary school, or because they were not considered good enough to be allowed to try for entry. At the same time, in order to rationalize or to compensate for their feeling of inferiority, they now see themselves as superior to pupils in the primary and all-age schools. One can also argue that the policy of the educational planners also contribute to this feeling of superiority because when there is such a great disparity between the physical amenities provided for the two systems then the personnel operating in the more lavish one can hardly help not feeling a sense of greater importance over those personnel in the deprived situation.

The success of any organization, educational or otherwise, depends on the efficiency of the organization,

that is, how the organization is structured with a view towards the realization of its aims. There are certain aspects of organization in the new secondary school system which appears to be retarding rather than enhancing the progress of these schools. First, is the system of grouping and promotion of pupils within the schools. During the five years that a pupil spends at a new secondary, his/her grade is dictated solely by age. The grades and age range specified are:

GRADE	7	12+
"	8	13+
"	9	14+
"	10	15+
"	11	16+

It is mandatory that a pupil be placed in the grade defined by his/her age. It follows, therefore, that although a pupil may not be able to cope with the grade 7 syllabus, he is automatically sent on to grade 8 at the age of 13 years.

This writer would again like to stress the fact that in the new secondary schools there are no specialist teachers for backward adolescents; it means, therefore, that with this system of promotion, the difficulties of the backward pupil increase as he moves up in the system because it is unlikely that a pupil who was hopelessly below the standard of the average grade 7, will be able to even attempt the work prescribed for grade 8. What we find in most New

Secondary Schools is that many pupils are functionally far below the average academic standard of the grade in which they are placed. Allied to this is the fact that pupils are classified within each grade according to attainment, and pupils in each class are kept together for all subjects. No attempt is even made to determine, for example, the grade 9^6 boy who can be grouped with the boys of grade 9^1 for Industrial Arts. Conant[10] refers to classification of this type as across the board grouping. Conant recommends that pupils should be grouped according to ability, subject to subject. For example, a student may be in grade 9^1 for Mathematics, but grade 9^4 for Science. As far as this writer knows, nothing of this nature has ever been tried in any New Secondary School. In fact, the norm appears to be that a pupil, who on arrival at school is placed in a backward class is doomed to a backward class throughout his/her entire New Secondary School career. Thus, contrary to what is expressed in Ministry Paper No. 73, "There will always be a policy of transfer so that pupils who improve may move to a faster group." What generally happens is that, for example, grade 7^6 after one year of minimal academic achievement, becomes grade 8^6, then grade 9^6, 10^6 and 11^6. Many of these pupils drop out of school before graduation, and those who remain attend very irregularly.

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[10]Conant, J.B., 1959: The American School Today, McGraw Hill, N.Y.

Consequently, if they do remain until their 17th birthday, they leave school not much better than when they came.

Under such condition of classification and grouping, it is almost a natural thing to expect adolescent pupils in the lowest grades to drop out of school. In fact, those pupils who drop out can very well be regarded as pupils with pride and a high sense of dignity because no matter what labels are attached to streamed classes based on, across the board grouping, be it 11^{1}, 11^{10}, or 11^{z} or 11^{w}, one way or the other, the pupils involved quickly grasp the significance of the procedure and those who are "fixed" in the lowest classes tend to develop feelings of inferiority. Their motivation suffer, their self-concept tend to be negative, hence their progress is hindered.

It is natural, therefore, that any child with a sense of pride will flee from a situation which presents only failure, frustration and shame. Pupils "fixed" in the top grades may also be affected. Yates[11] thinks that because they have to justify a high rating this may breed anxiety, or some pupils may develop inflated notions concerning their intellectural superiority. He further states that the gulf between the upper and lower group tend to widen as they advance. "Across the board" grouping can have repercussions other than its immediate effect on effective teaching and

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[11] Yates, Alfred

1966: Grouping in Education, John Wiley & Sons, N.Y.

meaningful learning. There is a tendency for pupils who enjoy less favourable home backgrounds to populate the backward classes in any school system. "Across the board" grouping is, therefore, tantamount to imposing an extra handicap on people who have already suffered a bad start.

The school leaving age in Jamaica for pupils in new secondary schools is 17 years. Regardless of the standard attained, all pupils are graduated at 17. Judging from the standard of many of these pupils, there appears to be a strong case for extending the school leaving age. Two main arguments can be put forward in support of this. First, is that in a world of increasing complexity, of which one significant feature is the high rate of scientific and technological advancement, it is becoming increasingly more essential to ensure that pupils leave school adequately equipped to deal with the problems they will encounter. Secondly, under present condition, it tends to be the slow learner and less able pupils who take advantage of the opportunity to stop formal education at a relatively early age, because an extended school course is made available to more gifted pupils through the Grade Nine Achievement Test, and the Common Entrance Examination to Technical Schools.[12] The paradox, therefore, is that the pupils who stand in greatest need of formal education receive less of it than their more able school-mates.

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[12]Government Scholarship Examinations.

The second area of organization which has a retarding effect on the efficiency of new secondary schools is the teacher-pupil ratio. Ministry Paper No. 73, states that the ratio of 1 teacher to 45 pupils was a temporary measure. It further states that the final ratio would be 1 to 35; but by 1970 the ratio would be reduced to 1 to 40. Instead of being reduced, what we find in almost all new secondary schools is that the teacher pupil ratio is still higher than 1 to 45. To compound this unsatisfactory condition is the fact that most teachers in the new secondary schools are below the standard of their counterpart in the traditional secondary schools.

CHAPTER V

SECONDARY EDUCATION AND THE LABOUR MARKET

In all societies, but more so in Third World countries, the primary objective of secondary education is to prepare individuals to funtion efficiently, that is, preparing them for a useful and constructive role in society. In spite of the age old cliche of education for self-fulfilment, the bottom line is that secondary education is seen not so much for its intrinsic value of personal, intellectual and cultural enrichment, but rather it is seen as a way to acquire the necessities required for obtaining a job. Jamaica is no exception in this respect.

The Jamaican society sees secondary education as a means of ensuring social mobility. The higher up the educational ladder the individual climbs, the more he/she increases his/her chances of not just obtaining a job, but obtaining the type of employment to which a high social value, in other words a job to which high status, as shown in the form of high income is attached.

Over the years, the relationship between secondary school leavers and employment has been changing. During the 1950's and 1960's the number of secondary school graduates with G.C.E. qualification was relatively small compared to the number of jobs for which only All-Age school attainment was required. Graduates with G.C.E. qualifications could, therefore, have their pick of available jobs. The 1970's

and 1980's have seen much changes in this respect. The increase in enrollment in secondary schools has resulted in a situation where the number of graduates with formal qualifications has outgrown those job opportunities. Another aspect is that some of those employment opportunities are now no longer regarded by graduates with G.C.E. and CXC qualifications as commensurate with their level of education. If viewed from a labour market perspective, to some extent one can say that the rapid expansion of secondary education in Jamaica has had an inflationary effect. The result of this is that the value that the society now places on education certificates has declined steadily through the 1970's coming into the 1980's. The situation as it exists now is that the completion of secondary school per se no longer automatically ensures one of satisfactory employment. This is so for two reasons; firstly, is the premium which employers now place on the different certificates, and secondly, is the prestige and status which the graduates place on some jobs.

If we look at the CXC and the SSC examinations in relationship to the labour market, it can be seen that whereas the CXC holds high marketable value, the SSC is a greatly devalued currency; not that it was highly valued in the first place. The greater issue is that whereas the number of jobs requiring CXC qualifications has, over the years remained slightly higher than the number of these graduates; the number of SSC graduates on the other hand,

has vastly outgrown the number of jobs available to them. To further compound the situation, SSC graduates who are all from New Secondary Schools, refuse to accept certain available jobs since they feel that these jobs are below their social prestige as secondary school graduates.

One of the consequences of this phenomena has been a persistently high unemployment rate among New Secondary graduates. The report on the development of Secondary Education in Jamaica quote unemployment figures during the 1970's and coming into the 1980's as having reached as high as 60% among the 14-19 age group and 40% among the 20-24 age group.[1] It is not difficult to conjecture that most of these unemployed or maybe unemployable are New Secondary School graduates.

In fairness to the educational planners, one has to acknowledge that an attempt to narrow the gap between the number of graduates and employment opportunities was made through the introduction of vocational courses in secondary schools. In doing this, however, the education authorities made two mistakes. The first mistake was that whereas work oriented subjects of a pre-vocational nature were given a very prominent place in the curriculum of New Secondary

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[1]Development of Secondary Education in Jamaica, 1983, p.14.

Schools -- up to 40% of the weekly periods devoted to practical subjects in grades 10 and 11. In the Traditional Secondary Schools only token introduction was given -- only about 16% in grades 7 and 9.[2]

The result of this mistake was that from the very beginning the public saw the discrepancy between the two types of schools and this further lowered the already negative concept that the society had of New Secondary Schools.

In making the second mistake, Jamaica was not singular, because the trend of "vocationalizing" secondary education was being practised in many developing countries, but as Foster[3] found out in Ghana, where this is done without the deep involvement and active participation of employers, it does not realize its aims.

The situation in New Secondary Schools in Jamaica today is that only token attention is being given to vocational subjects. In the first place, by and large the schools are bereft of good instructors because the better ones have left teaching for higher paying jobs in industry. To make the matter worse, because scarce budgetary resources are now largely directed to general education, there is acute shortage of equipment and material in these schools.

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[2]Development of Secondary Education in Jamaica, 1983, p.14.

