SOCIAL CHANGE AND HIGH SCHOOL OPPORTUNITY
IN GUYANA AND JAMAICA: 1957 - 1967

by

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ABSTRACT

The approach to nationhood and democratic government in Guyana and Jamaica during the 1950's and 1960's was characterised by a determination to reduce inequalities in the distribution of goods and services among various socio-economic groups. The thesis examines efforts made to lessen inequalities in educational opportunity, and assesses the results achieved. Specifically it enquires into the results of measures instituted during 1957 to 1967 to reduce inequalities in representation of different groups among high school free-place winners.

The hypothesis examined is that despite legislative and organisational changes, formerly deprived groups still remain at a considerable disadvantage in their chances for high school selection. For both countries, groups are classified on the basis of four separate differentiating characteristics: parental occupation, regional background, sex, and type of previous school attended. For Guyana ethnic background is included because of peculiar ethno-historical problems in that country.

Analysis of Ministry of Education records of all free-place winners in 1967 reveals that the position of
the traditionally less privileged rural, and skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled groups remained far below public expectations and official claims. However, the disadvantages suffered in Guyana by East Indians as a group were rapidly and almost completely eliminated with increased participation of this group in the governmental machinery.

The thesis also seeks to explore some of those social and economic factors that seemed historically to have frustrated efforts for the general expansion and equalisation of high school opportunity in the two territories. A study primarily of official records, speeches, reports, and other documentary evidence suggests that not only the scarcity of economic resources but the system of rewards, the kinds of employment opportunities available, and commitment on the part of various sections of the community to traditional elitist educational values were contributory factors.

Equalizing educational opportunity requires not merely increasing the quantity of school places available, but diversifying the school programme to relate to various curricular interests and occupational aspirations. The success of such diversified programmes is affected by the actual patterns of curricular interests and occupational
aspirations. The success of such diversified programmes is affected by the actual patterns of curricular interests and occupational aspirations of students, the investigation of which forms a subsidiary part of the thesis.

Implications of findings for the further expansion and equalisation of high school opportunity in the two countries are discussed, and proposals for promoting these objectives outlined.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION - PURPOSE AND SCOPE

The last two decades are an important period in the social and political development of the Commonwealth Caribbean. Within this period four of the major territories, including Guyana and Jamaica, made a rapid transition through various forms of semi-colonial rule to full political independence. But changes in the political and governmental systems of these countries were not the crucial developments occurring between 1950 and 1970. What was equally important, and indeed much related, was the effort of the democratically elected leaders to respond to the rising clamour by the masses for improved material conditions of living and for the reduction of social inequalities.

The approach to nationhood in Guyana and Jamaica from the early 1950's coincided with an 'explosion of faith' in education as a means of improving the national economy and the well-being of the individual. In this context it was not surprising that in the two countries under investigation--as in most other developing as well as economically advanced states--the pattern of distribution and expansion
of educational opportunities became a major concern of the national government, political parties vying for power, university researchers, and the general public. Indications are that the distribution of educational services will remain a matter of intense public interest for some time to come. In response to this concern, however, two grave kinds of errors could be perpetrated. The first is that vast sums of money and resources of human energy could be dissipated in pursuit of an elusive and questionable ideal of equal opportunity; the second is that superficial adjustments of a country's educational system, or dramatic instances of outstanding social and educational achievements by a few poor children, could result in a complacency and delusion that worthwhile egalitarian objectives are being substantially attained.

The educational researcher can play a useful role not only in clarifying and examining premises, meanings and objectives embodied in the ideal of equal opportunity but also in finding out through empirical investigation whether particular educational practices and innovations achieve their intended social objectives. It is this second role that is specifically undertaken in this thesis. A study is made of changes designed to reduce inadequacies and
inequalities in secondary school provision in Guyana and Jamaica during the period 1957-1967, in order to evaluate the success achieved and the difficulties that remain.

Related studies on the distribution of high school opportunity in these two countries were carried out by Manley (1963) in Jamaica and Bacchus (1966) in Guyana. Both researchers investigated the social class background of students winning free places to Government-owned or Government-aided secondary schools on the basis of open secondary school entrance examinations. The findings in both cases indicated that urban children and children whose parents were in "white-collar" occupations had much better chances of selection than rural children and children of skilled, semi-skilled and manual workers. Eyre (1966:94) also noted the advantages gained by urban children in Jamaica, pointing out that children from the capital city Kingston and its environs won 56 percent of the 1964 free place awards to secondary schools although this area contained approximately only 26 percent of the relevant age group in the national population.

These findings are consistent with the results of similar investigations in other developing as well as more developed countries. Philip Foster (1965:241-244) found
that in Ghana in 1961 there was a definite association between parental occupational characteristics and access to secondary school education. Children of professional, technical, administrative and clerical workers enjoyed over five times the chances of entering a secondary school as children of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Also, there was a "fairly consistent pattern between secondary school access and urban origin." Banks (1968:57) showed that in those developed countries such as Germany and Britain where most primary school graduates enter high school, but where secondary education is of different types, working-class children are less likely than middle-class children to enter the more academic types of secondary school, and even if they do so they are less likely to complete the course. In the United States of America the comprehensive school is the normal pattern of secondary school organisation, and most students enter the first form of high school; but in the late 1950's the retention rate of students in this country varied for different socio-economic groups. From a study of the results obtained in a national sample survey of 35,000 twelfth grade students in 1955, Ramsay (1967:71) estimated that children of non-manual workers comprised 43.2 percent of
the student population and only 32.6 percent of the relevant age cohort, while corresponding figures for children of manual and farm workers were 53.2 and 61.2 percent respectively.

It is sufficiently well established that high school opportunities vary for different regional and socio-economic groups in many societies, developed and under-developed. The main purpose of this study, then, is not merely to examine whether this phenomenon prevails in Guyana and Jamaica, but to investigate the effects of changes in policies and practices deliberately instituted to reduce inequalities acknowledged to exist in the distribution of high school free places. Such an investigation would be incomplete without some attempt to identify and discuss the social, political and economic factors, both contemporary and historical, that seemed to facilitate or hinder the attainment of the objective of equal opportunity during the period specified—Chapters 3 to 5 are devoted to this task. Also in order to assess whether changes in the pattern of distribution of opportunity represent a reduction of inequalities or not, it would be necessary to formulate and apply some criteria of equal opportunity. Such criteria are defined and examined in Chapter 2. Data for the particular problem of the thesis is presented and discussed in
Chapters 7 and 8.

It is now almost a truism that the provision of equal educational opportunity for students with different talents, backgrounds, and aspirations entails, among other conditions, the organisation of varied school curricula. Two important factors that help to determine not only the effectiveness of diversified school opportunities, but the very decisions as to what curricular opportunities are to be provided, are students' occupational aspirations and their attitudes to various school subjects. Chapter 9 reports the results of a survey on the occupational aspirations and the attitudes to specific technical subjects of a group of Jamaican and Guyanese high school students. Finally, the closing chapter of the thesis contains recommendations for the reform of the school systems in the two countries in order to provide for extended and more equal distribution of high school opportunity.

An explanation of the reason for selecting two countries for study is appropriate at this point. The thesis is focussed primarily on Guyana, the writer's country of origin. Apart from the fact that the writer has acquired deep interest in Jamaica from living and working there for a number of years, this country has been included in the
investigation for three main reasons. Firstly, it was felt that conditions and events in Guyana could be better understood by being considered against the background of another country such as Jamaica, with a political, economic, and social history similar enough to make cross-references meaningful. Secondly, important differences between the two countries, such as the difference in the ethnic composition of their populations, provide a significant contrast which could throw into relief some of the social problems prevailing in Guyana. Lastly, Jamaica introduced specific and unique legislation to limit the attainment of high school free places by particular groups. It would be interesting to see what difference this innovation made for the reduction of educational inequalities in that country. It is these considerations, rather than the desire to establish or refute general theories about change and educational opportunity on the basis of two case studies, that have motivated and guided this comparative approach. The latter objective would have involved arriving at conclusions beyond what was justified by the available evidence.

Different facets of this study required the application of different research techniques and
organisational procedures. There was heavy reliance on documentary material and interviews for the historical sections of the study, while two different survey procedures were required for the analyses of the distribution of free place winners among various socio-economic groups and the occupational aspirations of high school students. To facilitate continuity of discussion, the method used in each survey is described in Chapters 7 and 9 where the results of the survey are presented.
CHAPTER 2

A NOTE ON EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

In educational discourse, statements about the distribution of school opportunity are not normally intended to be purely descriptive but always carry an explicit or implicit value judgement. One principal ingredient of the criteria of judgement is the concept of equality, or more specifically that of equal opportunity. A detailed examination of the idea of equal educational opportunity as well as a justification of this ideal was attempted in a previous study by the present writer (1964). The general conclusion reached was that equal educational opportunity is a dynamic concept requiring continual re-interpretation for different places, periods and circumstances, and that the concept needs to be analysed in terms of its relation to other fundamental social ideals such as social and spiritual equality, justice, brotherhood, human happiness and self-actualisation. A similar point of view was expressed by Julia Evetts in her discussion of the recent history of the concept of equal educational opportunity. Evetts concluded (1970:430):

All we can say is that it /equal educational opportunity/ continues to be based on a moral premise of social
justice; beyond this it is a principle ever-changing in its implications and its interpretations.

In what follows, our intention will be not to provide absolute definitions of the idea of equal opportunity in education, but to propose three criteria that seem to form relevant bases for an empirical investigation of inequalities in educational opportunity in contemporary Western societies. The three dimensions, all inter-related, into which the problem of equal opportunity can be broken down are: the mathematical, the logical, and, put quite vaguely for the moment, the socio-philosophical.

The mathematical notion of use in this discussion of equality is the idea of proportionality. The achievement of equal educational opportunity depends partly on the proportionate representation of different groups in the country's educational institutions.\(^1\) Evetts observed:

Implicit in the current interpretation of equal opportunity is the principle of equal or rather proportionately equal outputs, in terms of the achievements of groups, not individuals. The working classes have the same proportions of bright children as the professional class, but because of their large numbers, there are many more bright working class children in absolute terms. The extent to which equal opportunity is achieved is the extent to which groups do achieve proportionately equal success rates. (Ibid., 429)

\(^1\)Applicable where demand for opportunity exceeds supply.
This interpretation of equality has, implicitly or explicitly, formed the basis of all the studies of the distribution of opportunity cited in the previous chapter, and will indeed be central to our own investigation, though not exclusively so. It will be noted that Evetts identified one factor of social grouping, namely, occupational class. Other factors of contemporary relevance are commonly sex, ethnic origin, religious, geographic and parental educational background.

The demand for equal opportunity in terms of equal group representation is in many countries today gradually compelling a modification of traditionally respectable social policies. One such policy is that of distributing opportunity according to proven merit. Experiments in university selection in the United States to allow for increased opportunity for underprivileged groups often require a relaxation of traditional admission standards and procedures. It will be seen also that in Jamaica, individual performances at a selective secondary school entrance examination are partially ignored, where necessary, in order to permit given percentages of specific groups of children to win school places.

The relaxation of the policy of opportunity according
to proven merit is due not merely to the insistent demand for equality but to two other factors at least. The first is the recognition that 'merit' is often a function of the very conditions of social inequality that it is felt increased opportunity can eradicate. In more specific terms, "the close connection between measured ability and social background is one of the major social discoveries of the twentieth century" (Vaizey, 1967:166). To continue to distribute educational opportunity then on the basis of demonstrated educational merit is to perpetuate inequality. But to apply the principle of proportionate group representation makes sense only if Evett's theory of proportionately equal distribution of latent ability among the various groups is assumed, or if some notion of an almost universal ability for given levels of learning is accepted. It is this latter belief that constitutes the second factor contributing to the decline of achieved intellectual merit as an adequate basis of distribution of educational opportunity. A look at three ability models diagrammatically depicted by Boyer and Walsh (1968) will help to elucidate this theory of a common human potential:

Models showing: a. relationship between essential abilities of different individuals (vertical lines)
b. relationship between ability and demands of social living (broken lines)

Highly Variable

Equal

*P.I.A.

Model I

Model II

Variable, but functionally equal

*P.I.A.

Model III

P.I.A. - Potential Individual Ability

(Broken lines represent the demand of social living)
In Model I, the potential abilities of individuals vary, and not all individuals are capable of the basic kinds of learning necessary for effective social living. In Model II potential individual abilities are all equal (and adequate for essential learning tasks). Hardly anyone will accept this model. In Model III potential individual abilities are unequal but are all adequate for essential learning tasks. This is the model of human ability to which Boyer and Walsh subscribe and which the proportional representation theory of equal opportunity can usefully accommodate.

Even if one were to accept the proportional representation theory of equality in order to come to terms with the conditions of scarcity in society (which preclude the provision of adequate educational goods and services for all) certain problems still remain. Equal opportunity is not automatically attained even by ensuring that all students secure places progressively in various levels of educational institutions, for the experiences gained in these institutions could yield vastly different benefits for different students. The mathematical criterion of proportionality must be supplemented by the qualitative criterion of "fitness". Really, the notion of proportionateness could be
retained but in a different sense. In the strictly mathematical sense the terms of equation are quantitative, and the formula to be applied is:

\[
\frac{\text{Total Urban School-age Cohort}}{\text{Total Rural School-age Cohort}} = \frac{\text{Total Urban School-population}}{\text{Total Rural School-population}}
\]

In the new sense of proportionality the terms are largely qualitative—i.e. programs organised for various groups are designed to suit their special circumstances and to maximise their achievements.

This demand of 'fitness' and relevance of provision may well require the inversion of numerical proportions—that is, more money may have to be spent on a culturally and physically deprived child with a lower measured Intelligence Quotient or educational attainment than on a budding young genius possessed of all the advantages of birth, biology, and environment. The essential point, however, is that different individuals may have to be treated differently if each is to utilise his resources fully. As Tawney (1961) observed, equality of provision is to be achieved not by treating different needs in the same way, but by devoting equal care to ensuring that they are met in the different ways most appropriate to them. Halsey (1961:17) similarly explained:
... the influence of social factors on measured intelligence and on educational attainment are such that the moral conclusion is drawn that equality of opportunity must be redefined in a strong sense to include also the opportunity to overcome such obstacles to the development of one's ability.

The argument could be advanced, however, that although equality of educational opportunity does not mean complete identity of provision or the opportunity to achieve identical educational goals, it may be that a common minimum provision should be made to all on the basis of some fundamental concept of common humanity and of fundamental skills, knowledge, and attitudes needed to cope with the problems of social living. And beyond this minimum attainment equality of opportunity further requires that each individual be afforded the chance of maximising his capacity for self-improvement and for making the greatest possible contributions to the common good.

The foregoing interpretation of the idea of equal opportunity clearly leaves many questions unanswered. What, for example is the 'common good'? What constitutes material and spiritual improvement? We shall return to these problems in a while, but must deal next with the second measure of equality, the logical criteria. The logical aspect of equality has been very effectively expressed in Tussman and ten Broek's notions of relevant
and forbidden classification outlined in a penetrating discussion of "The Equal Protection of the Law" (1949). Rejecting the necessity for, or even the desirability of, identity of treatment the authors argue the importance of the principle of selection and discrimination between groups or individuals "on relevant grounds." The problem of equality reduces to that of fair classification of groups or individuals to be allowed to excluded from a given privilege or to suffer a given penalty. And "the measure of the reasonableness of a classification is the degree of its success in treating similarly those similarly situated" (p.344). A relevant classification satisfies this principle, a forbidden classification violates it. Applying this theory we could assert that in the best spirit of modern democracy exclusion from educational benefits on the ground of race or sex will be forbidden, for sex and race will as a general rule be considered irrelevant to the problem of determining how educational opportunities are to be divided. It must be noted, however, that the reasonableness or unreasonableness of a classification will depend on the objectives pursued and might be seen differently in different circumstances and by different parties involved. In the historical process classifications that were once
forbidden can later become relevant, and vice-versa. In Jamaica and Guyana, indeed in the educational history of most countries, the wealthy and the poor or the members of various religious denominations were not considered to be similarly situated with respect to the distribution of secondary education services. Religious and socio-economic classifications were held to be educationally relevant. In theory such classifications of persons who are entitled to secondary education opportunity have been formally rejected as forbidden and replaced by some such classes as 'the intellectually meritorious' and the 'intellectually unfit'. Further, as indicated earlier, even this latter classification is increasingly being challenged and condemned as a means of perpetuating inequalities. Whatever the substance of the classification, however, the idea prevails of treating similar people similarly, or of not excluding some groups from the enjoyment of benefits enjoyed by other groups in similar situation without good and relevant grounds being produced. Criteria of relevance and similarity in situation have continually to be reappraised, but this logical aspect of equality cannot be ignored.

The third measure of equal opportunity, referred to as the socio-philosophical criteria, is the most elusive to
define. One could probably best regard this third measure as the teleological dimension of equality, for the crucial question that remains after the mathematical and logical issues in selection are resolved is, equal opportunity for what, or to what end? In fact this might even be the basic question, the answer to which determines how matters of the logic and mathematics of selection are to be settled. It is this aspect of equality that engages the deepest attention of philosophers, who in their analysis of the concept inevitably struggle to get beyond (or away from) strictly logical problems, problems of legal classification, of economic efficiency, and of numerical relationships.

Plamenatz (1956:105) for instance declares that the supreme object of social policy is equality of opportunity which "connotes a society in which each man is free and able to seek the good life as he sees it . . ." Again, "our equality is rooted in freedom, and is not to be understood apart from it. It is not equality of status, but equality of opportunity, and the opportunity is to 'be oneself', to live as one pleases" (ibid., 94). There are obvious difficulties in Plamenatz's statement, not the least of which is the problem that Tawney perhaps had in mind when he wrote: What is freedom for the pike is death
for the minnows. In some ways Plamenatz may be considered to have met this difficulty by his demand for the equality of freedom and his insistence that equal opportunity entails not only equal opportunity of freedom but also equal opportunity of service.

For Dorothy Lee (1956) equality must derive from some notion of infinite individual human worth or human dignity; if not, by being based on comparisons by measurement or on a utilitarian calculus can run counter to the democratic ideal of freedom.

Recurrent themes in the discussion of the ultimate ends to which the provision of equal opportunity must be directed and the attainment of which determines the fairness of the distribution of opportunity, are the notions of freedom, individual dignity, social service and self-realisation. Practical rules for the assessment of the fulfilment of these ends are not so easy to come by as in the case of the logical and mathematical objectives described. The reason for the difficulty in formulating such rules is that analysis of the philosophical (or teleological) dimension of equal educational opportunity involves a consideration not merely of the nature and purpose of education, but of such metaphysical issues as the nature of man and of
society, and the purpose of human existence. The inference to be drawn from all this is that the criteria of equal opportunity cannot be wholly reduced to logical and quantitative terms. Perhaps the ultimate appeal must be to some presumed capacity in man for spiritual insight into the conditions necessary for individual human fulfilment, and a capacity for detecting when such conditions are satisfied, or are violated.

Finally, the problem of the justification of the general ideal of equality must receive some attention in order to make this analysis of equal educational opportunity complete. Put in a slightly different way the problem is, on what grounds can the concern for equality be justified? If the ideal of equality could be shown to be indefensible, then efforts to equalise educational chances, and research into educational inequality, are pointless or socially insignificant; for our contention is that equal educational opportunity is desirable chiefly as a means of achieving wider social equality.

The attempts made in naturalistic and pragmatic philosophies to justify the ideal of equality are either futile or inadequate. The naturalistic argument asserts that men are equal as men and should therefore be given
equal treatment. There are two kinds of criticism against this position. Firstly, the proposition, 'All men are equal', if intended as a factually descriptive statement is either trivially true or significantly unprovable. The proposition is true if what is intended is the trivial and tautological statement that all men are equal by virtue of belonging to the same class of living things. In terms of any attribute of individual members of the class, fundamental differences can be found. Secondly, even given that in some serious sense men are in fact equal, the prescriptive rule, "Men should be treated as equals", is either redundant or logically contingent. Redundant, because if men are equal that is all that is required; in other words the desired position obtains. Logically contingent, because there is no demonstrably necessary connection between the fact of the equality of men and a prescription for equal treatment; IS does not logically imply OUGHT.

The pragmatic position is that equality is an instrumental ideal for which men have constantly fought because its fulfilment has led to social and political development—the ideal is justifiable on the ground that it is instrumental for achieving desired social objectives. This statement is inadequate because it raises more questions than it answers,
questions concerning the nature of 'social and political
development' and of 'desired social objectives'.

There can be no incontrovertible and conclusive argu-
ment for the ideal of equality on mere rational and
empirical grounds. Reason and reference to man's historical
experience in the struggle for equality need to be supple-
mented by such eloquent and stirring emotional appeals as
comes from Maritain (1941:17-18), quoted at length in order
to convey the full impact of Maritain's message:

The equality in nature among men consists of their
concrete communion in the mystery of the human species;
it does not lie in an idea, it is hidden in the heart
of the individual and of the concrete, in the roots
of the substance of each man.

It is the natural love of the human being for his own
kind which reveals and makes real the unity of species
among men. As long as love does not call it forth,
that unity slumbers in a metaphysical retreat where we
can perceive it only as an abstraction.

In the common experience of misery, in the common sorrow
of great catastrophes, in humiliation and distress,
under the blows of the executioner or the bombs of total
war, in concentration camps, in the bowels of starving
people in great cities, in any common necessity, the
doors of solitude open and man recognises man. Man
also recognises man when the sweetness of a great joy
or of a great love for an instant clears his eyes.
Whenever he does a service to his fellowmen or is helped
by them, whenever he shares the same elementary actions
and the same elementary emotions, whenever he truly con-
siders his neighbour, the simplest action discovers for
him, both in others and in himself, the common resources
and the common goodness--primitive, rudimentary, wounded,
unconscious and repressed--of human nature. At once
the realness of equality and community in nature is
revealed to him as a very precious thing, an unknown marvel, a fundamental basis of existence, more important than all the differences and inequalities superimposed upon it. When he will have returned to his routine pleasures, he will have forgotten this discovery.

Rational and empirical modes of argument are necessary but not sufficient for justifying any fundamental human ideal. Commitment to an ideal is secured partly by emotional persuasion, partly by what one may call an "idealistic leap", that is, the acceptance of an ideal through faith or existential choice when logical and empiricistic arguments are seen to be reasonable but inconclusive.

To sum up, the argument of this chapter has been that criteria for evaluating the extent to which equal opportunity is attained must incorporate a mathematical notion of proportionality, including the qualitative idea of fitness, the logical concept of relevant classification, and the philosophical dimension of socio-personal fulfilment. While the quantitative aspect and to some extent the qualitative and logical criteria form the principal bases of our investigation, the importance is recognised of establishing an ultimate purpose against which the effectiveness of available educational opportunities, or the fairness of distribution of such opportunities, can be evaluated. It is further claimed that naturalistic and pragmatic arguments
for equality are inadequate, and that the ideal of equality is justifiable not merely on rational and empirical grounds but on the basis of emotional appeal, faith, and existential choice.
CHAPTER 3

SOME HISTORICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES

GUYANA (formerly British Guyana) lies in the northeast region of the South American continent, flanked by Surinam on the east, Venezuela on the west, Brazil on the south, and the Atlantic ocean on the north. Currently engaged in territorial disputes with Venezuela and Surinam it has an area of 83,000 square miles and a population which was estimated at over 720,089 in December 1968 (Guyana Handbook 1971:61).

The ethnic composition of the population in December 1967, the last year for which detailed estimated figures are available, was as follows:

Table I - Ethnic breakdown of Guyana's population, 1967

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Indians</td>
<td>352,000</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>212,300</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>84,500</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amerindians</td>
<td>32,180</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>4,400</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europeans</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>692,780</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Most of the inhabitants reside along a narrow coastal belt constituting about four percent of the total area of the country. The hinterland is peopled chiefly by the native Amerindians, who proved less vulnerable to elimination than the autochthonous Indians of the British West Indian islands.

Early expeditions by Dutch, French and English explorers were prompted by the lure of a myth about a city of gold, El Dorado, and by the desire to counteract Spanish influence in the Americas and the West Indies. Settled by the Dutch shortly before the end of the 16th century Guyana experienced vicissitudinous international fortunes, changing captors several times until it was officially and finally ceded to the British in 1814. Raymond Smith (1962:19) points out, however, that the colony had come under the influence of British privateers more than thirty years earlier.

The deterioration of economic conditions in the West Indies and the attraction of fertile unexplored regions in Guyana contributed to a steady influx of immigrants from the West Indian islands, particularly from Barbados and Trinidad. After emancipation labour was imported from these two islands and from Jamaica. Between 1835 and 1841 over 10,800 immigrants came from the West Indies (Dwarka

There were also about 31,628 Portuguese immigrants from Madeira, the Azores and Cape Verde between 1838 and 1882; but by far the largest group of immigrants were East Indians—between 1838 and 1917 nearly 239,000 East Indian indentured labourers were imported from India. In recent times the integrative forces in this society have been severely disrupted by political rivalry between the major ethnic groups, the Blacks and the East Indians.

The Caribbean island of JAMAICA was discovered in 1494 by Christopher Columbus. Columbus's exploration was sponsored by the Spanish Government eager to improve its foreign trade and expand its international influence. The native population of Jamaica consisted of Arawaks and Caribs. The former tribe, usually described by historians as peaceful and friendly, was quickly eliminated; the warlike Caribs resisted the invaders for a while until they too were eventually overrun by superior weaponry.

The beginning of foreign rule in Jamaica, as in Guyana, was characterised by conditions of exploitation, the country being used solely as a means of procuring the
greatest wealth in the cheapest way for the Imperial power. It is interesting to note, too, who were the first European settlers in the island. These comprised criminal elements from the invading country; the unemployed, soldiers, priests, and a few Spanish gentlemen and merchants seeking the status and wealth that eluded them in their homeland.

Spanish influence and interests in the West Indies widened steadily until checked by the rival powers of France, Holland and England. Jamaica was captured by the English in 1655 and successfully defended against repeated attacks. Important demographic movements and other developments begun during the Spanish reign continued. Local climatic and other conditions proved hostile to the Spanish and English landlords, who returned home leaving their sugar estates to be run by second rate agents.

The few native Indians who survived the foreign invasion could not adapt to new conditions of work and living imposed by their masters, and those who were not killed for sport died from other causes. The result was an acute demand for labour which was met by a burgeoning African slave trade in the West Indies. Jamaica became a centre for this trade and by 1807 when slave trafficking became illegal over a million slaves were transported to the
island. Of these, 20,000 were shipped to other Caribbean islands and the remainder provided the much needed manpower for Jamaica's sugar estates.

Health standards must have been low and disease rampant among the slave population, for by 1835 only about 312,000 remained (Gordon, 1963:26), a loss of over 480,000 in 28 years! It is difficult to estimate the size of the white population for this period. It seems, though, that the whites were outnumbered at least ten to one by the mulattos who were themselves a very small minority compared with the black masses.

The Jamaican population in 1965 was estimated at 1,808,700 (Jamaica Department of Statistics, 1968). The 1960 Census shows the ethnic composition as follows:

Table 2 - Ethnic breakdown of Jamaica's population, 1967

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>1,236,706</td>
<td>76.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-European</td>
<td>235,494</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Indian</td>
<td>27,912</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-East Indian</td>
<td>26,354</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>12,428</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>10,267</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-Chinese</td>
<td>9,672</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syrian</td>
<td>1,354</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>49,627</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,609,814</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some Aspects of Early Social Structure

Before emancipation there were three main distinguishable groupings in Caribbean slave societies:

(i) the whites;
(ii) the free coloures and free blacks;
(iii) the black slaves.

In Jamaica and Guyana the white English settlers, distinguished by their colour, wealth, and citizenship rights, constituted a ruling upper class. The middle class consisted of the coloured population, descendants of white planters and negro women, whose freedom was bought by their fathers. Some owned land, some were semi-skilled or white-collar workers, and some were small merchants. A few of this middle class coloured group also bought and sold or hired slaves. It is doubtful whether there was much integration between the coloured group and the white population, for until 1830 there were discriminatory laws forbidding the
free blacks and coloureds from sending their children to schools attended by the whites (Augier et al, 1960:160-161). At the lowest rung of the social ladder were the slaves. This structure remained essentially unaltered after emancipation.

While agreeing with this basic classificatory scheme M. G. Smith (1965:Chapter V) gives a fuller account of the differentiation within each social stratum. Thus he observes that among the upper class whites there were the "principal whites" with the following characteristics:

a. generally estate owners;
b. controlled political and economic life of the colony;
c. white families;
d. children educated in England.