[3]Foster, Phillips: The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning" in Anderson and Bowman, Education and Economic Development. (Chicago), 1966.

The report on the Development of Secondary Education in Jamaica points out that the effect of these conditions on pupils is one of demotivation and discouragement to take up technical or agricultural work. What we find, therefore, is that the students in secondary schools only think in terms of a certificate to which a high social value is attached. This ensures them employment in white collar jobs or entrance to tertiary institutions. The students from New Secondary Schools who fail to obtain these certificates, in fact the vast majority do not even try, are lost socially, economically and psychologically. Even if some New Secondary School students happen to do well in pre-vocational subjects, it takes them nowhere, because employers see the courses as bearing little relationship to the real world of work. Another set back for these students is that certified achievement in pre-vocational subjects is not a condition for admission into professions such as teaching, nursing, the police force, and the postal service. These all stress academic performance as entrance requirements.

It is a sad reflection on the educational planners that after nearly a quarter century the schools "for the masses" seem to be doing very little to bring about any appreciable degree of social mobility. In fact, as it appears, they seem to be doing more to increase the throng of what this writer choose to call the "dangling class" -- a substantially large group of people in the Jamaican society, roughly between the ages of 17-30.

These individuals, because of their "unemployability" sociologically belong to the working class. However, they refuse to accept this, and have developed a kind of vacillating self-concept. Sociologically they are lower class but psychologically they are somewhere between the lower and the middle class.

Because of the many weaknesses in secondary education in Jamaica, it appears that the returns which the country should be getting from its expenditure in this direction is not being realized. One feels very strongly that scarce financial resources are to a great extent being wasted, and human resources are not adequately developed. Consequently, it seems that the Jamaican economy is being "short changed" because it is not being provided with the skilled manpower which a developing economy demands. This writer is not singular in this feeling that the human resources of the country is undeveloped. The report on the Development of Secondary Education in Jamaica states - There are widespread complaints among employers, both private and public, that the level of basic knowledge (including language) of school leavers generally and of secondary school graduates in particular (with the exception of High School Graduates) is so low that many of them are almost untrainable, and their number is rapidly increasing.[4]

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[4]Development of Secondary Education in Jamaica, 1983, p.15.

The report exempts those secondary school graduates which are from Traditional Secondary Schools/High Schools. Since New Secondary Schools actually graduate more students that the Traditional Secondary Schools, it stands to reason that the vast majority of the untrainable are from these schools. The situation in Jamaica today is that there is a paradoxical relationship between secondary school graduates and the labour market. While there is very high and growing unemployment among school leavers, at the same time there is an acute shortage of people possessing the basic literacy and numeracy skills required by employers.

When one looks at the situation, the question which comes naturally to mind is why this ineffective and wasteful situation was allowed to start in the first place, and more seriously, to have developed over the years. From preceeding discussions, it can be seen that the reasons appear to be myriad, interwoven and complex. It is not the intention of this writer to try and enumerate possible reasons, however, he would like to mention two possible ones.

First, as mentioned earlier, New Secondary Schools were introduced into Jamaica as a political gimmick. Consequently, there were no proper education and manpower analysis and planning as one normally expects as a feature of Government decision making preparation. The schools were haphazardly sited, their structure and organization were faulty, and their function was nebulous.

The second reason I think stems from the fact that external assistance given to Jamaica in the establishment of New Secondary Schools was not free from the biases so often seen in metropolitan countries in their attempt to modernize Third World countries. There were too many imported concepts which although they might have been relevant and applicable to the policies of the financing source, certainly, if not irrelevant, were not opportune to the needs and realities of Jamaica.

From the labour market point of view, it appears that the structure of secondary education in Jamaica, rather than fostering social mobility is actually reinforcing traditional employment patterns. The two groups of students seem to be poles apart in academic attainment; at least this is how employers conceive them. Making the situation worse is the privileged position which Tradititonal Secondary Schools continue to hold, and conversely, the low esteem in which New Secondary Schools are held.

CHAPTER VI

INVESTIGATION AND FINDINGS

TRADITION AND NEW SECONDARY SCHOOLS COMPARED

Since the inception of New Secondary Schools in Jamaica, there has been a great deal of skepticism about the prestige of these schools. Apparently they have never won the confidence of the Jamaican public; consequently there have been speculations and conjectures concerning their effectiveness in fulfilling their stated aims.

In fact there is a strong feeling among the Jamaican public that these schools are inferior to the traditional high schools, and as such provide the students who attend them with an inferior type of education. These feelings, however, have been mere speculations because up to the present time no study has been done to emperically confirm or reject these beliefs. However, if it is a fact that these schools are providing an inferior type of education, or even if the public, and/or the students themselves strongly feel so, then in a country with so small a population, nearly 18,000 graduates with substandard education, and/or an inferior self concept can have a profoundly adverse effect upon the society.

The aim of this study is to compare the Jamaican secondary schools which were established in the pre-independence period with those established since 1962. This comparative study will attempt to answer two questions, the first is to established whether or not parity has been achieved between

the new schools which were established in the post-independence period and those that were in existence prior to independence. Parity will be measured along three criteria; these are output quality, staffing and physical facilities.

The second question that this study will attempt to answer is whether or not the expansion in secondary education in the post-independence period has been adequate to the needs of the population of Jamaica. In an endeavour to answer this question, the study will try to determine the approximate number of 12+ students in the country who are still being denied access to a secondary school.

In order to collect the relevant information for each of the above areas of investigation, it will be necessary to:

(a) make a comparison of examination results;

(b) make a comparison between teachers in the traditional secondary schools and those in new secondary schools;

(c) do a survey among principals in both types of schools;

(d) extract data from the records of the Jamaican Ministry of Education.

COMPARISON OF EXAMINATION RESULTS

Comparison will be done between the English Language results in the Secondary Education Certificate Examination of the Caribbean Examination Council, termed the CXC, and the Secondary School Certificate Examination of the Jamaican

Ministry of Education, termed the SSC Both examinations are done by students in the new secondary schools. As English Language is the main subject on which entry to tertiary institutions, the professions, and the job market is based, the Jamaican public is greatly concerned about the question of parity in English Language competence between the two examinations.

Since both examinations are done by the students in new secondary schools, it appears that a comparison of the results among students who sat for both examinations should help to give some idea of parity between the two examinations, and hence between the two types of schools. This will lend support or denial to the feelings held by some members of the Jamaican public. Parity in this respect does not mean equality in all respects, but rather, it refers to the aspects in which the examinations are comparable, as well as grades in the one and the other. The attempt to establish parity will, therefore, be measured on two dimensions:

(a) the level of testing as revealed by examination papers in both examinations;

(b) attainment by the same set of students in both examinations.

A sample of students who have taken both examinations will be used. Up to the time of writing, there is no known study which has been done for establishment of parity between these two examination. The data collected from this

exercise will help to determine if the students in new secondary schools have attained the same level of competence in English as the students from the traditional secondary schools.

SELECTION OF THE SCHOOLS

(A) NEW SECONDARY

In addition to being new secondary schools, two other criteria will determine the selection of this category of school. First, the ones selected will have to be those in which students sit both the SSC and the CXC examinations. Secondly, they should be consistent with specific geographical areas. The sample schools will be randomly selected from among those schools satisfying the above criteria.

(B) TRADITIONAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The selection of these schools will present less difficulty than the selection of the new secondary schools, because the only criterion for selection will be geographical location.

SELECTING THE SAMPLE

The characteristics of the population from which a sample will be selected in order to test the hypothesis will be discussed briefly. Two characteristics have already been stated. First, the subjects should all come from new secondary schools, and second, that they should all be eleventh graders.

It is to be noted, as stated earlier, that only students of the new secondary school do the SSC examination; therefore, of necessity the sample must be from new secondary schools. Also, the selection will be restricted to those students who sat both the SSC and the CXC examinations in 1985. As far as possible, the sample will be randomly selected.

COMPARISON BETWEEN TEACHERS IN NEW SECONDARY AND TRADITIONAL SECONDARY AND TRADITIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS

To assess the quality of education given by an institution is a major issue. This problem is further compounded by the lack of agreement among educators as to what constitutes good quality education. Because the whole concept of education is relative and extremely idiosyncratic, trying to determine what is good quality education becomes largely a question of what is desired by a particular society.

Despite these problems, however, educators are in agreement that the educational background of the teaching staff gives a very accurate indication of the quality of education offered by a school. Beeby[1] thinks that the level of education provided for the training of teachers is the most useful single index of improvement in the quality of education offered in a country.

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[1]C. E. Beeby, The Quality Of Education In Developing Countries, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1966.

In assessing whether or not there is any difference in the quality of the education offered in both types of schools, the qualification of the teachers, and more specifically, the percentage of university graduates will be used. A sample of the teachers in new secondary, and traditional secondary schools will be used. The data collected from this exercise will give an idea of the quality of the education of the teachers in each school, and hence an idea of the quality of teaching that the schools offer.

A survey among principals will try to determine how well the schools are equipped to dispense effective education. The survey will also try to determine the feelings and opinions of the principals relative to physical conditions as well as the facilities provided at each school.

EXTRACTION OF DATA FROM RECORDS

As far as possible, first hand information will be gathered directly from the Jamaican Ministry of Education Personnel, and the principals of schools. However, where it may be possible to expedite time, data will also be gathered from records at the school, and at the Ministry of Education. Records from the Ministry of Education will also be used to verify information collected at the school level. This may also work in the reverse.

CONCLUSION

Since independence in 1962, Jamaican education has not made the degree of progress which was anticipated. Many of the colonial pre-independence conditions still exist. If a newly independent country is to experience the measure of development which help to correct the ills of a long colonial past, then education should be the hub around which national development revolves. In other words, the education system should be the "launch pad" for development in other areas. Of necessity, therefore, the education system must be vibrant, innovative, and futuristic. This approach is especially necessary in the middle of the system, because it is from this section that the workers for industry, and the scholars to tertiary institutions come. It is, therefore, imperative that a strong secondary system should be developed. It should be a system which will be able to right the wrongs of the colonial past. It should be a system that is not divisive, but which, because it gives equal facilities and opportunities to all sectors of the society, regardless of race, color, or class, serve to unite.

Jamaica has had a long history of education which was intended to preserve the master-servant relationship. In other words, to perpetuate an elitist color/class structure. New secondary schools were instituted shortly after independence with the stated purpose to help to bring good quality secondary education to the working class in the

Jamaican society, to whom this was previously denied. After over two decades since their inception, people are still questioning whether or not these schools are succeeding in accomplishing their aim. This study, as stated earlier, is intended to try to determine to what extent they are succeeding. No study of this nature has ever been done in Jamaica.

One should never attempt to predict the exact outcome of a survey. In fact, any researcher knows that this is unwise because sometimes what things appear to be, the result of a survey shows the opposite. At the same time, however, no one sets out to do a survey without clear ideas as to what the possible outcomes might be. In the case of this researcher, he sees a possibility of one of three outcomes.

(a) If the survey shows that new secondary schools are on par with the traditional secondary schools, then naturally one would like to know how this was accomplished contrary to the feelings of the general public, and against certain mitigating factors.

If this turns out to be the case, then a follow-up study will be necessary in order to determine what unseen forces are at work.

(b) If it is shown that new secondary schools are not on par with the traditional secondary schools, it will be more than a matter of "I told you so."

This outcome will lend itself to a critical analysis of the ills in the Jamaican education system, and gives scope for the writer to give suggestions for its future development.

(c) If the survey shows that new secondary schools are on par with the traditional secondary schools in certain respects, then treatment of this outcome would naturally be a mixture of "a and b" above.

Whatever the outcome, this writer strongly feels that a survey of this nature is necessary for Jamaica at this time. The island is at present passing through a period of severe economic hardships. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that whatever money is alotted to education be spent in a manner in which it will benefit those people who need it most.

The study is, therefore, not intended to be merely for academic exercise. The findings and recommendations will be published in Jamaica, with the hope that it will be helpful to the educational planners.

REVELATIONS

Analysis of data will be concerned with interpreting all the evidence gathered from the records of the Ministry of Education, records of the schools, and the questionnaire which was administered. As previously stated, the writer assured the principals of the surveyed schools that no school would be singled out, so in keeping with this promise analysis will not be done on a school basis. Any comparison will, therefore, be between the two types of schools, and/or between geographical areas. In other words, comparisons will be made between the three geographical areas, and between new secondary and traditional secondary schools, but on no occasion will individual schools be mentioned, compared, or analyzed separately. The sequence of analysis will not necessarily reflect the importance of the different aspects of the survey.

ADEQUACY OF NEW SECONDARY SCHOOLS

It was stated in Chapter IV of this study that if the new secondary schools system is to realize its objectives, then the first requirement is that there must be an adequate number of schools if the system is not to discriminate against some pupils. Bearing in mind that new secondary schools were introduced as the primary aspect of the post independence drive to make secondary education available to the masses, then the least one can expect is that there would be an adequate number of these schools. It was also pointed out in Chapter IV that after twenty years since

their introduction into the Jamaican education system, it appears as if there is not an adequate number of these schools. In order to fully comprehend the extent to which the number of these schools are inadequate, it is necessary to look at the enrolment of 12 to 17 years old students in all-age schools.

The Annual Statistical Review 1984/85, of the Jamaican Ministry of Education shows that there were 87,579 students between the ages of 12 and 17 attending all-age schools. This means that because the number of new secondary schools are so inadequate these students are forced to remain in all-age schools because there are no new secondary schools available to them.

Because of poor physical conditions, lack of equipment, and unqualified staff, all-age schools are incapable of giving quality secondary education. The Ministry of Education annual Statistical Review 1984/85 shows that of 7,072 teachers in all-age schools 2,333 are pre-trained. There are only 6 pre-trained graduates, and there are no trained graduates. If the quality of the teachers in an educational institution is indicative of the quality of the education dispersed, then as far as offering quality secondary education is concerned, the Jamaican all-age schools are the "Cinderellas" in the Jamaican school system. The fact that there are so many students of secondary school age still attending all-age schools makes it clear that the promise of new secondary schools;

> "To provide opportunities for all pupils to receive secondary education" (Ministry of Education Paper No. 73, 1969).

is still only an empty promise.

There are two other aspects of the Statistical Review which are worth pointing out. The first is that grades 10 and 11 are virtually non-existent in all-age schools. In the 455 all-age schools in Jamaica, there are only 285 grade 10, and 100 grade 11 students. It means, therefore, that even if all-age schools were offering education comparable with new secondary schools only 100 students would be eligible to sit the SSC examination.

The second aspect is that there are more boys than girls who are working below grade average. For example, all 12+ students are supposed to be working in grade 7, so any child at age 12+ who is in a grade lower than 7 is working below grade average. The Review shows that between grade 2 and grade 6, there are more boys than girls in each grade, but from grade 7 to 9 girls outnumber boys. A similar pattern prevails throughout all the other age range. This pattern supports the idea that backwardness, i.e., below grade level performance, appears to be more prevalent among boys, mentioned in Chapter V.

Although it was not originally intended to do any survey in all-age schools, I nevertheless surveyed nine of these schools which are in the general area of the rural and

townships new secondary schools surveyed. For this survey the same questionnaire administered to the principals in the other schools was used.

The nine principals all reported that physical conditions are very poor. Seating is inadequate and unsuitable. Most of these schools still use the old "joined" bench and desk type of seating. Seven of the principals reported that less than 25% of the furniture is in good condition, while the other two reported between 25% and 50%. There is no library room in any of these schools, however, all have lockers in which books are kept, and with the exception of three, they are all served by the mobile unit of the Jamaican Library Service. There is no laboratory in any of these schools, and only three of the larger ones have what is termed a Science Kit -- a box with a few gadgets. Recreational facilities are extremely poor, for example, in five of the nine schools there is no play ground for outdoor games, and the schools have no organized indoor games. On a visit to one of these schools, this writer observed a lively game of table tennis being played on an ordinary classroom table, with a piece of board serving as a net.

These facts about all-age schools have been disclosed in order to make it clear that although all-age schools have secondary departments they are not really equipped to offer effective secondary education.

PHYSICAL FACILITIES IN NEW SECONDARY AND TRADITIONAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Data for this aspect of the survey were obtained by the questionnaire administered to the principals. The instrument will be analyzed in the same order in which the questions are explained in Chapter V.

Questions 1 to 4:

> (1. How many students are enrolled in your school? 2. What is your average attendance? 3. What is your accommodation? 4. Have you got adequate seating for your students?)

These were intended to determine the relationship between accommodation, enrolment and attendance.

TABLE III

ACCOMMODATION AND ENROLMENT IN NEW SECONDARY AND TRADITIONAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS

	NEW SECONDARY					TRADITIONAL SECONDARY				
AREA	ACC.	ENROL.	AVE.ATT.	AVE.ATT. RATE	RATIO OF ACC. TO ENROL	ACC.	ENROL.	AVE.ATT.	AVE.ATT. RATE	RATIO OF ACC. TO ENROL
RURAL										
A	1000	868	760	88%	87%	600	549	520	95%	92%
B	800	685	580	85%	85%	700	640	596	93%	91%
C	800	654	574	88%	81%	500	469	420	90%	94%
TOTAL	2600	2207	1914	87%	85%	1800	1658	1536	93%	92%
TOWNS										
A	1500	1820	1540	85%	121%	960	890	860	97%	93%
B	700	760	690	91%	109%	1251	1120	1107	99%	90%
C	1500	1730	1120	65%	115%	980	920	896	97%	94%
TOTAL	3700	4310	3350	78%	116%	3191	2930	2863	98%	92%
CITY										
A	2000	2192	1598	73%	110%	1250	1350	1280	95%	108%
B	2000	2260	1630	72%	113%	1900	1800	1620	90%	95%
C	1500	1885	1041	55%	126%	1500	1700	1540	91%	113%
TOTAL	5500	6337	4269	67%	115%	4650	4850	4440	92%	104%

Table III shows the accommodation, enrolment, average attendance, average attendance rate, and the ratio of accommodation in the 18 schools surveyed. The schools are analyzed according to geographical area, with A, B and C denoting the three schools in each area. The table shows a pattern of increased attendance from rural to city, in both new and traditional secondary schools. Consequently, overcrowding tend to follow a similar pattern, i.e. there is an increase in the percentage of excess enrolment as one moves from rural to city. However, the table clearly shows that traditional secondary schools are not as crowded as new secondary schools. For example, the new secondary schools in the towns have accommodation for 3,700 but an enrolment of 4,310. The average attendence is 3,350, and the ratio between accommodation and enrolment is 116%. On the other hand, the traditional secondary schools in the same area have accomodation for 3,191, but an enrolment of 2,930. The average attendance is 2,863, while the ratio between enrolment and attendance is 92%. Table III also shows that punctuality and regularity in attendance are much better in traditional secondary, than in new secondary schools.