The "secondary whites" were largely merchants and traders or high level employees, and generally were not wealthy enough to have their children educated in England.

Of the middle class free coloureds M. G. Smith writes (ibid:98):

Acculturation by adaptation of white behaviour and institutions was a prominent aspect of . . . pre-occupation with improvement of status for coloured males, and contributed to the great emphasis they laid on their differentiation as a group from black people, whether slave or free.
Smith also notes that shortly before emancipation differentiation was greatest within the lowest class: "Of all sections of colonial society at this period, the slaves probably showed the highest degree of internal differentiation" (ibid:101). Some of the groups comprising the various ranks are described as: domestic slaves, estate craftsmen, skilled and semi-skilled field negroes, jobbing gang slaves, town negroes. Raymond Smith (1956:28) mentions too that there was differentiation between the local born (creole) slave and the recently imported negro.¹

These patterns of social structure had important consequences for the later development of education in the colonies. Early attempts to institute a system of popular education really aimed at perpetuating the divisions in society. The schooling provided for the masses was largely intended to keep them satisfied with their existing social role and social status. Education for the upper classes was intended to reinforce British cultural values. For the

¹A similar stratification among indentured Indians in Fiji is described by Adrian C. Mayer (1963). One is reminded as well of Viktor Frankl's account (1959) of the emergence of ranking systems among victims in concentration camps of Hitler's Germany.
coloured middle class, patterns of the dominant British culture served as rigid models to be imitated and acquired, since status varied with the degree of learning and display of these models. The kind of education offered to the whites was therefore much sought after by the coloured middle class.

Some exception to this general practice of cultural adoption must be made with regard to the early attitude to education of the East Indian population in Guyana. It is generally held that the East Indians did not eagerly seek to adopt the British culture but preserved much of their own customs. Certain conditions, too, favoured the preservation of Indian culture. Estate owners assisted East Indian workers with resources for the building of mosques and temples. Moreover, the Indians were clustered in special areas, sometimes on land which they received in lieu of return passages to India.

The cultural tenacity of the Indian population and their resistance to the dominant culture were not without some temporary disadvantages. Suspicious of missionary attempts to destroy their culture by proselytising them the Indians were much slower than the blacks to recognise the social and economic importance of education and to utilise
available educational facilities. It must not be overlooked, however, that a large percentage of the black population were concentrated in urban areas, which usually were the first to benefit from any educational provision. Dwarka Nath (ibid:207) notes for instance that in 1891 East Indians made up 79 percent of the population on the sugar estates, 23 percent in the villages, and 3 percent in the cities of Georgetown and New Amsterdam, and their environs.

This brief description of the historical origin of the two societies provides a background against which the social, political, economic and educational developments to be described in subsequent chapters must be seen. Both Guyana and Jamaica were colonial societies whose resources were exploited by imperial powers with the assistance of imported slave and indentured labour. The two societies were similar in economic as well as social structure, except for some important differences in the ethnic composition of their population occasioned by a massive influx of East Indians in Guyana during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Modest missionary activity in the field of education begun before emancipation assumed more ambitious proportions
after the Emancipation Act was passed. Motives for the new thrust in educational provision during the immediate post-emancipation period and the consequences for the distribution of opportunity will be principal concerns in the following chapter.
CHAPTER 4

INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATIONAL PROVISION IN THE POST-EMANCIPATION PERIOD - SOME CONTRIBUTORY FACTORS

Equality of educational opportunity was not a major concern of the colonial administrations in Guyana and Jamaica in the post-emancipation period, any more than it was a guiding principle for educational policy in Britain. The objectives of early colonial education were often explicitly stated in Imperial Government commission reports; sometimes they were subtly implied. Besides examining what these objectives were, we shall consider what conditions of inequality could be inferred from references made in the reports to existing educational provision, what were some public reactions to these conditions, and what were some factors promoting and limiting the extension of educational opportunity to wider sections of the community.

The year of emancipation, 1834, represents an important water-shed in the development of education in the

\[1\] These reports constitute the principal records of early West Indian education effort and commentary. Extracts of all the reports cited are presented in Shirley Gordon's "A Century of West Indian Education" 1963, and "Reports and Repercussions on West Indian Education", 1968.
British Caribbean. As Gordon observes (1963), until Emancipation Day in 1834 there was no question of an education system, for the vast majority of residents were slaves who were certainly not encouraged to secure education. In fact missionaries were explicitly forbidden by the white planters to teach the slaves to read and write, and there are reports of a few priests being persecuted for disregarding this injunction. After emancipation, however, there was growing tolerance and some measure of support for the education of the labouring class, as well as interest in a widespread organised school system, stimulated by the Imperial Government's provision of the Negro Education Grant.

It is argued here that this interest in the expansion of education provision in the post-emancipation era should be attributed at least in part to motives other than the securing of social justice for the colonial population through the agency of formal schooling. Two suggested motives are:

a. the desire to christianise the native population,

and,

b. the anxiety to reduce the imagined threat to life, property, and the stability of plantation society, presented by a large mass of newly freed unschooled people.
These two reasons are not unrelated. A document of 1834 entitled, "Heads of a Plan for Promoting the Education of Youth in the British West Indies," stipulated that the Negro Education Grant was to be used "for the purpose of promoting Christian education in those British colonies in which slavery has hitherto existed . . ." In the appropriation of the funds the Minister of the Crown was to be guided by "the principle that instruction in the doctrines and precepts of Christianity must form the basis and must be made the inseparable attendant of any such system of education" (Gordon, 1963:20). Again the Reverend John Sterling in his report to the British Government in 1835 on the need for education in the colonies writes:

The peace and prosperity of the Empire at large may be not remotely influenced by their moral condition . . . For although the negroes are now under a system of limited control, which secures to a certain extent their orderly and industrious conduct, in the short space of five years . . . their performance of the functions of a labouring class in a civilised community will depend entirely on the power over their minds of the same prudential and moral motives which govern more or less the mass of people here. If they are not so disposed as to fulfil these functions, property will perish in the colonies for lack of compulsion; the whites will no longer reside there; and the liberated negroes themselves will probably cease to be progressive. (Ibid:20-21)

There is a suggestion in this and other extracts of an interest in the improvement of the circumstances of the
individual ex-slave, and of the twentieth century belief in education as a means of national economic productivity, but one wonders whether the stability and economic prosperity of the Empire were not the dominant and direct concerns.

One final illustration of the thinking that inspired the provision of the Negro Education Grant will suffice. The British Prime Minister Earl Grey in his letter to the Treasury (21 July, 1835) supported the view of the Secretary of State that the grant should be made to the religious bodies working in the Caribbean "because of their past success in diffusing education among the negroes and having regard to . . . the 'religious and moral' character of the education to be provided" (Ibid:22).

It would be reasonable to assume that the institution of slavery left in its wake conditions of inequality in educational opportunity which could not be removed overnight. No elaborate references are therefore needed to illustrate the point that some groups were affected by discriminatory regulations and practices, or deprived altogether of the chance for life improvement through education.

As noted in the previous chapter, plantation society in the last days of institutionalised slavery in Guyana and Jamaica could be broken down in the following groups:
a. a ruling upper class of white English settlers with exclusive citizenship rights;
b. a subordinate class of free blacks and of coloured inhabitants, descendants of white planters and negro women, whose freedom was bought by their fathers—some of these were semi-skilled or white collar workers, some owned land, and some were small merchants; and
c. the slaves.

It was also stated that until 1830 there were discriminatory laws forbidding the free blacks and coloureds to send their children to schools attended by whites. After emancipation, as will be shown in Chapters 7 and 8, socio-economic circumstances and the prejudices of individual school masters, rather than overt legislation, were some of the factors that limited the attendance by the poorer classes at certain educational institutions.

After it was accepted in principle that the newly freed slaves should be given some kind of education, the resources and efforts expended in this direction were inadequate to cope with the realities of the situation. Shortly after emancipation figures supplied by the religious bodies engaged in educational work in the West Indies
indicated that there were about 54,000 children receiving some kind of teaching. This estimate is generally regarded by historians to be much inflated. Even allowing it as a fair approximation, however, one must infer that popular education was far from realised in the early post-emancipation period, since the population between the ages of 3 and 12 was estimated at around 112,000.

It must be further noted that there were no references to the indigenous population in Guyana in the various Commission reports on education during the nineteenth century. Those Amerindians who survived the European invasion of British Guiana by fleeing into remote hinterland areas remained for many decades completely outside the pale of plantation society and its culture.

It could be reasonably assumed that the school was one of the important instruments of diffusion of the dominant culture, that an ex-slave initiated into this culture was at an advantage over one who was not, in terms of social acceptance by the dominant group, and that such acceptance led to the enjoyment of social and economic benefits. One could therefore conclude that the failure to provide school opportunity for every group in the society helped to perpetuate the unjust social and economic divisions that prevailed before emancipation.
Factors Restricting Educational Expansion

So far we have outlined briefly some motives for the early attempts at developing a system of mass education in the West Indies and have argued that educational opportunity was not universally available. We now go on to discuss some factors limiting the expansion of educational services and consequently creating or perpetuating conditions of inequality.

These factors are:

a. the absence of a national system of education;

b. the geographical distribution of the population;

c. lingering resistance of the white planters to the education of the negro, including their unwillingness to provide funds;

d. the increasing demands of other social services;

e. economic reverses;

f. public inertia and lack of public participation in the administrative process;

g. educational and socio-cultural problems.

a. The absence of a national system of education:

We have seen that early education was organised and administered mainly by religious bodies and that it was to these bodies the Imperial Government entrusted its grant for education. Both Latrobe in his Report on Jamaica (1838),
and Sterling (1835) commented on the tendency for different religious denominations to concentrate their efforts on the same populated areas, each trying to win its own converts. The result was a duplication of services in areas fairly well provided for and a neglect of sparsely populated or remote regions.

Following the Sterling Report the initial wrangle among the churches seemed to be resolved, at least in principle or temporarily, by a mutual agreement to respect territorial limits. Sterling also recommended that no funds should be made available for new church schools in areas which were adequately provided.

b. The geographical distribution of the population:
In Jamaica many of the emancipated slaves rejoicing in their new freedom sought to secure it by taking to remote, mountainous, forested parts of the country. The result was the dispersion of a significant portion of the population over wide, inaccessible areas, a condition that imposes great restrictions on the provision of social services.
(In Guyana, however, many of the freed slaves pooled their money and bought large areas of land which they organised into villages and administered themselves (R. Smith, 1962). This circumstance should have facilitated educational
organisation and development in some districts.)

Showing concern lest large sections of the population should remain deprived, the Imperial Government from time to time urged the local legislatures to provide educational services in those areas neglected by the church, to pass compulsory education laws, and to supplement the finances of education from colonial taxation (Gordon, 1968). But the lack of commitment and resources rendered such pleadings ineffectual.

c. **Lingering resistance of the white planters:**
Latrobe noted in his *Report on Jamaica*, 1837: "It cannot be said that there is not a numerous class yet existing in the island whose opinions are still tinctured with the prejudices of the old time..." Part of the reason for lack of financial support from the local administration for negro education, Latrobe thought, was the belief that the kind of instruction offered 'failed to embrace lessons of labour or industry'.

It is likely that the planters thought that a literate population might develop an aversion to estate work thus creating a labour shortage. As late as 1894 an inspector of schools noted in his report that there were some who were not in sympathy with the movement for compulsory
education, "who think it is a mistake to teach children to read and write, and one of them went so far as to tell my Educational District Officer from his seat on the Bench that he was 'spoiling a good shovelman'" (ibid, 1963:121).

It is worth noting too that in 1832 a serious large scale uprising took place in Jamaica, led by an intelligent slave who was a prominent adherent of the Baptist church. The committee of the House of Assembly appointed to inquire into the cause of the revolt deemed that main contributory factors were:

a. the interference of the Imperial Government with the colony's legislature in regard to the passing of laws for the government of the slaves, and
b. 'wicked reports of the Anti-Slavery Society' circulated by the aid of the press, and mischievous practices and teaching of the religious sects (Burns, 1954:621-622).

It is not difficult to understand then why the local legislature was reluctant to finance an education plan which was proposed by the Imperial Government and was to be administered and executed by the religious sects. Also, it does not seem that at this early period the average English landlord in the West Indies had any ideas for the modernisation of
sugar production or saw any link between increased productivity and formal schooling.

In British Guiana, however, Latrobe observed that there was a much more favourable attitude towards popular education, and that the legislature readily voted funds and took other instant measures for developing a school system. One wonders though whether this support did not in part arise from a greater feeling of security, since in British Guiana the proportion of the ex-slave to the total population was, in comparison with Jamaica for example, relatively small. And there would have been less anxiety over the possible resultant shortage of labour, for there was a steady influx of immigrants from other West Indian territories to swell the labour force. British Guiana too, unlike Jamaica, was well on the way towards implementing an intensive policy of importation of indentured labour from India and other overseas territories. (It is estimated that during 1841-1847 about 50,000 persons were brought in from India, Africa and the West Indies at a cost of about 360,655 pounds (Parry and Sherlock, 1963:202).

d. **Increasing demand of other social services, and**

e. **Economic reverses:** With slavery officially outlawed, attitudes towards the health and general welfare of
the working class gradually became more humanitarian. Public funds were beginning to spread quite thinly over a wide field of social services, e.g. health, sanitation and transportation. Besides, the 1840's were lean years for the British economy and austerity at home affected spending abroad. West Indian sugar lost its preferential treatment on the world market, producing serious consequences on the colonial economies.

In addition to these difficulties there was a series of epidemics in the 1850's in most of the West Indian territories, and a severe drought in Jamaica rendered this country's economic situation particularly acute. Besides, under the system of early colonial economic organisation and administration--notably the pattern of absentee ownership of property and control of production--profits which could be ploughed back into the colonial business enterprise to rescue it from adversities and secure its expansion were remitted to Britain instead. Under these circumstances education financing and consequently the extension of educational opportunity were sure to be affected.

f. **Public inertia:** We learn from the various reports that even such opportunities as were provided were not fully utilised. Gordon suggested that the failure of sections of
the working class to support their children's education must be explained partly by the fact that they could see no point in schooling, the nature of the courses offered being irrelevant to their needs and conditions.