In each area the average percentage rate of attendance is also higher in traditional secondary schools, being 87% to 93%, 78% to 98%, and 67% to 92% in the three areas respectively.

Questions 5 and 6:

> (5. Put a tick ( ) in the box opposite each kind of seats that you have in your school. 6. About how many of these seats are in good condition? Put a tick ( ) in the box opposite the answer which is closest to your estimation.)

The responses to these two questions show that in traditional secondary schools only chairs with paper rest, and desk and chairs are used. These even include the latest style - those chairs with movable paper rests. On the other hand, in new secondary schools there are mainly desk and chairs. However, there are some schools in which desks and benches, even the old model, "joined ones," are still in use.

Data on the quality of the seats, show that in new secondary schools, especially those in the towns and rural areas, the seats are in poor conditions. All of these schools report that only between 25 and 50% of the seats are in good condition. On the other hand traditional secondary schools report between 50 and 75% in good condition, and the others report more than 75%.

Questions 7 to 9:

> (7. Is there a library at your school? 8. Approximately how many volumes does it contain? 9. About what percentage of the following types of books are there? Put your answer in the box opposite each.)

These questions, apart from "YES" by all the principals to number 7, did not draw any response. The principals thought that they could not give accurate figures since school libraries are supplemented by the Jamaica Library

Service Mobile Unit. However, from this writers observation, traditional secondary schools have much better equipped libraries.

Question 10:

> (10. Which of the following laboratory facilities does your school have? Put a tick ( ) in the box opposite each one that you have.)

Laboratory facilities are provided in both new secondary and traditional secondary schools. However, whereas in traditional secondary schools there are separate labs; in new secondary schools there is only one laboratory. In five of the traditional secondary schools there are separate laboratories for Biology, Physics and Chemistry, while in the other four, there is a laboratory for Physics and Chemistry, and a separate one for Biology.

None of the new secondary schools have separate laboratories. In four of these schools - three in the city and the other in a town, the laboratory is divided into three sections - there is no physical division, each area is shown by a sign. In the other five schools there is not even an attempt to show that three different branches of science are taught in the same place.

Questions 11 and 12:

> (11. Which of the following recreational facilities does your school have? 12. How many bathrooms have you got at your school?)

The data gathered by these two questions show no marked difference between the two types of schools, in the games

played. In other words, most of the activities are carried on in both types of schools:

Track and Field	Cricket	Net Ball
Football-Soccer	Volley Ball	Table Tennis

are played in both new secondary and traditional secondary schools. However, facilities for basket ball, swimming and tennis are not provided for new secondary schools. It is noticable that the traditional secondary schools with pools and tennis courts are the original bequest schools, and those established by the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches. The newer traditional secondary schools i.e. those started by government, and the poorer religious denominations have no pools, and only some have tennis courts. It means, therefore, that tennis and swimming are done by only a few secondary schools.

It might be of interest to mention that there are other recreational activities which these few schools provide for their students. Activities such as fencing, rifle shooting, bridge and squash are carried on. It is noticeable, however, that only a few students, particularly those who are white or very fair, participate in these.

The most marked areas of difference in recreational facilities participated in by both types of schools are the conditions of the playing areas, and the level of coaching provided. Playing fields and courts in traditional secondary schools are much better maintained, because each school has a ground staff. In new secondary schools maintenance and preparation are done by the boys.

The students in traditional secondary schools are better coached, because in addition to the physical education teacher, there are coaches for the various sports. On the other hand, new secondary schools have two "all purpose" physical education teachers -- a male and a female.

Change rooms and showers seem to be standard provision in traditional secondary schools. All nine of these schools report that there are four or more showers. On the other hand, only three new secondary schools have showers which are in serviceable condition.

Questions 13 and 14:

> (13. Is your school yard properly landscaped? 14. How would you rate the conditions of your buildings?)

Of the nine traditional secondary schools, seven reported that the school yard is landscaped. The other two schools did not indicate "yes" or "no", but made a note that the school yard in decorated; six new secondary schools reported that their school yard is properly landscaped.

For question 14, five traditional secondary schools reported that the buildings are in good condition, and the other four reported average condition. On the other hand, three new secondary schools reported fair, and six reported poor condition for their buildings.

Questions 15 and 16:

> (15. In order to function effectively, a school should have the necessary physical facilities. For each please indicate with an "X" whether you feel very satisfied (VS), satisfied (S), dissatisfied (D), or very dissatisfied (VD) with the following facilities.)

(16. What is your reason for the rating given in question 15? Please indicate with an "X" in the appropriate box opposite each the answer/answers which is/are closest to your reason/reasons. Indicate whether each is, adequate (A), suitable (S), inadequate (IA), or unsuitable (US).)

These questions are intended to determine the levels of satisfaction of the principals relative to the physical facilities investigated, as well as their reasons for feeling the way they do.

TABLE IV

FEELINGS AND OPINIONS OF PRINCIPALS

	TRAD'L SECONDARY SCHOOLS				NEW SECONDARY SCHOOLS			
(A)	VS 1	SAT 2	D 3	VD 4	VS 1	SAT 2	D 3	VD 4
(a) Seating	6	3	-	-	-	-	7	2
(b) Kinds of Furniture	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	9
(c) Laboratory	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	9
(d) Library	-	8	1	-	-	-	6	3
(e) Recreation	2	7	-	-	-	1	6	3
(f) School Yard	-	5	4	-	2	4	3	-
(g) Buildings	4	5	-	-	-	-	5	4

Table IV Cont'd.

	TRAD'L SECONDARY SCHOOLS				NEW SECONDARY SCHOOLS			
(B)	ADE. 1	SUIT. 2	INAD. 3	UNSUIT. 4	ADE. 1	SUIT. 2	INAD. 3	UNSUIT. 4
(a) Seating	9	-	-	-	-	-	9	-
(b) Kinds of Furniture	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	9
(c) Laboratory	9	9	-	-	-	-	9	9
(d) Library	7	-	2	-	-	-	9	-
(e) Recreation	9	-	-	-	1	-	8	-
(f) School Yard	5	-	4	-	2	-	7	-
(g) Buildings	9	-	-	-	-	-	9	-

The responses to questions 15 and 16 are shown on Table IV. The table is divided into two sections. Section A shows the responses to question 15, and Section B shows those responses to question 16. Section A shows that the responses of the principals in traditional secondary schools to all the items range between very satisfied and satisfied. The reverse is true for principals in new secondary schools; their responses range between dissatisfied and very dissatisfied. In the traditional secondary schools there are only five cases of dissatisfaction on only two items -- library, 1, and school yard, 4; while in new secondary schools that are only 2 cases of very satisfied, and 4 of satisfied, scored for item "f", school yard.

The pattern established in Section A of the table is maintained in Section B. The responses of the principals in traditional secondary schools range between adequate and suitable, while in new secondary schools, the responses range between inadequate and unsuitable. The general pattern as revealed by Table IV seems to suggest a high level of satisfaction among the principals in traditional secondary schools, but a high level of dissatisfaction among the principals in new secondary schools.

EXPENDITURE

It is not the intention of this analysis to delve into the whole range government expenditure on education. The intent is merely to show:

(a) the comparative analysis of the Ministry of Education expenditure on secondary education over a three year period.

(b) the actual amount of money allocated to traditional secondary and new secondary schools over the same period.

TABLE V

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION EXPENDITURE ON SECONDARY EDUCATION

	1981/82			1982/83			1983/84		
SECONDARY EDUCATION	EXPEN. $	INCREASE $	%	EXPEN. $	INCREASE $	%	EXPEN. $	INCREASE $	%
	55,720	6,005	.9	60,862	5,142	.6	61,920	1,058	.4

Table V compiled from the Annual Statistical Review of the Jamaican Ministry of Education shows the annual expenditure for secondary education from 1981/82-1983/84. The table shows that although there was an increase in the total expenditure each year, there was nevertheless a steady percentage decrease in the amount of the increase. In 1981/82 the increase was .9%, this decreased to .6% in 1982/83, and to .4% in 1983/84.

TABLE VI

ACTUAL EXPENDITURE ON TRADITIONAL AND NEW SECONDARY SCHOOLS WITH INCREASE OR DECREASE PERCENTAGE

	EXPENDITURE					
	1981/82		1982/83		1983/84	
SCHOOLS	EXP. $	+ INC. OR - DEC. %	EXP. $	+ INC. OR - DEC. %	EXP. $	+ INC. OR - DEC. %
NEW SECONDARY	25693.3	+15.1	28353.6	+10.31	30400	+7.22
TRADITIONAL SECONDARY	20284.8	- 1%	20169.8	- .56	20200	+ .01

Table VI presents an interesting analysis. The expenditure for new secondary schools conforms to the pattern established in Table V. Although there is an annual increase in total expenditure resulting in a yearly percentage increase, there is, nevertheless a yearly decrease in the size of the increase. In other words, each year the percentage increase gets smaller and smaller -- 15.1%, 10.31% and 7.22%, from 1981/82 to 1983/84 respectively. Interestingly, although the expenditure for traditional secondary schools shows a decrease between 1981/82 and 1983/84, the decrease is insignificant, 1% and .56% respectively. In 1983/84 there was an increase of .01%.

STAFFING

It was stated earlier that many qualified teachers seem to be reluctant to work in new secondary schools because these schools have a lower status than the traditional secondary schools.

TABLE VII

TEACHERS IN NEW SECONDARY AND TRADITIONAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY GRADE.