In seeking to account for historic phenomena one needs to guard against the danger of mistakenly applying notions acquired from contemporary experience, or of making too facile a use of theories about human behaviour to derive an account of how humans behaved at a given time and place. However, by taking into account the total set of circumstances— as far as these can be ascertained—surrounding the phenomena rather than relying on a single factor, we may be able to minimise error, claiming of course no more than some degree of probability for the validity of our conclusions. With these considerations in mind we would wish to supplement Gordon's explanation by drawing attention to some other features of the situation that may be considered relevant.

First, though, let us examine some of the evidence on which Gordon probably based her judgement. The British missionaries and teachers engaged in educational work in the West Indies adopted educational practices and material with which they were familiar in England. Keenan (1869)
reported, "The books which I found in use were chiefly the publications of the Irish National Board . . . notwithstanding their excellence and reputation, I should desire to see them superseded by a set of books whose lessons would be racy of the colony." The content of education from the kindergarten to the university level remained, well into the present decade, dominated by the requirements of overseas examination. A high school graduate could recount episodes about English kings and conquests and know little, if anything, about the social and political development of his own country. The primary school child could recite long poems about snow and daffodils experienced only through the printed page.

It is unlikely that such educational transplant could have withstood rejection by vast sections of the early ex-slave population. So Gordon's hypothesis does indeed seem reasonable. Yet, given a more suitable system of schooling, a neglect to utilise the opportunities provided would still have been possible. We must seek, then, some further element to strengthen Gordon's theory.

We know that the newly freed slaves rejoiced in their freedom and that the immediate response of some was to run off in remote hills or riverain areas. It is not
unlikely that even those who remained near the plantations would harbour mistrust for programs initiated, planned, organised and executed by their former masters with very little initial participation on their own part, however practically useful these programs appeared to be. There was, for that matter, very little participation by the masses in the general administration of colonial affairs. In Guyana for example there were 561 qualified voters in 1847 out of a total population of about 130,000. And much later in Jamaica, 1864, of a population of about 450,000 the number of registered voters was 1,903. It was partly the desire to encourage greater concern and participation on the part of parents that prompted local legislatures to impose a small fee on parents for their children's primary school education—a measure, incidentally, that missed the point entirely and that was quickly abandoned after failing to achieve the desired effect.

Further, it requires much patience, discipline, and long term planning and foresight for a parent to send a child to school punctually and regularly for a number of years in order to achieve some distant reward. The immediate benefits of an extra pair of hands on the farm might have blocked all thinking about the possible returns that could
accrue from releasing a potential worker for an extended period of schooling. (It is doubtful, as we suggested earlier, whether the planters themselves established this connection between schooling and productivity.) It requires also strong motivation to keep a child wanting to go to school. Such patience, discipline, and motivation might have been difficult to acquire by a people enjoying freedom for the first time.

**g. Educational problems:** Educational techniques and knowledge of organising useful learning experiences for a large number of culturally deprived children were not developed enough to cope significantly with the demands of a suddenly expanded system of popular education. Rote-learning, characteristic of the penny pamphlet days in early industrial Britain, was prevalent and frequently criticised in education reports. Once a large mass of children were lured into the schoolhouses the chiefly untrained and poorly educated teaching staff might have had little experience in keeping them all interested, amused, and profitably occupied; for this reason, gaining a school place, then, would not necessarily have meant benefitting from school.

The seriousness of the language problem too must not be overlooked. During the days of slavery landlords developed
a strategy of limiting communication between slaves by putting to work together members of different tribes who spoke different languages. The Africans gradually lost their languages and much of their native culture generally. There was little possibility then of using a common language in the early stages of instruction. Consequently, those ex-slaves who got much opportunity to hear English spoken from day to day or generally to experience aspects of British culture on which instruction was based, were at a distinct advantage, educationally, over those who worked in remote fields.

In countries such as British Guiana and Trinidad where the ethnic composition of the labour force was more varied this cultural and linguistic problem was accentuated. A Commission on Education in British Guiana wrote in 1851, "Serious difficulties present themselves. First may be mentioned the variety of races composing the population, and the diversity among them of language and creed . . . ." (Gordon, 1963:50).

This Commission, incidentally, considered that the diversity of creed presented the greatest obstacle to education.

Our discussion so far as been concerned mainly with
educational opportunity at the primary level at which the first wide-scale organised efforts were directed. We shall now take a brief look at opportunities provided at the secondary level using the same categories of analysis, viz., conditions of inequality, emphasis placed on the ideal of equality, and conditions limiting the spread and just distribution of educational services.

Of great significance for the course of educational development in the West Indies in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the cessation of the Imperial Government's grant in 1845. Experiencing grave economic difficulties and industrial upheaval at home the British Government terminated its financing of primary education in the colonies. The burden of providing education then fell heavily on the local legislatures and the religious bodies.

This shift of financial responsibility led to more frequent and vigorous educational debates and criticism of the school system. The critics now were not only officially appointed commissions, but members of the teaching body, the press, and the public. The main themes raised were the irrelevant and dysfunctional quality of the school curriculum, the rising cost of education, and the inequalities in the
distribution of secondary education among various socio-economic and ethnic groups.

Before presenting some details of the issues debated, let us first comment on the origins and early purpose of secondary education. Few expatriate British businessmen, landowners, and civil servants sought permanent residence in the colonies. Instead, generous leave and passage rights were initiated to enable overseas employees to return home periodically. In many other ways the expatriate sought to retain his culture. The wealthier classes sent their children to school in England while those who could not afford to do so organised or supported private secondary schools to provide the kind of education that might be obtained in the mother country. The free coloured middle class strove to imitate models of the dominant culture as faithfully as they could, with the expectation that their successful imitation of these models might improve their social status. For some time they could not legally send their children to schools attended by the whites, so they

\[\text{This practice persisted long after circumstances ceased to justify it. As late as in the 1950's the native Guyanese senior civil servant enjoyed six months' leave with full pay every three years to holiday in Britain, with full return passages for himself and his family.}\]
organised similar private institutions, in many cases with the help of charitable endowments or through the initiative of the missionaries, who sought to cultivate a local laity. ("What we want", counsels Stephen Sutton, a Methodist missionary writing to the Methodist Missionary Society in 1879, "is a fairly educated middle class from which we shall get our own chief and most efficient supply of leaders and local preachers and stewards thoroughly to do our work and man our societies . . ." (ibid:248).)

As in Britain, therefore (and in fact in all the British, Asian and African colonies), the school systems in Guyana and Jamaica comprised two largely isolated sectors: primary schools for the masses, and secondary grammar schools with primary and even kindergarten sections for the privileged. In the colonies the purposes of the two types of institutions were as varied as their structure. The

3Of the 19th century British situation David Glass, (1961:394) writes: "... educational developments reflect- ed two distinct sets of considerations, one relating to the mass of the population and the other to the middle classes . . ." The explicit purposes of elementary education were to 'gentle the masses', to ensure discipline and obtain respect for private property and the social order, and to provide that kind of instruction which was indispensable in an industrial and commercial nation; secondary education existed for the middle class who could afford it, and provided an avenue for entrance to the universities.
secondary school was intended mainly to initiate children into the British culture and to cultivate a leadership elite. The purposes of the primary school have already been detailed; chief among these seems to have been the creation of a peaceful labour force. This two-fold organisation of the school system had, as we shall see later, serious consequences on the subsequent development of popular education and on the fair distribution of high school opportunity.

Having depicted this background of development of the secondary school system in the West Indies let us now see how the system operated during its expansion in the latter half of the nineteenth century—mainly how it selected its pupils, what criticisms were levelled at it chiefly with respect to the concern shown for the ideal of equality, and what public attitudes tended to restrict its expansion.

Firstly, the schools were established as grammar schools to offer instruction in the classics; the curriculum was predominantly determined by university entrance requirements and examinations. Consequently, as Hammond (1946) observed, the education of the great majority of pupils who would not be going to a university was 'tied to the chariot'.
of the small number who would. This was one way in which secondary education provision failed to offer equal opportunity for individual advancement even for those who were lucky to obtain the very limited school places.

As the secondary school system grew attempts were made to diversify the curriculum to include, for example, agricultural and industrial subjects, but partly through lack of public support and in some cases through vigorous opposition these efforts were on the whole abortive. This phenomenon will receive more extensive treatment when we come to discuss the situation in 1957-1967.

It has already been explained that the primary school provided opportunity for the black masses, while the secondary school catered mainly for the white and coloured population. Administrators, however, seemed to be fond of boasting that the system allowed the poorest child to get right through from the elementary school to a university in Britain at public expense if he showed ability. Yet as late as 1946 Hammond remarked that although the system of scholarships from elementary schools to secondary schools provided an educational ladder and had enabled some children of poor parents to rise considerably in the social and economic scale, it had not integrated the elementary and
secondary systems into a single whole (ibid:442). This was a natural result of the elitest pattern of secondary education (which only the privileged could afford) and the inefficiency of the elementary system. Note that in British Guiana Sir Charles Major (1925) reported: "The number of Government Primary Scholarships appears to be sufficient to meet present requirements. Five are provided for Demerara, four for Berbice, and three for Essequibo—twelve in all." No further comment is needed except that only six primary school students qualified for these scholarships!

Apart from race and socio-economic class, sex and culturo-religious factors served as bases for differentiation in the process of secondary school selection. (Discussion of the sex factor will be incorporated in the section to follow that deals with criticisms of the school system.)

We comment now on how a child's cultural background tended to affect his chances for high school selection.

There is evidence that in the various colonies, including Jamaica, there was some reluctance to admit illegitimate children into the secondary school. In Barbados (1873) a principal—a reverend gentlemen—justified to an Education Committee the exclusion of two illegitimate boys from his school on the grounds that:
whatever a man's present respectability may be, I cannot think that he has any claim to honorary assistance from the Legislature in the education of a child whom he has publicly disowned by withholding from it his name in a Parish Register, and allowing its Mother whether or not since married to him, to bear alone the shame of its parentage . . . And moreover, unless a line be drawn between legitimacy and illegitimacy in the admission of Candidates for the Exhibitions, permit me to ask the Committee . . . , at what point in the social scale they would fix the lower limit of the respectable middle class for whose benefit the Exhibitions were designed. (Gordon, 1963:250)

In Trinidad, Queen's Collegiate School, a government financed institution, did not accept illegitimate children, while in Jamaica in 1877, a school committee readmitted two illegitimate brothers expelled by the principal because their mother gave birth to a third illegitimate child. The committee found it necessary to declare that "in future the circumstance of a child being of parents living together, but not married, shall not, of itself, be considered a bar to admission." (Ibid:251).

Several criticisms were levelled against the secondary school system. These criticisms included:

i. too much money spent on too few children;

ii. the masses unequally represented;

iii. girls not properly provided for;

iv. Indians neglected, and

v. curriculum unsuitable and system inefficient.
i. **Too much for too few:** The last two decades of the nineteenth century were periods of severe economic depression throughout the colonies and drastic efforts were made to tighten the national purse strings. Ill-conceived economies were effected in the Education Budget generally—in British Guiana the teachers' college was closed and the number of primary school teachers reduced (Cameron, 1968); in many of the colonies teachers' salaries were reduced and in some cases a few schools were closed. There were in addition frequent complaints that too much money was spent on too few secondary school pupils. The generous scholarship awarded annually to one secondary school graduate in Guyana (and in Jamaica) to pursue studies at a British university came under severe attacks.

In Barbados the Governor in his opening speech to the Legislature (February 2, 1891) expressed concern that about one-third of the education budget provided for the 'intellectual wants' of 500 or 600 students who attended the higher grade schools, while the remaining two-thirds were spent on over 23,000 of the 'children of the people'. The Assembly defended this system by claiming that it was possible for children to pass from the elementary to the highest grade schools at the expense of the Colony.
In Guyana a Daily Chronicle article (August 1, 1889) stated that from a financial point of view every item in the expenditure of Queen's College was extravagant, teachers' salaries were too high, and the Guiana scholarship worth two hundred pounds a year and granted to one candidate should be stopped. Besides, the college had not given results to warrant a continuance of the heavy outlay by the Government.

In Jamaica a Committee on Retrenchment (1898) recommended that secondary schools grants should be gradually reduced each year and the schools organised on a self-supporting basis. The Committee declared: "As regards the Jamaica and other Scholarships we do not consider that they in any way benefit the general body of taxpayers, and we do not think they can afford this expenditure."

It must be noted that in all the territories these criticisms did not come from members of the House of Assembly who voted the funds and whose children stood to benefit most from secondary provision. We shall see that in 1957-1967 the legislative body, now elected under adult suffrage, was to lead the fight for the democratisation of the entire school system.

ii. The masses unequally represented: On the whole the cost of secondary education was too great for the poor
classes to afford even if they were eager to avail themselves of it and had the prerequisite educational attainments. In some cases headteachers who were alive to the problem started secondary level classes in their primary schools (Cameron, 1968) and enterprising individuals opened private institutions of varying quality, where the fees were much cheaper than in the established schools. In British Guiana an Education Commission (1875) recommended ten exhibitions in open competition to Queen's College but this policy was rejected by the Legislature. And in 1886 the Principal, dissatisfied with the reluctance to introduce these exhibitions, granted three at his personal expense.

In Trinidad Keenan observed:

The first thing likely to strike a person who has considered these reports from the headmasters of the two secondary schools is the strangeness of the fact that whilst the white population which is only between 5,000 and 6,000 furnishes 142 pupils to the collegiate establishments, the coloured population, which, exclusive of the coolies, numbers from 60,000 to 70,000 furnishes only 37 pupils. (Gordon, 1963:242).

The Principal of one of the colleges also noted in 1889,

What is done ... for secondary education in this colony amounts to this, that in its chief town only professional men, Government officers, ministers of religion and business men are able to get for their sons a fairly good Grammar School education at a comparatively cheap rate. (Ibid: 244)
In Barbados, one contributor to the local newspaper, the Agricultural Reporter, protested that the sons of the wealthy won the exhibitions and further that the exhibitions were accepted. "We are somewhat surprised", this contributor stated, "to find gentlemen of such calibre lending themselves to the perpetration of such jobbery." (March 28, 1873) Not all public opinion, however, was directed against the system. In the same issue cited we find one writer defending the existing situation:

The Board is bound to protect the schools against the admission of such boys as exhibitioners as would be obnoxious to the sons of gentlemen who attend the school as paying pupils; otherwise the committee will wreck the vessels which the State has entrusted them to steer.

Earlier in the same colony (in 1852) it seems as though there was some plan to establish separate schools for the coloured population, but a prominent Bishop rejected the policy stating:

The principle of providing a separate education for the free coloured population of the West Indies, we consider here a very objectionable one, as teaching to perpetrate the antipathy of race, which it is a primary object with us to eradicate . . . It would be, as it appears to me, a retrograde movement to establish exclusive schools for either white or coloured. (Gordon, 1963:230)

iii. Girls not properly provided for: The religious denominations seemed not to favour having adolescent girls
attend the same school as boys or taught by male teachers. Thus secondary girls' and boys' schools developed separately, and in the early stages the education of girls received less attention. But with the growing demand for educational expansion at the primary level the inadequate supply of female teachers became noticeable. Keenan in his Trinidad report expressed the view that the unequal representation of girls was due to the shortage of school mistresses and lack of suitable programmes of instruction. A Methodist Missionary in Jamaica wrote to his Society (1877):

We have a largely increasing middle class, black and coloured population, and for girls of this class especially, we have no suitable schools in the country. The consequence is that a vast number of girls, who might, at their parents' expense, have a suitable education to fit them for the position of wives of educated Native Teachers, and to become teachers themselves, are obliged to be content with the elementary education which, as little children, they obtain in the Day Schools... (Ibid:248)

iv. Indians neglected: The East Indian population in British Guiana showed little interest during the early stages in primary education organised by the religious bodies. Later they seemed to oppose sending their children to schools taught by the negroes. It is worth mentioning too that the Indians were concentrated not in the urban areas but around the sugar estates, and, unlike the negroes,
never lost their cultural identity as a group but took positive steps to retain their customs, particularly their religious practices and beliefs. Small wonder therefore that they were apathetic, and even opposed, towards a system of education established primarily for the purpose of Christianising the masses and sought instead to organise their own schools, ill-equipped though these were in most cases.

However as it became apparent that certain social benefits attended initiation into the Christian culture, they learned to effect the compromise of accepting schooling and even much of the religious trappings while essentially sticking to their own religious faith. (Even today it is quite common to find East Indians officially joining Christian churches while observing their own religious customs. In many cases, too, middle class Indians go through two forms of marriage ceremony--in Hindu or Muslim rites and the rites of the Christian denomination to which they belong.)

From time to time various Inspectors in their reports spoke of the indifference of the Indians to education and of the need to bring them within the public education system. And in Trinidad Keenan urged "the propriety of
extending to the Coolies", as Indian labourers were called, "an opportunity of participating in the advantages of the public system of education." The expressed motive for Keenan's concern for Indian education was not a passion to equalise opportunity, but a desire to inculcate "a respect for truth and other virtues which are at present wanting in the Coolie character." One wonders whether such ethnocentricity as displayed by Keenan did not serve to delay rather than promote real educational advancement of all sections of the labouring class.

v. Curriculum unsuitable: Criticism of the content, method, purpose and success of instruction in formal educational institutions has been a common phenomenon at all times in all the West Indian territories, particularly with these institutions becoming public concerns. What is even more striking is the fact that nearly everywhere and through different periods the jargon employed has been fundamentally the same: curriculum unsuited to local needs; learning verbal and bookish; not enough attention paid to practical (or technical) and science subjects; agricultural subjects neglected in a predominantly agricultural community; not enough differentiation to satisfy different interests and capabilities.
There were of course a few who defended classical learning, especially the study of Greek and Latin, as the supreme and proper objective of the secondary school, but these were a small, though vocal, minority. And as indicated earlier others viewed with suspicion attempts to introduce agricultural subjects into the curriculum. Basically, for reasons that will be explored later in this study, the classical, literary tradition, surviving both verbal attacks and fits of innovative endeavour, persisted in the secondary schools well into the present century.

We now comment briefly on how the spread of secondary school opportunity was restricted by attitudes not implicitly suggested in the preceding analysis or clearly stated in the early section dealing with the expansion of the primary system. Then to complete this picture of the distribution of educational services in the nineteenth century we must also examine some special conditions that facilitated the growth of these services.

Among the attitudes affecting the speed and direction of educational growth, of particular importance were the doubts entertained by some about the negro's intellectual capacity, and the curiosity of others over his potential for academic learning of the traditional variety. On the one
hand those who were curious or convinced about the negro's ability sought to demonstrate that the black child could match white intellectual achievement, by putting him through the same kind of academic programmes as obtained in British schools. On the other hand, the belief in black inferiority led to the position that secondary school opportunity should be restricted to the exceptional minority. In both cases the result was the failure to formulate valid purposes and clear policies for secondary education, to devise suitable curricula to meet the demands of citizenship, and to cater for the individual needs of all but a social and economic elite.

In Jamaica (1882) a school board governor wrote of a black student, "He is a black lad but has an intellect and smartness which show that the African with advantages and application may be quite equal to his Caucasian Brother . . ." In Barbados the Mitchenson Report, 1875, recommended the opening of avenues to professional positions through higher education for bright primary school pupils; but the report also stated:

There will probably be but very few in each generation who are worth this exceptional treatment, and even of those some will turn out failures after promise. It is, however, an experiment worth trying, and the existence of even one such exhibition per annum from primary
to first grade schools, will have a wholesomely stimulating effect on primary education generally. (Gordon, 1963:247)

A contributor to the Barbados Agricultural Reporter, September 1891, vigorously attesting the value of Greek, notes "... it is from the point of view of its peculiar value to the few out of every hundred boys at school who are capable of receiving intellectual cultivation, that it is of advantage to the West Indian communities." Three years later, though, we find in the Barbados Times a comment about "the fond delusion of inequality of intellectual capacity of the masses with the classes having been blown to the winds."

It should be observed also that many blacks themselves entertained doubt about their capacity for the mental tasks which they perceived secondary and higher education to involve. Those who successfully crashed through the cultural and intellectual barrier were considered phenomenal and in many cases regarded as heroes in their village of origin. (Some successful black scholars also tended to nurture these attitudes in themselves and others.) The present writer recalls his own school days when determined hard-working school boys were warned by their parents to take care lest they 'go mad' by 'bursting their brains' with
'the white man's books'. Certain superstitious remedies, negative and positive, mostly in the form of foods to be taken or avoided, were recommended as means of sharpening the brain and off-setting its inherent disabilities.

Factors facilitating growth

Many powerful forces served partially to counteract these restrictive influences on the expansion of secondary education. The writer does not find that a passion for providing equal opportunity was significant in the context of the first few decades of the establishment of secondary education. Equality, national unity and awareness, and decolonisation were pressing concerns only in the twentieth century. But for our earlier period it is plausible to account for the extension of secondary opportunity in the following ways:

1. The logic of development of a primary system of popular education required extensive opportunities at a higher level for all sections of the masses—East Indians, girls, poor blacks, persons of all religious persuasions. The primary system, that is, could not expand without some growth in the secondary schools and teacher training colleges through which primary school teachers are produced. Various education commissions were keen to detect this logic
though less willing or shrewd to devise ways and means of working it out in practice.

2. With increased freedom came more rapid cultural diffusion. Values of the dominant white culture were learned and adopted, and the benefits of this initiation became noticeable. The secondary school was rightly seen as a main avenue to the rewards of acculturation.

3. The need to create a local group of middle order officials in the growing state and church could not be met by the very deficient offering of the primary school. Higher quality and more widely distributed opportunities were inevitable.

4. The increasing number of black secondary school graduates rescued many of the poor labouring class from their inertia and feelings of inferiority by providing new models and demonstrating what was attainable. The importance of this factor seems to have been under-estimated in much of the literature on social development in the Caribbean. In the writer's informal discussions with many socially successful persons from small village communities on possible factors contributing to their success, frequent and enthusiastic references were made to

a. the influence and dedicated concern of a particular
person--usually mother or teacher, and

b. the value of existing ego-ideals in the community, usually outstanding persons who had made good.

5. The Christian religious teachings that men are equal in the sight of God may have had repercussions quite contrary to the expectations of the early purveyors of religion.

One purpose of early religious activity among the slaves was undoubtedly to divert attention from their worldly woes and towards a heavenly hope. Instead, religious teachings about human equality may have served to create or reinforce in the freed masses the feeling that they had a right to, and the capacity for, a quality of life similar to that enjoyed by their former masters.

From the end of the nineteenth century social and political institutions evolved rapidly in British Guiana and Jamaica. The franchise was extended, governmental and bureaucratic structures became more democratised, economies expanded, and the masses grew more politically aware and better equipped to react to social injustice. Highlights of these developments will be presented in the following chapter.

Formal education eventually came to be regarded as an
individual right and as a major requirement for economic development. Responsible surveys and assessments by local educators exposed shortcomings of the educational system. Political parties made education a crucial issue in election campaigns. Government organisations, political leaders and the masses grew increasingly sensitive to inequalities of educational provision. One of the first concerns of political leaders in both countries after the attainment of full internal self-government in the 1950's, was the institution of measures intended to redress the imbalance in high school representation of various socio-economic groups.
CHAPTER 5

SOME HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In the following brief review of historical developments in Guyana and Jamaica up to the late 1950's particular attention is paid to social, political and economic changes which helped to intensify discontent over social inequalities, including the unequal distribution of education opportunity, and to create an awareness of the general limitations of the educational systems for coping with national and individual aspirations. Guyana's situation receives more exhaustive treatment because of special demographic and ethno-political features to which reference has already been made, and which will be described in further detail.

Review of historical origins

a. Cultural traditions: Both Buyana and Jamaica came under British colonial rule very early in their history. The British planter, missionary and civil servant transplanted British social institutions and culture into the colonies, while most of the traditions of the African slaves were either suppressed or destroyed through the restrictions imposed on their social interaction.

b. Social and economic structure: The colonies were
essentially plantation societies with the following main characteristics:

i. The economy rested on one main agricultural produce, sugar. For some time the sugar industry depended for survival on preferential treatment in the British market and operated with very limited efficiency. After this concession was withdrawn the fortunes of sugar fluctuated resulting in a reduction in educational expenditure.

ii. Social relationships were pervaded with the iniquities of the institutions of slavery in which some men were the chattels of others. After slavery was abolished, the manual worker, particularly in agriculture, remained lowest in the social hierarchy in terms of status, respect, and remuneration for work done. True, this phenomenon was not peculiar to Guyana and Jamaica, but it assumed special significance in these and other West Indian colonies since the labouring class was virtually co-extensive with the class of black-skinned people.

iii. The day to day administration of the colonies was the responsibility of a few British land owners concentrated mainly in the capital city, with major
policy directed by the Imperial Government acting through the colonial governor, "very much the monarch of his little kingdom". There was little decentralisation of governmental organisations and no participation by the masses in the public decision making processes or in the election of public officials. In such a situation social life was characterised by an "absence of an ideology of national identity that could serve as a goal for mass acculturation" (Mintz, 1966), or that could inspire co-operative effort towards community improvement.

c. Population: In Jamaica the native Indian population was exterminated; in Guyana a few survived conquest, but only by seeking refuge into the remote interior of the country. In both countries Chinese, Portuguese and East Indian indentured labourers were imported to augment the predominantly black labour force. In Jamaica the increment from these groups was modest, but in Guyana the importation of East Indian labour remained a major policy for decades and drastically altered the ethnic composition of the population. The East Indians in Guyana lived chiefly on the sugar estates while the main urban centres were populated mostly by Blacks, Chinese, Portuguese and other Europeans.
d. **Educational organisation, administration and finance:**

Educational institutions were initially controlled and financed by Catholic and Protestant missionary bodies with support from charitable endowments and educational grants from the British Government. Later, socio-political changes brought about a gradual erosion of hostility and the end of indifference of the ruling class towards the education of the masses. Consequent developments were the introduction of financial support for missionary educational activities by the local legislature, and the development of a separate but by no means extensive system of primary and secondary schools financed and controlled entirely by the central government in Guyana. The costs of publicly financed education were met out of the current national budget, with no specific source of educational funding such as an education tax.

Generally, tuition fees were charged for secondary and higher, but not primary, education. A very limited scholarship system enabled a negligible number of poor gifted primary school students to win free places at secondary schools. Secondary education facilities provided by Church and Government could not meet the rapidly growing demand even of those middle class parents who were willing
and able to pay tuition fees. The result was a burgeoning of wholly private secondary schools of varying quality and life span, most of them run by enterprising individuals.

As Guyana and Jamaica grew politically, local communities were vested with some degree of municipal responsibility, but even in the capital cities where the municipal organisation was strongest virtually no attention was paid to educational matters. Public participation in the educational process was therefore restricted to the utilisation of facilities provided or, negatively, to the rejection of these facilities.

The early purposes of education were narrowly conceived by administrators, parents and pupils alike. This matter has already been dealt with in the preceding chapter. In brief, the result of decades of educational effort was to provide a means of social mobility for a few people (Braithwaite, 1968) by affording them access to the clerical occupations, but without seriously disturbing the elitist structure of society. Educational strategies for facilitating economic growth, promoting national solidarity and co-operation, and for preparing the young for citizenship roles and responsibilities in a democratic community were never seriously articulated, adopted, or put into practice. Major emphasis was placed on the learning of an
array of facts and to a less extent on the acquisition of a set of moral precepts and dispositions. Classroom offerings seemed to skirt vital political, social and economic issues.

e. Teachers: The teachers in the post emancipation period were in the main missionaries and lay expatriates, most of whom had no special teaching qualifications or experience. These were assisted largely by local pupil teachers poorly paid and in most cases poorly educated. The school system extended very rapidly without any determined wide scale effort to ensure even a barely adequate supply of teachers. Such efforts as were made towards educating teachers embodied all the defects of the rest of the education system—lack of broad and relevant goals, inadequate physical provision, a limited classical curriculum, and unimaginative methods of instruction. One notable feature, however, was that the selection of training college students seemed to be less influenced by socio-economic circumstances than was selection for entry to the reputable secondary schools. The normal school was an important, albeit narrow, avenue of educational opportunity and social mobility for working class children. It prepared teachers for the primary schools, selecting its entrants from the ranks of apprentice teachers passing
through the primary school system.