GRADE	NEW SECONDARY			TRADITIONAL SECONDARY		
	RURAL	TOWN	CITY	RURAL	TOWN	CITY
Trained Graduate	-	1	8	10	22	53
Graduate	-	2	14	14	28	61
Trained Teacher	98	128	164	131	124	168
Pre-trained Teacher	68	16	11	11	5	2
TOTAL:	166	147	197	166	179	284

Table VII gives figures for the staff in the nine new secondary and the nine traditional secondary schools in which the survey was conducted. The table shows:

(a) There are 85 trained graduates in the traditional secondary schools, to only nine in the new secondary schools.

(b) There are 103 graduates in the traditional secondary schools, to only 16 in the new secondary schools.

(c) There are 423 trained teachers in the traditional secondary schools, to 390 in the new secondary schools.

(d) There are 95 pre-trained teachers in the new secondary schools, to only 18 in the traditional secondary schools.

Reading vertically, Table VII also shows that of 629 teachers in the nine traditional secondary schools approximately 30% are university graduates, and only

approximately .03% have no teacher training. On the other hand, of the 510 teachers in the nine new secondary schools only approximately 5% are university graduates, and unlike in the traditional secondary schools, approximately 18% have no teacher training. Continuing a vertical analysis, the table also shows that of 284 teachers in city traditional secondary schools only two are pre-trained, as against five out of 179, and 11 out of 166 in the town and rural areas respectively. The same pattern is maintained among the new secondary schools. Of 197 in the city schools, 11 are pre-trained, compared to 16 out of 147 and 68 out of 166 in the town and rural areas respectively.

From the foregoing analysis, it appears that the major issue between teachers in new secondary and traditional secondary schools is qualitative. This is further aggravated by a falling off in quality from urban to rural schools.

OUTPUT QUALITY

It was stated earlier that output quality would be measured on the basis of examination results in English Language in both the CXC and SSC examinations. The nature of the examinations and the ranges of passes have already been discussed.

However, to further accentuate the degree of disparity between the two types of schools, I would again like to point out that whereas traditional secondary schools offers the promise of post secondary studies, have greater social currency, and experience an ever increasing demand for

admission, new secondary schools are the reverse. By contrast, they are terminal for most of their students, they enjoy noticably lower esteem and social currency, and consequently declining enrolment, because of a high drop out rate.

TABLE VIII

RESULTS IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN CXC BASIC PROFICIENCY AND SSC EXAMINATIONS.

		CXC GRADES					
SSC		1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL
R	5	-	4	3	-	-	7
A	4	-	5	26	13	-	44
N	3	-	-	40	51	4	95
G	2	-	-	-	30	53	83
E	1	-	-	-	-	12	12
S							
TOTAL:		-	9	69	94	69	241

Table VIII shows the results for 241 students who sat the SSC and the CXC at the Basic Proficiency Level. Reading across, the table shows that seven students attained range five, the highest range in the SSC, but none of these secured grade 1 in the CXC. Of these 7 students, 4 secured grade 2 and 3 grade 3 in the CXC. The second highest range in the SSC has 44 students, but of this number only 5 are on par with the CXC grade, i.e. 5 attained grade 2, while 39 are below par. This pattern holds true for ranges 3 and 2. However, there is a greater degree of parity at this range because of the 95 students at range 3, 40 are also at grade 3 in the CXC, and 51 at grade 4, which is slightly below

par. There are 83 students who performed at range 2 in the SSC, but of this number 53 performed at the lowest level in the CXC. The remaining 30 are on par, i.e. they are at the next lowest level in both examinations. Likewise, there are 12 students whose performances are on par, i.e. at the lowest level in both examinations. Reading vertically, the table shows that there are only nine students at grade 2 level, 69 at grade 3, 94 at grade 4 and 69 at grade 5. For the SSC, there are seven students at range 5, 44 at range 4, 95 at range 3, 83 at range 2 and 12 at range 1.

In other words, in both examinations, students seem to have performed best at range 4 and 3 in the SSC and grades 3 and 4 in the CXC. However, the overall performance in the CXC appears to be lower than in the SSC. In other words, performance in the CXC seems to be a grade lower than in the SSC; for example, performance at stage 5 in the SSC is equivalent to grade 2 in the CXC.

TABLE IX

RESULTS IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN CXC GENERAL PROFICIENCY AND SSC EXAMINATIONS.

		CXC GRADES					
SSC		1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL
R	5	-	4	9	-	-	13
A	4	-	3	7	15	-	25
N	3	-	-	8	34	2	44
G	2	-	-	-	18	51	69
E	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
S							
TOTAL:		-	7	24	67	53	151

Table IX which shows the result at the General Proficiency Level follows the same trend as Table VIII. As in Table VIII, none of the students who attained range 5 in the SSC attained the equivalent grade "1" in the CXC. Likewise, the 25 students securing range "4" in the SSC, only 3 secured grade "2", the equivalent grade in the CXC, while 22 are below par. This pattern persists through ranges 3 and 2, of 44 in range 3, there are only 8 who achieved grade 3; and of 69 in range 2, only 18 of these secured the equivalent grade in the CXC. A significant aspect of this table which supports the analysis from Table VIII is that as in Table VIII where of 83 students who performed at range 2, the next lowest range in the SSC, 53 are at grade 5 the lowest grade in the CXC. Likewise, in Table IX of 69 students at range 2 in the SSC, 51 of these performed at grade 5 in the CXC. These figures seem to suggest that the students performed at a grade lower in the CXC than they do in the SSC.

Reading horizontally with a vertical comparison, it can be seen that while 13 students performed at range 5, none performed at grade 1; 25 performed at range 4, but only 7 at grade 2; 44 at range 3, but only 24 at grade 3; and finally at the lower end of both scales there appears to be more uniformity, 69 to 67.

Although the figures are not glaring, there seem to be a decrease in the performance of the students at the General Proficiency Level. In Table VIII 55.5% of the students who performed at grade 2 in the CXC also performed at the equivalent range in the SSC. However, in Table IX, this number drops to 43%. The pattern is the same for grade 3 and range 3 -- approximately 58% in Table VIII, falling to 33-1/3% in Table IX.

It is important to again point out that not all new secondary schools prepare students for the CXC examination. The students from those few schools who sit the CXC can, therefore, be regarded as the "cream" of all new secondary school students in Jamaica. If the cream of the new secondary school students compare so unfavourably with the students from the traditional secondary schools, then it is extremely distressing to think what the performance of the regular students would be like.

CHAPTER VII

ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE

Since Independence in 1962, Education in Jamaica has certainly seen a fair degree of improvement, especially in quantitative terms. Enrolment figures in early childhood, primary, and secondary schools have increased. These improvements in school enrolment have come about largely because of capital investment which has been funnelled into education over this period.

Jamaica during this period has been able to obtain assistance for capital development from sources such as the World Bank, International Development Bank and U.S.AID. Through mainly low interest loans, and in some cases grants, a fair number of schools have been built.

The largest single investment of these loans/grants has been directed to the introduction of New Secondary Schools, which were built through loans from the World Bank as Junior Secondary Schools. In fact, New Secondary Schools constitute the largest single capital investment ever made in Jamaican education.

Another area where there has been significant improvement in numbers is in the Jamaicanization of the teaching profession. During colonial period, most of the principals of Secondary (High) Schools, and Teachers Colleges, as well as the graduate teachers were expatriates. In fact, up to about 1976, Jamaica continued to import a large number of

teachers. At present Jamaican teachers at the various levels constitute more than 90 percent of the teaching force. This massive increase in the number of Jamaican teachers, however, does not necessarily mean an increase in qualified teachers at all levels of the system.

The increase in the number of Jamaican teachers can be attributed to two main factors. First is the development of local teacher training facilities. For example, evening and week-end courses conducted by the Teachers' Colleges in conjunction with the Ministry of Education have provided the opportunities for more individuals to pursue a career in teaching. Another reason for the increase in Jamaican teachers especially in the secondary schools is the fact that there has been a decrease in the number of foreigners seeking teaching jobs in Jamaica. This decrease is directly related to the steady devaluation of the Jamaican dollar since 1977. This has made teachers' salaries in Jamaica unattractive to expatriates.

In terms of quality education, it is not as easy to judge the degree of improvement, if any, which has taken place since no large-scale study has ever been done in this respect. Objectively one would like to say that there must be improvement since there are now more pupils in school. The answer certainly cannot be as simple because one would have to take into consideration improvement as related to expenditure in specific areas as well as the overall situation.

An interesting dimension of this situation is the general opinion that the society at large holds. The general feeling in Jamaica is that, overall, but more so in secondary education, standards have fallen since independence. Again, I say it is a pity that one cannot quote conclusive statistics to support or deny this general feeling.

If one should speculate on the reasons for this feeling, it appears that it results from two main factors. Firstly, if we equate opportunities and choices open to secondary school graduates during the colonial period and now, it will be seen that now there are many more areas available to graduates. For example, during colonial times not many secondary school graduates were absorbed by the private sector. Only those who were white or could pass as white were generally employed. It appears, therefore, that what is conceived as deterioration may really be engendered by the change in the nature of the opportunities now available to students.

The second factor I offer with much reluctance and disappointment. However, from the discussions I have had with the "man in the street," and also with teachers and principals, I could not help but coming to the conclusion that class prejudice is responsible for some of the perceptions of decline.