In Guyana the East Indian population was very poorly represented in the teaching profession. Their concentration in the rural areas, their early indifference to formal education provided by the Christian missionaries, and the dominance of the school administrative system by non-Indian groups, mainly the Blacks, were factors that contributed to their under-representation. The Chinese and Portuguese inhabitants largely confined their attention to trading in the urban areas and showed little interest in the teaching profession particularly at the primary school level.

f. Evaluation procedures: Educational systems have, until recently, been notorious for their lack of objective evaluative devices. The systems in Guyana and Jamaica were no exception. On a microcosmic level the effect of education was measured in terms of individual student performance at terminal written examinations administered internally by the school or, more crucially, externally by an overseas university or a central governmental authority. There was an almost total absence of a macrocosmic study of what the educational system as a whole was achieving in social or in economic terms. Evaluation often consisted almost entirely
of impressionistic observations about poor teaching of traditional subjects or the inefficacy of the moral instruction provided, and usually was carried out in times of economic stress or social upheaval. There seems to have been no attempt to encourage the people to whom the educational effort was directed even to express their views on the adequacy of the system to which they were exposed. Further, quantitative methods of planning educational policy and evaluating the returns from the output on education, in their infancy in more developed areas, were long absent in our two territories.

Some Developments in Guyana from 1840 to 1957

During Guyana's emergence from colonialism to political independence the composition of opposing forces in the struggle for social equality became increasingly complex. After emancipation the predominantly Black working class population agitated against oppression by the White ruling class. Changes in the demographic, social and political structure of the society widened the dimension of the struggle—the rapidly growing section of East Indian workers found a common cause with the Blacks, but these two groups were eventually engaged in a bitter rivalry for political power and social rewards. Some of the main features
of these demographic, social and political developments will now be discussed.

**Demographic changes:** The first basic demographic change was the rapid growth of the population, mainly through immigration, until the end of the first two decades of the twentieth century and thereafter through natural increase. The population rose from 90,000 in 1941 to approximately 127,700 in 1851 and 402,600 in 1948—more than a fourfold increase in just under a hundred years.*

Other important changes occurred in the ethnic and geographic distribution of the population. East Indians, who comprised only about 0.32% of the total population in 1841, rose to 6% in 1851, over 25% in 1883, and 44.7% in 1948. The Blacks on the other hand constituted over 90% of the population just after emancipation, but eventually fell to 36% in 1948. Between 1838 and 1917 East Indian immigrants totalled 283,960. (See page 27 for immigrants' country of origin.)

Besides their greater increase through immigration, the East Indians achieved the highest birth rate by the 1940's, and by 1960 their crude birth rate reached 48.5 per 1,000, compared with the general rate of 43.5 per thousand.

*From Census data, various years.*
Of great importance for the development of education was the change in the age distribution of the general population. In 1921 the population over 15 was twice that below 15; in 1946 and 1960 the relative proportions were 4:3 and 1:1 respectively. (Between 1946 and 1960 the total population under 14 increased by 86 percent.)

There was also a steady shift of the Indian population from the sugar estates to surrounding rural areas as well as increasing mobility of the general population from the rural areas to the two main urban centres, Georgetown and New Amsterdam. In 1891 there were 71,813 Indians living on the sugar estates while 33,650 lived in the cities and villages. By 1911 the figures were 60,707 and 65,810 respectively. In 1921, 21.9% of the total population was urban, but by 1960 this figure reached 29%. East Indians constituted 8% of the urban population in 1891, 16% in 1964 and 22% in 1960. The Black urban population rose from 47% in 1891 to 54% in 1960. Of the remaining ethnic groups, the Amerindians stayed mainly in the hinterland areas, while the Europeans and Chinese dwelt chiefly in the towns, without any dramatic increase in their numbers.

The total picture one gets from all this, then, is a rapid rise in the total population chiefly through immigration in the 19th century and through a sharp increase in
the birth rate after the 1940's, greater participation in urban life by Blacks than by Indians but increasing participation by both, and a phenomenal rise in the school-age population.

**Changes in social relationships:** Both in the urban areas and more particularly in those rural villages where substantial numbers of Blacks and East Indians lived together, intermarriage and other forms of social integration took place between the two main ethnic groups, but the East Indians by and large retained their identity as a group and much of their tradition. In the urban region, however, a new economic and social elite was emerging; and it was one that cut across ethnic boundaries. Nevertheless there was evidence of some reluctance by the middle class Coloured population and the Europeans to admit East Indians into their social ranks. R. T. Smith and C. Jayawardena (1959: 326) observed:

> When Indians found themselves unable to secure entry to established clubs they formed their own parallel organisation and began to emphasise the value of the culture of Mother India.

> It does not seem reasonable to hold without qualification, as do Smith and Jayawardena, that separate East Indian organisations were formed as a defence against non-acceptance on the part of other Guyanese. The fact is, as
was noted in the previous chapter, that the East Indians made conscious efforts from the very beginning of their life in Guyana to maintain their own culture. But social discrimination probably did help to delay cultural integration and to promote the kind of ethnic insularity which encouraged the establishment of such exclusive groups as the East Indian Association, Portuguese Club, Chinese Association, and the League of Coloured Peoples.

The patterns of economic specialisation and geographic residence also militated against greater social integration among the various ethnic groups. Until the 1940's East Indians remained mainly a rural agricultural people. Constituting about 42% of the population in 1931 they supplied only 100 of the country's 1397 teachers and 8% of public servants. But some were steadily gaining economic power by acquiring land and cultivating rice. The clerical services and the teaching profession were chiefly manned by the Blacks and Coloured population but real executive power remained in the hands of Europeans.

It was evident that the various ethnic groups were conscious of and sensitive to the relative positions they occupied in the mixed community. As far back as 1856, and later in 1889, there were anti-Portuguese riots by the Blacks
who protested what they believed to be exploitation by the
Portuguese immigrants who controlled the retail trade
(Burns, 1954). The first of these riots seems to have been
led by a coloured man, John Orr, who had inspired anti-
Catholic riots in Boston, New York.¹

On the whole, cultural assimilation steadily increased
through the years, but serious problems of social integration
persisted. Levels of socio-economic status remained
roughly correlative with shades of skin colour and ethnic
origin. The dominant white-oriented cultural group maintained
their social distance from the other groups. In
times of peace the Guyanese society assumed an appearance
of solidarity. This solidarity proved tenuous and super-
ficial during moments of stress induced by rising aspirations
of the disadvantaged groups and their realisation that they
had the power to do something about their situation.

Political and governmental changes: Until the 1850's
the franchise depended on ownership of property only.
Additional income qualifications introduced later were high

¹In later political developments in the 20th century
too, some important leaders of mass political movements
in Guyana were, as Dr. Jagan (1954) noted, Guyanese who had
returned from the United States where they came in contact
with American democratic ideas.
enough to deny the right to vote to non-white citizens even in middle and high level professional occupations. The first significant change occurred in 1891 when the income qualifications were lowered, resulting in the development of a political elite of Portuguese and middle class Blacks (R. T. Smith, ibid). During this period East Indians formed about 37% of the population but they were politically apathetic. By 1909, however, the British Guiana Immigration Agent General noting that East Indians were becoming uneasy at the way in which power was passing into the hands of the Blacks, urged certain constitutional changes to allow an official majority on all public political decision-making bodies.

It was labour unrest, the rising cost of living compared with static low wages, and the rise of trade union activity more than anything else that provided the major fillip to the participation of the Black and Indian masses in political affairs. As Bell (1967:18) states:

The modern political history of the British West Indies began in the late 1930's when outbreaks of poverty-induced strikes and riots spread throughout most of the (Caribbean) area. The economic discontent of the West Indian people was given voice by new labour leaders and nationalist politicians, and led to a series of constitutional advances which got underway in the mid 40's.

Ayearst also wrote (1960:39):
Previously (to the 1930's) the politically conscious and active group in any of the colonies was very small, and consisted of a few members of the coloured middle class wanting a real share in government for themselves, but differing little from the white officials in their view of the Negro working class as still unready for self-government.

The labour disturbances were to usher in a new era. Some of the returned labourers had become familiar with trade unions in other places as well as ideas, political and social, in sharp contrast with those current in the islands. The Negro working class had been compelled by economic distress to look for leadership to give direction to their efforts and to spell out their needs and objectives.

The ethnic and geographical distribution of British Guiana's work force at first led to the development of separate trade unions representing East Indian sugar workers' interests and the interests of Black urban industrial labourers. The first serious labour unrest among East Indian sugar workers occurred in 1896 when the reduction of wages on a sugar estate led to a riot. In 1937 a sugar workers' union was firmly established, and in 1947 Dr. J. P. Lachmansingh, an active East Indian trade unionist, formed a predominantly Indian working class political party. The father of trade unionism in Guyana was the Black working class leader, Hubert Critchlow, who led a strike of Black dock workers in 1906 and formed the British Guiana Labour Union in 1919. Black workers seemed generally to support the existing middle class political parties. Despite efforts
at uniting the working class by the formation of the B. G. Trades Union Council in 1941, it was only in the 1950's that the dual development of trade unionism and political parties along racial lines was temporarily arrested.

The 1940's were years of intense and vigorous labour agitation in which dominant figures were Cheddi Jagan (Indian), by now active in a sugar workers union, and Forbes Burnham (Black) a lawyer in the British Guiana Labour Union.

In 1950 the Peoples' Progressive Party was formed by Cheddi Jagan, by this time a self-styled Marxist. Jagan grew up on a sugar estate and received his higher and professional education in Dentistry in the United States, where, according to his own account, he got his "political awakening". Burnham joined forces with him, and the Black and Indian masses, united for the first time for the purpose of fighting imperialism, swept the polls in the first election under adult suffrage in 1953.

Guyana's first popularly elected government was shortlived, for less than six months after it assumed office the British Government suspended the country's constitution because of the radical policies of the ruling party which it accused of trying to set up a communist government. The Imperial Government dissolved the country's legislature and
nominated an Interim Government mainly from conservative leaders of the middle and upper classes, some of whom had unsuccessfully contested the 1953 elections. This new Government lasted for four years until 1957 when a new constitution was granted. During its regime vigorous attempts were made to woo the electorate by developing the social services such as health, transportation and housing, by embarking upon an extensive primary school building programme and approving financial aid to private secondary schools fulfilling specified requirements.

By 1957 Burnham had established his own political party after he and Jagan had failed to reconcile differences between them. The ad hoc unity of the Indian and Black working classes thus proved transitory, and with their political consciousness awakened the stage was set for a struggle for power. In this climate a new sensitivity to inequalities in the society was aroused and found expression in the policies of the ruling working class party as well as in the protest of the other mass party out of office.

Let us turn to the situation after 1957 and expand our discussion to include selected aspects of the country's economic structure and employment opportunities.
Guyana After 1957

**Government:** New elections were held in August 1957 under a revised constitution which offered little more than a modified form of Crown Colony Government. Real executive power rested firmly with the Governor and his Secretariat. The Legislature was composed of a Lower and an Upper House each with a mixture of Governor's nominees, ex-officio members, and elected representatives. The Governor nominated to the Lower House enough members considered to be loyal to the ruling party in order to give it a working majority. Yet all legislative decisions had to be approved by the Governor-in-council.

The ruling party was soon to complain and to adopt tactics to demonstrate that it could not govern effectively under these constitutional arrangements. The two major parties, led by Jagan and Burnham, now agitated for full independence. In 1961 the colony gained full internal self-government, the Colonial Office retaining control over foreign policy and defence matters. Three years later complete political independence was granted.

The Ministerial form of government introduced in 1953 was retained in the 1957 constitution, one of the Ministers being responsible for Community Development and Education.
The Indian-backed Peoples' Progressive Party led by Dr. Cheddi Jagan formed the Government, having won 9 of 13 seats, while the predominantly Black party led by Mr. Burnham, winning 3 seats, constituted the official Opposition. The right-wing party representing conservative and business interests won one seat. The elected Legislative members were therefore mainly representative of the Black and Indian masses, while at least some of the members nominated by the Governor could claim to speak for the European and other upper class segments of the society.

The existing local government system consisted of about 94 separate local authorities under the supervision of a statutory board working through a central government department. Smith (1962) wrote about the local government organisation:

This system of local government is inefficient, and although it gives some appearance of a democratic participation in local affairs, the village councils are too small and impoverished to be effective. (p.186-187)

The functions of these local authorities had not gone much beyond the 19th century responsibilities of collecting rates, mending roads and bridges, and executing modest irrigation schemes.

The Guyanese economy: For most of the 19th century sugar production formed the only important industry in the
country. Sporadic and abortive attempts at rice farming had been made by Black freedmen as early as in the 17th century, but it was not until late in the 19th century after the great influx of East Indian immigrants and the rise of a sizeable peasantry that the rice industry was solidly established. Other industries that were either founded or developed in the 20th century were chiefly bauxite, gold and diamond mining, and timber production.

Within the past few decades sugar, bauxite, rice and timber have formed the major export products of the country. Between 1957 and 1960 these items constituted more than four-fifths of the total value of domestic exports. The individual percentages were as follows:

Table (3) Percentage distribution of selected domestic exports, 1957-1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Export Commodity</th>
<th>Average %, 1957 - 1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sugar, molasses and rum</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metalliferous ores and metal scraps</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timber</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other exports</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2This figure does not truly represent the relative importance of rice because of a disastrous crop failure in 1957.
Following is a list of selected activities in the economy and their average percentage contribution to the G.D.P. over the same period. (The percentages for the four major export industries are much smaller here because the G.D.P. incorporates such background services as distribution.)

Table (4) Percentage distribution of selected factors in Gross Domestic Product, 1957-1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Average %, 1957-1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sugar growing and milling</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice growing and milling</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Agriculture, including processing</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professions and personal service</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing, engineering, chemicals</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building and construction</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of particular interest is the fact that the manufacturing industry not related to the processing of the main export
crops accounted for only 3.2% of the G.D.P. The importance of the four main export industries, particularly sugar, is again evident. Other sizeable contributions come from the distribution and government services—this fact, together with other evidence on employment opportunities which will later be presented, makes understandable the bias towards white collar jobs and the preference for secondary education of an academic nature.

Trade: The British Guiana economy depended heavily on foreign trade. In 1957 exports accounted for 56.9% of the national income (Newman, 1964:55). O’Loughlin (1959:7) estimated that imports in 1955 were 42% of the G.D.P. at market price compared with 35% for Jamaica. Governments tended to concentrate development efforts on the four major export industries, neglecting to formulate clear policies for encouraging the growth of small industries. The result was large scale importation of food-stuff and manufactured articles that could be locally produced, as the Jamaican experience has demonstrated. Other factors such as limited entrepreneurship ability and appropriate technical skills may have contributed to the slow development and diversification of small industries in Guyana.

3See page 98 below.
The most important single import areas were the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada. Towards the end of the 1960's the United States and Canada played increasingly significant roles not only in Guyana's foreign trade but, along with international agencies, in the financing of development projects (including educational expansion) through loans and grants. In the years immediately following his re-election to office in 1957, the left-wing leader Dr. Cheddi Jagan tried in vain to obtain economic assistance from these Western sources, while the British Government, exercising the control it retained under Guyana's new constitution, blocked attempts to seek capital loans from Eastern countries.

A typical colonial and undeveloped economy, British Guiana generally exported its raw material cheaply and paid comparatively high prices for import products some of which were manufactured from its crude exports. Benefits derived from the bauxite trade with Canada were minimal in terms of royalties and duty collected from the ore exported to the parent company (Smith, 1962:69); corporate income taxes were a function of the arbitrary 'price' of the ore, fixed by the parent company (Reno, 1964:100). Besides, the industry being heavily mechanised, and what with the then prevailing
attitude of reserving executive posts for Canadian personnel, employment benefits were not as great as a superficial look at the volume of the bauxite trade would suggest. The Bauxite Companies showed no interest for a long time in developing subsidiary industries or establishing local refineries, measures which would have benefitted the Guyana economy. However in 1957 plans were well on the way for substantial capital investment in an alumina plant. With this expansion of operations, the Bauxite Company extended its technical training programme.

Employment: Many factors in the employment situation of a country have a direct bearing on the provision and utilisation of educational opportunity. Not least among these are the extent to which work opportunities are open to a variety of talents and are obtainable on a basis of achievement rather than ascription, the tangible rewards offered for service in various fields, knowledge of these opportunities and rewards, and attitudes to the various occupations.

4Similar projects were initiated in Jamaica much earlier than in Guyana, although mining operations commenced much later in the former country. The lack of adequate power in Guyana may have been one of the reasons for delaying the expansion of Bauxite operations.
In 1956 unemployment was estimated between 16.4 and 18 percent in an International Labour Office survey (1957). Some other noteworthy findings in this survey were:

a. greater urban than rural unemployment;
b. greater unemployment rate for men than for women;
c. 43% of total unemployed under 21;
d. an unemployment rate of 17.2% for skilled factory workers and 23.2% for skilled workers in the building and construction industries compared with 8.1 and 12.1% in the clerical and sales services respectively;
e. 22.6% of the total labour force were agricultural workers, 8.9% skilled building and factory workers, and 10.6% clerical and sales workers.

A Manpower Survey by O. C. Francis (1965) estimated that craftsmen and technicians accounted for 21% of the labour force in 1965, manual workers 38%, and clerical sales and service workers 34%. These figures, together with the unemployment rates mentioned above, indicate that the white collar occupations offered the greatest work opportunities for high school graduates. With clerical and service workers accounting for
such relatively large percentages of the labour force in comparison, say, with craftsmen and technicians, and with their rate of unemployment lower, the common criticism of Guyanese high school students for shunning technical subjects and seeking white collar jobs is not wholly justified. The Ghana experience has shown, as Philip Foster (1965) pointed out, that with limited expansion of the economy the mere provision of technical programmes in high school does not solve the problem of increasing educational opportunity.

Prior to the movement towards democratic government in the 1950's certain appointments to both public and private office at all levels were made largely on particularistic and ascriptive criteria. Despress writing in 1967 on "Cultural Pluralism and Nationalist Politics in British Guiana" stated:

Until very recently, as a matter of policy, practically all of the senior staff personnel on the sugar estates had been recruited in Europe or from among the Portuguese or light-coloured group in Guyana. As a result of pressures generated by nationalist politicians (particularly Jagan and Burnham) this policy has been undergoing change. (1967:142)

Black workers were denied certain junior executive positions
on the sugar estates with a predominant Indian labour force, while the very small percentage of Indian workers in the bauxite industry (well under 5%) occupied menial posts. Women were denied some executive positions altogether or were paid lower salaries than men for similar duties. In the civil service women had to resign from their jobs as soon as they got married. Census figures for 1946 show that the Public Service executive was dominated by Europeans and the lower levels by Blacks. As Despress was careful to observe, however, in some cases ascriptive criteria were not the sole determinants in the selection of employees for various occupations. Other factors such as ethnic attitudes to specific jobs and lack of appropriate qualifications, for example, played their part.

While ascriptive patterns of employment had not disappeared by 1957, there was a growing confidence that one could attain formerly exclusive positions on the basis of educational merit. Moreover, during the 1960's in particular not only was there a definite drive towards Guyanisation of the public services, but some of the major companies--Booker Brothers (sugar), Alcan (bauxite), and to a less extent the commercial banks--embarked upon a deliberate policy of training, providing with scholarships, and employing at
different levels groups that were previously discriminated against. Improvements in employment opportunities and practices in the Government Services between 1940 and 1960 are reflected in the following table, adopted from Despress (ibid:163); the table shows the relative representation of the various ethnic groups in two different categories of office in the Civil Service.

Table (5) Ethnic composition of pensionable Civil Servants in 1940 and 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Departmental Heads (percent)</th>
<th>Pensionable Staff (percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>79.4</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-Guianese (Blacks)</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Indians</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese and others</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A survey carried out by the International Commission of Jurists (1965:33) indicated that in 1965 East Indians comprised 33.16% of Civil Service employees, and the Blacks 53.05%. (East Indians made up about 48% of the total population and the Blacks 33%). In the teaching profession too
East Indians were making significant gains, rising from 21% of primary school teachers in 1956 to 41% in 1965.

It is clear that employment opportunities in the government services requiring educational qualifications beyond the primary school level were becoming increasingly opened to various sections of the community. The awareness that the highest posts were open to those who possessed appropriate educational qualifications must have helped in no small way to stimulate the demand for equal educational opportunity.

Society: This analysis of political trends and socio-economic opportunities in Guyana has so far been dominated by considerations of the position of the East Indian and Black population. This pre-occupation was not intended to suggest that members of other ethnic groups were not victims of social discrimination at one time or another. We justify this focus of attention on the position of the Blacks and East Indians on two main grounds:

i. political events during the period under study (1957-1967) pitted the two groups against each other, and

ii. historically, the social conditions of these two groups and the Amerindians have been the most
severe. Any account of the development of educational opportunity must trace the events that contributed to the active participation of these groups in the social and political affairs of the country.

In the 1950's and 60's the main population and cultural trends that were described for the period 1850-1950 continued. However, some specific data for the period will be briefly presented and two unique developments discussed.

Between 1957 and 1967 the Indian birth-rate continued to be the highest and by 1957 East Indians were about 50% of the total population estimated at 522,670. Census data for 1960 showed the distribution of the various ethnic groups as follows:

Table (6) Racial distribution of population in 1960 (from 1960 Census data)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Indians</td>
<td>267,840</td>
<td>47.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>183,980</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>67,189</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amerindians</td>
<td>25,450</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (including Chinese, Portuguese and other Europeans)</td>
<td>15,947</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>560,406</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The trend towards increasing urbanisation either ceased or slowed down in the 1960's when riots and the threat to life and property caused some East Indians to move to safer rural areas where their numbers predominated.

Aspects of social relationship: While some sets of circumstances tended to bring about greater social cohesion in Guyana in the 1950's and 1960's, others operated to produce isolation and the hardening of differences among various groups. On the one hand the geographic mobility of the population, the increasing access by different ethnic groups to formerly exclusive occupations and positions, and the common educational experience of wider sections of the community were factors that served to facilitate the process of social integration and cultural assimilation. On the other hand the struggle for political power by the two major ethnic groups and a third group generally comprising Portuguese, Chinese, Europeans, and upper class Blacks and Indians, tended to foment social disruption and perpetuate a pluralistic society.

Renewed interest in the reinforcement of ethnic identity and cultural traditions was partly a result of efforts by the East Indians and the Blacks to maintain group solidarity. This rivalry between the two major groups was
not without its benefits. As will be argued in a later chapter, a new fervour was displayed for the acquisition of educational qualifications required for entry to several occupational positions.

Two other developments took place from 1957 onwards that had an impact on educational policy and debate. The Roman Catholic and Protestant—as well as Hindu and Muslim religious organisations had for a long time previously worked in clandestine fashion to support special groups either actually holding political power or seeking it. With political conflict now open and severe and polarisations clearly drawn, the support of religious groups and leaders for favoured political parties became less veiled. By and large the Roman Catholic and some of the Protestant churches supported conservative political parties while the Hindu and Muslim organisations supported Jagan's People's Progressive Party. The Black masses generally rejected the political leadership of the Christian organisations and backed Burnham's party. (Their consciousness of the absence of a cultural rallying point other than a political party, such as East Indians found in their Hindu or Muslim religious organisations, has probably contributed to the adoption within recent times of symbols and concepts of the Black Power
movement which originated in the United States of America.)
The country's primary schools had been peacefully administered under a system of dual control by Government and the Christian Churches, but after 1957 the educational scene was a very stormy one with the Jagan government committed to a policy of secularisation of the entire school system.

The other new development was equally important. The Amerindians were always on the fringes of Guyanese society, so much so that they were often excluded from national records (demographic statistics for example). Consequent on the introduction of adult suffrage political parties tried to win their votes. The Roman Catholic and Anglican Bodies, however, had been for a long time engaged in educational and other social services in their midst and no doubt exercised great influence among them. This fact, together with Venezuela's meddling on Guyana's frontiers where the Amerindians lived, forced the Guyana governments after 1957 to pay attention to Amerindian education and other social welfare services. Well-advised or not, a department of Amerindian affairs was set up and educators turned their attention for a moment to devising a suitable education system for Amerindian children.

From this brief historical background it is now
possible to summarise the main features of the social, political and economic situation in Guyana as it was around 1957:

a. A new constitution allowed the Guyanese people some measure of control over their affairs, but final executive authority rested with the Colonial Governor. The political party that came to power was predominantly representative of the East Indian masses, and the leader of the party was of radical orientation.

b. Some important characteristics of the economy were: a high degree of unemployment both among unskilled workers and various categories of skilled workers; the heavy reliance on the export of a few primary products; a low level of industrialisation; a high volume of retail trade in manufactured import articles and foodstuff; and foreign ownership and control of major industries from which the benefits to Guyanese were minimal in comparison with total profits yielded.

c. The growth rate of the population followed the high pattern of other poor countries.

d. East Indians, a minority group in the mid-
nineteenth century almost outnumbered the rest of the population by 1957, partly through immigration in the early years and later through their higher birth-rate.

e. The introduction of adult suffrage and democratic government in 1953 helped to unite the Black and Indian masses against the country's elite mainly composed of European elements. By 1957, through a variety of circumstances, the Black and Indian masses were divided and a bitter struggle for power between the two groups ensued. In this context the Amerindians, generally neglected by past governments, began to receive more attention as various political groups courted their support.

The effects of these socio-political factors on educational policy and debate will become evident later. What we contend at this point is that economic conditions played a major part in stimulating political awareness and activity, which in turn led to an increased popular concern for educational expansion. It will be seen later how the economic, demographic and cultural features described above operated as inputs into the educational system influencing the distribution of educational opportunity.
Government: From the beginning of the British occupation in the 17th century until 1866 Jamaica had what is commonly referred to as the Old Representative System of government. The basic pattern of administration under this system was that executive authority resided with the Governor assisted by an Executive Council (both nominated by the Crown), while some degree of legislative responsibility rested with a Legislative Assembly elected by a very restricted group of land-owners. Major landmarks in the island's constitutional development were:

a. the introduction of Crown Colony government in 1866, marked by the total absence of elected members; in 1884 elected members were added but their number and the voting procedures kept the power of the nominated officials intact;

b. an elaborate modification of the constitution in 1944 to allow for a form of ministerial government involving a minority of elected members; and the institution of a bicameral legislature consisted of a nominated Legislative Council and a House of Representatives elected under adult suffrage;

c. reforms in 1953 establishing the ministerial
system firmly, vesting ministers with greater responsibility for their various departments but retaining the Governor's reserve powers;

d. full internal self-government in 1957; under the system of self-government the Governor became a ceremonial executive albeit with certain emergency powers; the British Government retained control of defence and foreign policy, and the former Executive Council over which the Governor presided was replaced by a Council of Ministers; this Council containing no ex-officio members was appointed on the advice of the Chief Minister and was presided over by him.

Jamaica was eventually granted independence in 1962 with the last vestige of Imperial political control removed. The country's 20th century constitutional history, then, was characterised by a steady movement towards complete local control of the governmental machinery without any abrupt relapse such as that which occurred in Guyana.

The limited function of the local government units in both Guyana and Jamaica, particularly with regard to education, has already been referred to (see p.93). One important difference between the two countries was that by
1957 election to the 14 'Parish Councils' in Jamaica was on the basis of adult suffrage, and local government elections were closely tied up with national politics. In Guyana the voters in local government elections were rate-payers. Proposals for extensive reform of the Guyanese system have not so far been implemented.

An attempt at a West Indian Federation, instituted in 1958, proved abortive when Jamaica withdrew her membership in 1961. Guyana had never been a member of the short-lived Federation.

**Political parties:** The rise of mass political parties in Jamaica dates from the formation of the People's National Party in 1938 by Norman Manley, a British-educated Jamaican Queen's Counsel. This party was founded in the aftermath of serious poverty-induced labour disturbances in which a prominent figure was the dynamic Jamaican labour leader Alexander Bustamante, head of the then newly formed Bustamante Industrial Trade Union. Bustamante had a wide background of work and travel experience in Spain, Cuba, South and Central America and the United States. He and Manley led a joint working class movement for some time, but an eventual split resulted in Bustamante's formation of the Jamaica Labour Party and Manley's organisation of the
National Workers' Union. These two political parties and their associate trade unions have almost completely dominated the Jamaica labour and political scene ever since.

Bustamante's Jamaica Labour Party won the first elections under adult suffrage in 1944 and has been in power since, except for the 1955-1961 regime of the P.N.P. Both parties represented, generally, a cross section of social and economic classes and were not, as in Guyana, polarised around ethnic groups. At any rate the population was predominantly Black (see p.30). From the 1950's onwards the J.L.P. claimed a slightly more widely distributed support in the rural areas while the P.N.P. was popular in the metropolitan corporate area (O. W. Phelps, 1960).