This is a situation that is not too easy to explain. Since Independence educational opportunities have been open to all social classes. Unfortunately, some people seem to have interpreted the increase in the number of students from working class homes into secondary schools, especially into the colonial "High Schools" as a deterioration in standards. The anomaly here is that the very thing which has created the opportunity is now seen as the source of the problem.

In spite of the improvements which have been noted, this study has revealed that Jamaican education is still suffering from many problem. Some of these problems one thought would have disappeared as we move through 25 years of independence. It appears, therefore, that not withstanding the improvements cited, the country still has a long way to go if we are to realize the kind of educational system consistent with our aspirations and status as a sovereign nation.

This chapter will be concerned with assessing all the evidence, information and observation on the response, participation and ability of the individuals, gathered through formal and informal procedures. The requirement to classify another individual's efforts into certain preset categories, or in order by rank, is one of the researcher's greatest headaches. However, one of the burdens of researching will always be that of passing judgements on other human beings, and conditions, sometimes quite candidly, with only insufficient, biased, and often subjective information. On the

other hand, it is a fact that no matter how refined and sophisticated evaluating and assessing techniques may become, we shall never be able to completely eliminate the human element.

In trying to highlight the findings of this survey, the writer will comment on the various aspects of the survey in the same order in which they have been analyzed in Chapter VI. Comments will be based primarily on analyzed data; however, the writer may also make references to information which was gathered through observation, through informal discussion with principals, teachers and students, or through his own personal experiences, having worked at all levels of the Jamaican educational system.

ADEQUACY OF NEW SECONDARY SCHOOLS

At present, there are 78 New Secondary Schools in Jamaica with an enrolment of 100,195. There are 87,579 students of secondary school-age enrolled in all-age schools. In other words, after twenty years since their inception, New Secondary Schools are only cathering for approximately 54% of the secondary school age population which they are supposed to provide accommodation for.

What makes this finding extremely dismal is the fact that the likelyhood of additional, New Secondary Schools being built in the near future is remote. The last New Secondary School was built in 1975, and since the island has been experiencing extreme financial difficulties for the past ten years, then the prognosis for new schools is

extremely bleak. It appears, therefore, that approximately 46% of these students who fail to pass the Common Entrance Examination to Traditional Secondary Schools are doomed to spending their secondary days in all-age schools.

It was mentioned in Chapter VI that all-age schools are the "Cinderellas" in the Jamaican Education System. These schools are relics from the colonial Elementary Schools. They go from grades 1 to 9/age 6 to 15, with the first six grades being the basic primary grades. Grades 7 to 9 are supposed to be the first cycle of secondary education. These grades provide secondary education for those pupils who have no access to any regular secondary school, "new or old."

Secondary age pupils in all-age schools are being educated in much the same way as the primary age pupils. They are generally taught either by untrained teachers or teachers who pursued the primary course in teachers college.

The following are only a few of the disadvantages militating against secondary age pupils in all-age schools:

(1) All-age schools are financed as a section of a primary school so the per capita grant is less than that for pupils in any secondary school.

(2) The buildings in which these schools are housed are usually old and dilapidated, and attendance very often exceeds accommodation.

(3) Laboratories are non-existent and library facilities are woefully inadequate.

(4) The pupil-teacher ratio in all-age schools is generally higher than in any secondary school.

The practice of combining grades 7, 8, and 9 into one class of up to 50 students under the supervision of one teacher is not uncommon in some rural areas.

Of the 46% of Jamaican students between 12 and 15 in all-age schools only a very small number may escape by way of the 13+ entrance examination to Technical Schools, or the grade 9 Achievement Test to New Secondary Schools. The UNESCO Report on Secondarry Education in Jamaica give these figures as 7% and 4% respectively. For the rest, this makes the end of their education. In other words, for at least 35% of the students of secondary school age in Jamaica, grade 9 in the all-age school is the end of formal education. On the other hand, students in traditional secondary schools have a chance of continuing formal education in grade 10 and even beyond.

Unless these issues are addressed, secondary education for the masses in Jamaica will continue to be a dream.

If this is to be avoided, then this writer suggests that the following recommendations be considered:

(1) Building of additional secondary schools. The location of these schools should be based on a carefull study of population density; especially school age members of the population in the specific areas.

From earlier discussion relative to the financial state of the country, it is obvious that this suggestion would have to be a long term project. An interim suggestion, therefore, would be to:

(2) Upgrading conditions in all-age school.

A practical and economical approach to this suggestion would be to implement it on a regional basis. One all-age school in an area could be selected for improvement, and all the 12+ students from neighbouring all-age schools would attend this school.

(3) Start a program of upgrading conditions in all all-age schools throughout the country.

(4) Implementation of regional mobile units.

This project could be used in conjunction with the second suggestion. For example, a well equipped science unit could work with three schools visiting two twice per week, and spending a full day, on Fridays, with the third. It is a possibility that the school receiving a full day could be rotated on a monthly basis.

PHYSICAL FACILITIES IN NEW SECONDARY AND TRADITIONAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS

An educational institution functions most effective when the physical conditions are condusive to a sense of pride in the institution. Apart from the adverse effects which inadequate and poor physical conditions have on the physical comfort of students, the teaching/learning process is also retarded.

Many writers, for example, Conant[1] and Prescott[2], believe that learning is retarded when children develop a feeling of inferiority as a result of poor conditions in their educational environment. The findings from the data gathered in this section will, therefore, give an idea not only of the conditions as they exist in the schools but more importantly, they will be indicative of the psychological states of the students found in the respective situations.

It was pointed out in Chapter VI, that in all three geographical areas, the enrolment and average attendance in New Secondary Schools is higher than the accommodation. On the other hand, the reverse is true for Traditional Secondary Schools. It appears, therefore, that these findings also support the earlier suggestion for the building of additional New Secondary Schools. However, since, as already pointed out, this seems a remote possibility for the immediate future, a more practical suggestion would be to increase the facilities in existing New Secondary Schools. It should be appreciated, however, that this would be at the risk of making these schools too large.

Not only are the number of New Secondary Schools inadequate, but existing ones seem to be woefully short of the basic facilities. On the other hand, Traditional Secondary

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[1]Conant, Ibid

[2]Prescott, D. A.

1957: The Child In The Educative Process
McGraw-Hill Inc., New York

Schools all seem to be adequuately supplied - both in quality and quantity. Whereas in New Secondary Schools the furniture is generally old, and some unsuitable, Traditional Secondary Schools are provided with new and modern furniture.

Laboratory facilities in New Secondary Schools, as shown from the analysis of question 10 (Which of the following laboratory facilities does your school have?) on the interview schedule, appears to be very inadequate. There is no new secondary school with separate laboratories; but conversely, most of the Traditional Secondary Schools all seem to have separate laboratories.

The UNESCO Report on Secondary Education in Jamaica points out that in many cases even if there are laboratories in New Secondary Schools, most have become unusable for science teaching purposes because the installations, such as desks, instrument storage furniture, gas and water piping, fittings and sinks have disappeared.

A factor which this writer finds very distressing is the fact that political privileges seem to play a part in determining equipments provided for a few schools. Although there is a general lack of equipments, a few schools seem to be more fortunate than others. In two cases, the equipments were so elaborate that the science teachers, who were not graduates, found them too complex. Consequently, they were not being used. When I tried to determine the source of these equipments, the principals were very non-committal.

Analysis for question 14 (How would you rate the conditions of your buildings?) further shows the unsatisfactory conditions existing in many New Secondary Schools, as compared to conditions in Traditional Secondary Schools. Whereas the buildings in Traditional Secondary Schools are in good or fair conditions, most of those in New Secondary Schools are in poor condition.

It was pointed out earlier that the physical conditions under which pupils are educated affect how they perceive themselves. It appears that the disparity between conditions in Traditional and New Secondary Schools serve to further damage the already low self esteem of students in New Secondary Schools.

In the area of recreational facilities, there are marked differences in the facilities for play and the level of coaching, provided in the two different types of schools. Traditional Secondary Schools are much better provided for than New Secondary Schools. To further mark the distinction between the two types of schools, separate competitions are held by the Department of Sports for the two types of schools. In other words, for competitions such as track and field, cricket and soccer, New Secondary and Traditional Secondary Schools do not meet in competitions.

Considering all the analyzed data relative to physical facilities, it appears impossible for students in New Secondary Schools not to develop a feeling of deprivation and a sense of inferiority. In fact, it is more than

developing, it is more a matter of strengthening this feeling, because, as mentioned in Chapter IV, New Secondary School students start out with a deep feeling of inferiority.

The responses to questions 15 (In order to function effectively, a school should have the necessary physical facilities.) and 16 (What is your reason for the rating given in question 15?) were not surprising, because it would have been a radical departure from expected behavior if they had been otherwise.

In addition to the real facts, i.e. New Secondary Schools are very poorly equipped, the relationship between the principals in the two types of schools seems to be a case of deprivation intensified by relative deprivation for the New Secondary principals. In the case of those principals in Traditional Secondary Schools, it appears to be privilage glorified by underprivilage. In other words, the principals in New Secondary Schools give the impression that they are more dissatisfied because conditions in Traditional Secondary Schools are so much better. On the other hand, the principals in Traditional Secondary Schools seem to be gloating over their good fortunes. The tendency is for New Secondary principals to see everything bad, with very little hope for immediate changes; while their counterparts in Traditional Secondary Schools tend to see everything "coming up roses."

It is not the writer's intention to minimize the disparity between conditions in the two types of schools; but what he would like to do is to focus attention on the psychological implications. Even among the principals one could detect (or possible sense, is a better word), a feeling of superiority/ inferiority complex. It is this writer's opinion that these individuals had no intention, nor were they aware that they were portraying this image.

Nevertheless, one gets a very strong impression of "cockyness" and conceit among high school principals; and an impression of dejection and hopelessness among the principals of New Secondary Schools. These feelings are adequately reflected in the analyzed data. An interesting aspect is that the only item on which New Secondary principals express any measure of satisfaction is "school yard." This item shows 2 cases of very satisfied, and 4 of satisfied. It might be of interest to mention that landscaping and beautification of the schoolyard is worked into the Agricultural Science, and Horticultural programmes of New Secondary Schools. It is, therefore, not unusual that this aspect should be better, because it is done by the students themselves. Preparation of good gardeners is an aspect of making students "acceptable to employers."

From the foregoing discussion, it appears as if there is much disparity in physical conditions between New Secondary and Traditional Secondary Schools. The attitude of the principals in the schools surveyed seems to suggest a strong

feeling of superiority/inferiority complex engendered by the great disparity in physical conditions. It certainly does not require a great stretch of one's imagination to conclude that if the principals are affected in this manner, the teachers and students will be similarly affected.

It was stated earlier that because of the "creaming-off" process caused by the Common Entrance Examination, the students entering New Secondary Schools see themselves as "rejects." It means, therefore, that the great disparity in the physical facilities will further strengthen an already negative self concept among New Secondary School students.

It appears then that the real danger of poor physical conditions in New Secondary Schools is not in the obvious retarding effects that these inadequate facilities have on the actual teaching/learning process. It is rather in the psychological damage which is being done to the already damaged self-concept of the students in New Secondary Schools. To all appearance, therefore, New Secondary Schools have not contributed towards breaking down the feelings of higher prestige attributed to the Traditional Secondary Schools. In fact, the great disparity in the physical amenities serve to perpetuate this feeling.

It appears that if the students in New Secondary Schools are to begin to nurture a feeling of equality with their counterparts in Traditional Secondary Schools, then tangible efforts should be made to establish greater parity in physical facilities between New Secondary and Traditional Secondary Schools.

The obvious suggestion for the correction of the poor facilities in New Secondary Schools, is to initiate a programme of refurbishing all New Secondary Schools. Since lack of money has always been, and still is, the main obstacle to educational development in Jamaica, then it is unlikely that a comprehensive improvement programme can be undertaken at this time. It is, however, imperative that immediate attempts be made to lessen, if not totally eradicate, these stigmatyzing conditions. The following can, therefore, be regarded as short term methods:

(a) Upgrading fundamental areas, for example, laboratories and libraries.

(b) Motivate a greater degree of community effort towards helping to recondition existing buildings, and build new ones.

(c) Open competition in sports between New Secondary and Traditional Secondary Schools.

(d) Appoint coaches for different sports in New Secondary Schools.

EXPENDITURE

An examination of the expenditure on secondary education in, general, shows that contrary to the general impression given by government, the total expenditure on secondary education has been decreasing steadily over the past three years.

In other words, although there has been a steady annual increase in the number of students in secondary schools, the percentage increase in expenditure has decreased steadily. It means, therefore, that the increase in expenditure is not consistent with the increase in enrolment.

New Secondary Schools suffer from this anomaly more than Traditional Secondary Schools. For example, whereas the expenditure for New Secondary School had a decrease of 4.79% and 3.09% in 1981/82 and 1983/84 respectively, in the same years the expenditure for Traditional Secondary Schools show a decrease of only .56% and an increase of .01%. It appears, therefore, that there is some measure of discrimination in the amount of money allotted to New Secondary Schools. One is not here complaining about the total sum allotted to New Secondary Schools, not because the amount is inadequate, but rather because one knows that there would be a ready answer to this -- "Government must operate within the constraints of the budget." The complaint is rather against the act of taking more from those who are already deprived. In other words, although proportionally, New Secondary Schools receive less than Traditional Secondary Schools, they loose more than Traditional Secondary Schools.

The obvious suggestion to rectify this condition is that government at least display the same level of commitment to both types of schools by making grants adequate to needs. Naturally, before parity could be reached, it would be necessary to effect a kind of "positive discrimination" in the allocation of grants to these schools. In other words, reverse the trend of the Matthew Effect which is the result of current practice. Increase the grants to those schools which are in greatest need.

The greater issue for the future of Jamaican education, however, is the degree of control which the country exercises over its educational investment. Our years of independence have not done much to increase our autonomy in the control of our educational destiny. Capital development in education is still to a great extent too dependent on foreign loans which are subject to the stringent conditions imposed by multilateral and bilateral lending agencies. To obtain these funds it is incombent on the government to conform to the conditions laid down by these agencies. Although "on paper" these agencies are supposed to respect the will of Jamaica, this is certainly not the case.

It follows that because educational investment forms a substantial part of capital investment; then as public expenditure becomes increasingly subject to the control of, for example, the International Monetary Fund, recurrent expenditure in Education also comes under direct external control. It may therefore, be that the government is not in

a position to put more money into New Secondary Schools although it may very well want to since the disparities are so obvious. The bottom line, therefore, is that the country need to exercise total control over its educational destiny. The first step towards this is to provide local funds for education. There is really no short cut in this direction. The naked truth is that if as a nation, Jamaica hopes to make educational investment in the areas where it will be most effective then we must be willing to pay for it.

STAFFING

In all Third World Countries, the teaching profession is one of the main avenues out of the lower socio-economic class. Not because of the salary which teachers are paid, but because of the social prestige attached to the profession. Entry to Teachers' College was first based on the Third Jamaica Local Examination, which as pointed out earlier, was the poor man's passport into institutions of higher learning. Teaching never really attracted students from the Traditional Secondary Schools; even if a few entered teaching, they would return to teach in the secondary schools never in the elementary schools.

Over the years, this pattern has not changed much. There seem to be an aversion among many qualified teachers to teach in the New Secondary Schools, since these schools are seen as lower in prestige.

Although it is common knowledge in Jamaica that the quality of teachers, based on paper qualification is much better in Traditional Secondary Schools, it was not expected that the imbalance would have been so great. Based on the analysis of Table VII, it appears that under the present conditions New Secondary Schools will be unable to provide the type of education now given in the Traditional Secondary Schools.

It may be argued that paper qualification does not necessarily means quality education. One must point out, however, that the first requirement for a teaching position is paper qualification. Whereas a qualified teacher is expected to know what to teach, and how to teach it, an unqualified person should not be expected to perform above a certain level. It should not, therefore, be expected that schools that are so poorly staffed and poorly equipped can even dream of providing the type of education which others in a much more favourable position are providing.

A rather distressing aspect of the staffing situation is that in both New and Traditional Secondary Schools qualification of teachers tend to run on a rural/city continuum. In other words, staffing improves as we go from rural to city schools. When it is considered that this characteristic among teachers is not restricted to secondary schools, but is also a feature of staffing in primary and all-age schools, then the seriousness of this condition can better be appreciated. Possibly it is not that intelligence in

Jamaica runs on a rural-urban continuum as Manley thinks, but rather it is quality teaching.

It appears that the more serious issue concerning staffing is qualitative rather than quantitative, especially in the distribution between rural and urban areas.

The obvious suggestion for improving the quality of teachers in New Secondary Schools is to employ more qualified teachers to work in these schools. Equally obvious, however, is the fact that for a condition so pervasive and chronic, the solution could not be as simple. In the first place a number of factors have to be taken into consideration, for example, the total number of qualified teachers available, and the willingness of teachers to work under sub-standard conditions.

Because New Secondary Schools are seen as inferior to Traditional Secondary Schools, qualified teachers, as long as they can find employment in Traditional Secondary Schools will not work in them. Because of this stigma, the only way that New Secondary Schools will be adequately staffed by qualified teachers is if there is an over abundance of these teachers. The educational planners can therefore opt for providing so many qualified teachers that sheer numbers would force some into New Secondary Schools. If this is seen as the solution, then government would have to set about producing the required number of teachers. In order to accomplish this one or both of the following suggestions could be employed:

(1) An immediate increase in the number of trained teachers entering the university of the West Indies.

(2) Restructure the curriculum in teachers colleges, and accord them degree granting status.

Since the above two suggestions cannot have an immediate effect on the situation, the following could be adopted as interim suggestions:

(1) Initiate a drive to attract back into teaching graduate teachers who have left the profession.

(2) Give incentives, for example, accelerated increments to those graduate teachers who opt to teach in New Secondary Schools, especially those in rural areas.

(3) Begin an intensive drive to improve working conditions in New Secondary Schools.

(4) Initiate administrative changes which would put New Secondary Schools more on par with Traditional Secondary schools. For example, a reduction in the teacher/pupil ratio.

OUTPUT QUALITY

The only true measure for determining the extent to which learning has taken place is the degree of change which has taken place in the performance of the learner. Since schools are set up by society to foster the development of those individuals who attend them, then in any society schools must be held accountable for the nature of the

students they graduate. In other words, the level of proficiency of the graduates of an educational institution to a great extent gives an indication of the kind of preparation given by the institution.

It can be argued that an institution cannot perform beyond the capacity of the students with whom it has to work. This line of reasoning appears to be the thinking of the educational administrators because, as pointed out earlier, the two examinations, the SSC and the CXC, definitely show two levels of expectations. One can, therefore, give the administrators credit for accuracy in judgement, because the data clearly show that over the three year period from which the sample was selected no student in New Secondary Schools performed on par in both examinations. This is further indictment on New Secondary Schools as far as providing quality education is concerned.

The Secondary School Certificate was introduced by the Ministry of Education as part of the new approach in the assessment of students. It was intended to provide certification for all students completing a Secondary Education course in Jamaica. Ever since its inception, the examination has been fraught with complications and problems which have greatly militated against its full implementation as envisaged. The most profound of these problems is that the examination is regarded as so unimportant, and of such low prestige that up to now it is taken only by students in New Secondary Schools.

The UNESCO Report[3] on the development of secondary education in Jamaica has revealed the following:

(a) There has been a decrease of about 16% in the number of entries after 1978.

(b) Throughout the period as much as 80% of the language examinations are taken at the functional level and only 25% with a view to continuing formal education.

(c) The average number of entries per student decreased from 3.4 in 1978 to 2.8 by 1981; suggesting that the average breath of knowledge of a typical SSC-holder is shrinking.

(d) The subjects that have consistently low success rates over the years are the functional levels of language and mathematics.

These findings give support to my argument that the SSC examination seem to have very little social currency in the Jamaican society. In fact, it appears that the examination is not meeting the needs of the students who take it; in this respect, there is a strong case for discontinuing the examination.

In contrast with the findings for SSC examination, the same document points out that the growth of the CXC has been quite impressive, especially among High School Students. It further states, another observation that emerges is that

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[3]UNESCO REPORT, PP. 107-111

whereas the number of entrants from High Schools has more than tripled in three years; those from New Secondary Schools varied relatively little.

From its inception in 1979, the CXC came about because of a general concensious among the former British Caribbean territories to replace the British oriented General Certificate in Education (GCE), Ordinary and Advance levels, with an examination more relevant to the needs of emergent Caribbean nations. In fact, among the guidelines for the examination, it was stated:

> The first priority should be to develop a system of examinations to replace the GCE 'O' and similar examinations conducted by overseas bodies.[4]

It can be seen that the CXC was never intended for New Secondary School students, since it was not the pattern to prepare these students for the GCE examination. Whereas the SSC examination lacks social currency in the Jamaican society, the CXC on the other hand has gained a wide level of recognition in the society at large. The reason for this is two fold. First, it is seen as being equivalent to the GCE. The second reason is related to the status of the pupils for whom the examination was intended - the students from the Traditional Secondary Schools. According to a parent I talked with, "New Secondary School children are just trying a thing when they say they take CXC because they cannot pass it."

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[4]Caribbean Examinations Council, Western Zone Office Bulletin, September 17, 1981, P.1.

The factors acting against New Secondary Schools improving the quality of their output are fourfold. The concept that people have of these schools, the nature of the students they enroll, the quality of teachers they employ and the conditions under which they operate.

The nature of the teachers, working conditions, and the concepts that people have of New Secondary Schools, have already been discussed. However, to focus fully on the nature of the students who are enrolled in New Secondary Schools, it is necessary to again examine the attitude of the educational planners towards New Secondary Schools relative to the pupils who are designated to attend these schools.

It was pointed out earlier that students enter New Secondary Schools on a nonselective basis. New Secondary School students comprise the rejects from the common entrance examination, and those who were not deemed "good" enough even to be allowed to sit the examination. With this type of student population, one cannot understand how New Secondary Schools could be expected to perform on par with the Traditional Secondary Schools. It is, therefore, my contention that inspite of what the government educational spokespersons might have said about New Secondary Schools providing quality education they did not honestly believe that this would or could really be realized. The fact that the two examinations, the SSC and the CXC, show two different levels of expectations seem to bear out this

point. It is, therefore, not surprising that the most proficient students in English in New Secondary Schools is performing at least a grade lower than the average student in Traditional Secondary Schools.

It appears, therefore, that in order to improve the quality of the graduates from New Secondary Schools, a change in attitude by government is imperative. This change in concept should lead people to realize that as long as the common entrance examination is maintained, then New Secondary Schools are very unlikely to ever perform at the same level as Traditional Secondary Schools.

The overriding issue relative to the students who enter New Secondary Schools is tied up with the state of the feeder schools, i.e. the primary schools. The fact that the primary schools, because of a multiplicity of problems, are doing a poor job in the provision of basic skills in literacy and numeracy, puts added burden on all secondary schools. It is clear, however, that the burden is more severe on New Secondary Schools because only the "rejects" are sent to them.

In spite of what the educational planners may say, what we have in Jamaica is a dualistic system of secondary education. There are the Traditional Secondary Schools, also termed High Schools, for those who succeed in gaining selection via the Common Entrance Examination; and there are the New Secondary and All-Age Schools for those who failed.

Although this may sound controversial, this writer sees the Common Entrance Examination as being necessary, and adequately serving its function at pressent. If the educational planners are bent on perpetuating an elitist stratified secondary education system, then it is only common sense to devise some relatively objective measure for sorting out students for allocation into it. Another issue, therefore, is whether or not the country should continue the present stratified system of secondary education which requires some form of selective process for allocation into it. It is suggested, therefore, that to coincide with the abolition of the Common Entrance Examination, the "new" be deleted from New Secondary Schools, so that all schools in Jamaica providing education for 12+-16+ students will be termed secondary schools.

The national motto of Jamaica is "Out of Many One People." In spite of this, the secondary education system of the country continues to be structured, and conceived by many, along the segregated lines of the colonial past. If the motto is to be meaningful, if the many people are to be unified into a nation, then the least the country can do is provide a secondary school system which brings all social groups together in the learning process.

It appears, therefore, that a major requirement for improving output quality from New Secondary Schools is abolition of the Common Entrance Examination.

There is, however, a more fundamental aspect to this problem. Even if the Common Entrance Examination is abolished but conditions in primary schools remain the same, the problem of poor quality graduates from New Secondary Schools will only be spread among all secondary schools. While it is necessary to abolish this examination the more serious issue is what is to be done about improving the quality of primary education in order to ensure that every entrant into secondary schools possesses the basic literacy and numeracy skills.

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PRINCIPALS

These questions are intended to determine the physical amenities at your school, also your feelings and opinions about these facilities. As promised, neither your name nor the names of the schools in which the survey is done will be mentioned, so please be as accurate as possible.

Type of School:

New Secondary ( )

Secondary High ( )

Location of School:

Rural ( )

Town ( )

Capital City ( )

1. How many students are enrolled in your school?

   Male ____ Female ____ Total ____

2. What is your average attendance?

   Male ____ Female ____ Total ____

3. What is your accommodation? _____

4. Have you got adequate seating for your students?

   Yes ( ) No ( )

5. Put a tick ( ) in the box opposite each kind of seats that you have in your school.

   (a) Chairs with paper rests ( )

   (b) Desks and chairs ( )

   (c) Desks and benches (separate) ( )

   (d) Desks and benches (joined) ( )

6. About how many of these seats are in good condition? Put a tick ( ) in the box opposite the answer which is closest to your estimation.

   (a) More than 75% ( )

   (b) Between 50% and 75% ( )

   (c) Between 25% and 50% ( )

   (d) Less than 25% ( )

7. Is there a library at your school? Yes ( ) No ( )

8. Approximately how many volumes does it contain? _____

9. About what percentage of the following types of books are there? Put your answer in the box opposite each.

   (a) Scientific ( )

   (b) Fiction ( )

   (c) General Information ( )

   (d) Vocational ( )

10. Which of the following laboratory facilities does your school have? Put a tick ( ) in the box opposite each one that you have.

   (a) Chemistry ( )

   (b) Physics ( )

   (c) Biology ( )

11. Which of the following recreational facilities does your school have? Put a tick ( ) in the box opposite each one that you have.

   (a) Track and Field ( )

   (b) Cricket ( )

   (c) Soccer ( )

   (d) Volleyball ( )

   (e) Net Ball ( )

11. Cont'd.

(f) Basketball ( )

(g) Swimming ( )

(h) Tennis ( )

(i) Table Tennis ( )

12. How many bathrooms have you got at your school? _____

13. Is your school yard properly landscaped?

Yes ( ) No ( )

14. How would you rate the conditions of your buildings? Put a tick ( ) in the box opposite the one closest to your answer.

Good ( ) Average ( ) Fair ( ) Poor ( )

15. In order to function effectively, a school should have the necessary physical facilities. For each please indicate with an "X" whether you feel very satisfied (VS), satisfied (S), dissatisfied (D), or very dissatisfied (VD) with the following facilities.

	VS 1	S 2	D 3	VD 4
(a) Seating	( )	( )	( )	( )
(b) Kinds of furniture	( )	( )	( )	( )
(c) Laboratory	( )	( )	( )	( )
(d) Library	( )	( )	( )	( )
(e) Recreational	( )	( )	( )	( )
(f) School yard	( )	( )	( )	( )
(g) Buildings	( )	( )	( )	( )

16. What is your reason for the rating given in question 15? Please indicate with an "X" in the appropriate box opposite each the answer/answers which is/are closest to your reason/ reasons. Indicate whether each is, adequate (A), suitable (S), inadequate (IA), or unsuitable (US).

		A 1	S 2	IA 3	US 4
(a)	Seating	( )	( )	( )	( )
(b)	Kinds of furniture	( )	( )	( )	( )
(c)	Laboratory	( )	( )	( )	( )
(d)	Library	( )	( )	( )	( )
(e)	Recreational	( )	( )	( )	( )
(f)	School yard	( )	( )	( )	( )
(g)	Buildings	( )	( )	( )	( )

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