In its formative years the People's National Party tended to appeal to middle class intellectuals, particularly because of Manley's rational orientation and his concern for Jamaica's political independence (C. Paul Bradley, 1960). Bustamante on the other hand exercised a powerful influence on the labouring masses, and with no specific ideological stance adopted a pragmatic ad hoc approach to political and economic problems. The ideological character of both parties changed somewhat over the years and by 1957 their base of popular support and appeal was considerably broadened,
although there still prevailed among some of the J.L.P. leaders a suspicion of antagonism by a section of middle class intellectuals, primarily teachers. It will be seen later that both parties during their terms of office introduced, without substantial opposition, legislation for significantly modifying the process of secondary school selection to allow greater opportunities to the poorer classes.

A feature of the organisational structure of both parties was their heavy centralisation of authority, with the J.L.P. leadership considered to be somewhat more authoritarian (Bradley, ibid.). Incidentally, authoritarianism was a prevailing characteristic of many social institutions in Guyana and Jamaica including the family and the school.

Economy: Despite many close resemblances between the Guyanese and Jamaican economies, some developments peculiar to or more pronounced in Jamaica are of importance. Huggins and Cumper (1958:57) wrote of the Guyana and Jamaican economies:

... the whole shape of the economies of the two territories is similar. In occupational distribution, in the importance of underemployed occupations such as domestic services and small trade, in the general conditions of labour and organisation of production the two economies clearly belong to the same class.
Yet in the 1950's important economic forces at work in Jamaica brought about a much more rapid expansion and extensive diversification of that country's economy. Between 1953 and 1959 Jamaica had one of the highest rates of economic growth in the world, with an average per capita annual rate of increase of 9.8% in the Gross Domestic Product compared with Germany's 8.3% for example (U.N., 1962). This rapid increase was largely due, no doubt, to the introduction of bauxite mining and processing after 1952. The mining sector grew from nil in 1950 to a direct contribution of 9% of the G.D.P. in 1960, by which time Jamaica had become the world's leading producer of bauxite. The tourist industry too made remarkable progress. The number of tourists increased from 75,000 in 1950 to over 200,000 in 1960 (Jamaica Government, 1961) while tourist spending increased considerably as the length of stay increased (see Palmer, 1968:30).

In the 19th and early 20th centuries coffee, sugar, and bananas formed the major export product in a predominantly agricultural economy, but the introduction of bauxite mining in 1952, the remarkable growth of tourism in the

Coffee production declined in importance after emancipation.
1950's and 60's together with frequent reverses in the sugar and banana industries, significantly altered the structure of the economy and employment opportunities. The contribution of agriculture to the G.D.P. stood at 30% in 1938, 31% in 1950, 19% in 1955, and 16% in 1956, while the mining, manufacturing and construction industries increased their contribution from 19% in 1950 to 28% in 1955. In 1962 Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing contributed 12.4% to the G.D.P. and Mining, Manufacturing and Construction 32.9%. Throughout the 1969's this trend continued of increased activity in the mining and manufacturing industries, as well as in the transportation and distribution services which were no doubt responding to the rapidly rising demands of tourism.

The following tables show the relative contribution of selected activities to the total value of exports and the G.D.P. respectively for specified years.

Table (7) Percentage distribution of principal sectors of domestic exports in 1950, 1956 and 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Percentage of Domestic Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauxite and alumina</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Government of Jamaica, National Accounts, Income and Expenditure, various years; Economic Survey of Jamaica (Central Planning Unit).
Table (7) Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Percentage of Domestic Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar, rum and molasses</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (including manufactured goods and miscellaneous agricultural products)</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (8) Percentage contribution of various industrial groups to the G.D.P., 1950, 1957 and 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Percentage Contribution to G.D.P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction and Installation</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation, Utilities and Communications</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ownership of dwellings</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7Sources: Government of Jamaica, National Accounts, Income and Expenditure, various years; Economic Survey of Jamaica (Central Planning Unit).
As in Guyana, agriculture, mining, and distribution are dominant activities in the island's economy, but in the 1950's and 60's in Jamaica the percentage contribution of agriculture to Domestic Exports and the G.D.P. declined steadily. Adams (1968) noted that between 1950-1961 the rate of growth of the G.D.P. was an average 8.3% per annum compared with 3.1% for agriculture. The decline in agricultural percentage contribution in Guyana was much less dramatic.

Not only the structure but the direction of foreign trade was affected during the period of rapid economic development in Jamaica. Until the early 1950's the United Kingdom was by far Jamaica's most important trading partner but was subsequently superseded by the United States. Canada's position remained fairly stable over the years. These three countries, the United States, United Kingdom and Canada continued to provide the bulk of Jamaica's

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1957</th>
<th>1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous services</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
imports and absorbed most of her exports throughout the
last few decades, but the formation recently of the
Caribbean Common Market and growing links with Organisation
of American States member countries should in time affect
this position moderately.

The following tables show the relative percentage
of Jamaica's exports to, and imports from, her three main
trading partners:

Table (9) Direction of foreign trade, 1950, 1957,
1960 and 1965 (Percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exports to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>56.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imports from</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Computed from Jamaica Government, Central Planning Unit, Economic Survey, various years.*
Table (9) Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Trade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>49.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>9.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>18.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>22.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clearly apparent is the rising importance of the United States as a trading partner, with a trade volume of approximately 10% of the total in 1950 and 34.9% in 1965. When one takes into account, too, other factors such as the preponderance of United States citizens among the tourists to Jamaica one gets a picture of growing interaction between the two societies.

**Employment:** Although the proportion of workers in the agricultural industries declined sharply as other industries grew in the twentieth century, by 1960 this sector still provided one of the main avenues of employment,
accounting for 39% of the labour force. (In 1844 80% of all workers were in agriculture, in 1891 73%, and in 1943 47%. The proportion of female workers in agriculture declined more sharply than that of male workers. Whereas 28% of all female workers were in agriculture in 1943, in 1960 the proportion was 17%, while the respective figures for the male workers were 57% and 50% respectively.)

Despite the great contribution of the mining industry to the G.D.P. this sector directly absorbed a very small portion of the labour force. More important sources of direct employment of labour were, as in the case of Guyana, the distribution, government, and service sectors. The following table shows the composition of the labour force by industrial group in 1960 (percentages):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Group</th>
<th>% of Labour Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining, refining</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction, public utilities</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, communications</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution, finance</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table (10) Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Group</th>
<th>% of Labour Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Services, including government</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1960 Census

Some other characteristics of the employment situation were as follows:

a. a high proportion of unskilled workers;
b. great inequalities in income distribution
generally, and specifically between urban and rural workers and between workers in different industrial sectors. Ahiram (1964:348) estimated that in 1958 the income of urban households was about 2 to 2.5 times that of rural households; that the average per capital incomes in the mining and distribution sectors were at least six times as high as that in agriculture; that the lowest group of 20% of household had roughly a 2 percent share of income measured, while the highest 5% group had a 30% share; that inequalities of income were greater in the rural than in the urban areas; and that incomes in the distribution, mining, transportation and general government sectors were significantly higher than those in
construction, manufacturing, and agriculture;

c. unemployment and underemployment of all levels of workers notably in the construction industry, with an overall unemployment rate of about 13%.

Public attitudes to education and to specific occupations must be examined in the light of these factors of limited employment opportunities and the geographical and occupational inequalities in income distribution. Further, any design for education and social reform must come to grips with the underlying causes of these limitations and inequalities.

Finally, the effect of emigration of the labour situation in Jamaica deserves some comment. Except for a brief period during the war years emigration has been a significant feature of Jamaica society from the late 19th century onwards, reaching the highest levels during 1911-1921 and in the mid-1950s, then again between 1960 and 1962 just before the British Government tightened its immigration restrictions. During 1911-1921 and in 1955 the net emigration amounted to 74% and 43% respectively of the natural increase in population (Roberts and Mills, 1958:60). The main bulk of emigrants went to the United Kingdom. Net emigration to the United Kingdom between 1953-1962 was
161,761, about 9.7% of the island's population at the end of 1962, with an additional 20 to 30 thousand to other countries (Tidrick, 1966:25).

Roberts and Mills (ibid) estimating that about 56.7% of the emigrants to the U.K. during 1953-1955 were skilled workers, were apprehensive of the possible ill effects that a continued outflow of skilled labour of such magnitude could have on the country's economy.

Tidrick on the other hand argued that during 1954-1962 emigration probably aided rather than impeded economic development and alleviated the unemployment problem in the country. Tidrick cited among other reasons for his conclusion the reduction of the population pressure by the migratory movement, the heavy unemployment of the main categories of skilled workers that emigrated, and the substantial earnings of foreign exchange resulting from remittance by Jamaica emigrants to relatives back home.

Society: The total population in Jamaica at the end of 1957 was estimated at 1,611,000 with the birth-rate at 38.1 per thousand and the rate of natural increase at 29.0

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9Note - 1960 Census Data showed the ethnic composition of the population, as follows: Africans (Blacks) 76.8%, Afro-Europeans (Coloured) 14.6%, Europeans 0.8%, East Indians 1.7%, Chinese 0.6%, others 5.5%.
per thousand (Government of Jamaica, 1958). Within 7 years (1950-1957) a decline in infant mortality and death rates combined with a rise in the birth rate to produce a rise in natural increase from 21.3 to 29.0 per thousand. The population under 15 rose from 36.5% of the total in 1943 to 41.2% in 1960.

The significance of these population trends for educational development is clear. Rapid increases in the number and percentage of the school age population, national commitment to universal education at one level or another, and increased demands for educational opportunities at all levels collectively create both quantitative and qualitative problems of educational provision.

**Aspects of social relationship:** Historically, colour has been an important factor in a person's status placement in the British Caribbean. F. Henriques (1953) and M. G. Smith (1961, and 1965) have dealt extensively with the problem of colour-class relationship in Jamaica. Both identified and described cultural differences among the upper class White population, middle class Coloured and lower class Blacks. M. G. Smith (1961) observed that the greatest cultural gulf lay between the White and Brown strata on the one hand, and the lower class Blacks on the other. He noted
also that the social integration of these three groups had never been high.

Data from the 1943 Census on the ownership of land gave some indication of the vast economic superiority of the White group. Constituting about 1.1% of the population they owned nearly 50% of farms over 1,000 acres, while the 78.1% Black population owned 10.8%. There is no question, however, that social interaction and upward economic mobility increased notably in the 1950's and 60's with the country's economic expansion and the movement towards nationhood, but the extent to which the basic three-tiered structure of the society has been modified is a vigorously debated issue in contemporary Jamaican society.

Socio-cultural differences among Jamaican school children contributed to the pressures exerted on lower class Blacks in the country's educational institutions. There was and still is, for example, the pressure to conform to the value systems of the upper and middle class White and Coloured groups, since these are the values promoted in the schools. Further, socio-psychological

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10 Some members of a marginal group, the Ras Tafaris, who regard Africa as their homeland, clearly rejected the school system as an agent of continued European domination.
studies by Kerr (1955) and Miller (1969) suggested that among groups of lower and middle class Jamaican school children colour and other ethnic features are a source of much anxiety.

A cultural characteristic of a substantial number of lower class Blacks that affects their capacity to utilise educational opportunity is the incidence of non-legal marital unions of varying stability. If these unions are terminated any offsprings usually remain with the mother, and financial support by the father is not always assured (Davenport, 1961).

Summary

Some main points arising out of the foregoing accounts of the social, political and economic context of the education systems in Guyana and Jamaica in the late 1950's may be summarised as follows:

1. Economy: Similar economic features in the two countries were a high level of unemployment as well as underemployment of various categories of skilled and unskilled labour; the dominance of the agricultural, mining, distribution and service sectors in the economy; a labour intensive agricultural industry, capital intensive mining industry; the importance of the distribution and service industries in the
provision of employment opportunities; great inequalities in income distribution particularly between industrial sectors.

Main differences were: a more rapid decline in the importance of agriculture in the Jamaican economy and, correspondingly, more rapid increase in the mining and manufacturing industries; consequently, greater reliance in Guyana on foreign imports for the satisfaction of local needs in foodstuff and manufactured articles; greater importance to Jamaica than to Guyana of the United States as a trading partner; greater significance of emigration for the labour situation in Jamaica.

2. Government and Politics: By 1957 national elections under adult suffrage were introduced in both countries and mass political parties won these elections. Previous constitutional reverses in Guyana resulted in that country's government being only partially elected in 1957 and in its having more restricted power than the Jamaican government. Besides, from 1953 to 1957 Guyana was administered by a government wholly nominated by the Crown. Other basic differences were that on the whole Guyana's two main political parties, unlike those in Jamaica, were each representative mainly of a separate major ethnic group, and the ruling
party in Guyana was more radical in its political orientation than its counterpart in Jamaica.

3. **Demographic and Social Features**: The rates of population increase in both countries followed the high pattern characteristic of underdeveloped countries, but partly through the higher birth-rate of the Indian population in Guyana and the greater emigration rates in Jamaica, the rate of population growth was higher for Guyana than for Jamaica.

Both countries had a very mixed population but the vast majority of Jamaicans were Black, while in Guyana the East Indians were the largest ethnic group, followed by the Blacks. By 1957 conflict between these two main groups in Guyana was already seething and was later to disrupt Guyanese society.

There was no overt conflict between ethnic groups in Jamaica, but critics are generally agreed that differences between the two main sections of the population, broadly distinguished by their colour\(^{11}\) and socio-economic status, have always presented a grave threat to social stability in the country.

\(^{11}\)The concept of colour as applied to the Caribbean situation generally incorporates not only skin pigmentation but also facial features and texture of hair.
CHAPTER 6

THE EDUCATION SYSTEMS OF GUYANA
AND JAMAICA IN THE LATE 1950'S

To put the discussion of high school opportunity in Guyana and Jamaica in perspective, we first give a brief outline of the educational systems of the two countries. These systems closely resembled each other in organisation, in administrative structure and in school curricula. Therefore, after details of the Guyana system have been described, only major points of difference in the Jamaican situation will be presented. Inasmuch as we shall ultimately be concerned to analyse changes in the distribution of high school opportunity during 1957-1967, it will be appropriate to describe the educational systems as they existed at the beginning of this period.

First we shall look at the administration of the system, then the facilities available at different levels or phases, and finally, the sources and methods of finance.

Guyana's Educational System

1. Administration

Guyana's educational system, originally established and controlled by private denominational bodies, came under dual control by Church and Government in the latter half of
the 19th century. Co-operation between these two agencies, though ruffled occasionally, was generally fairly smooth until the rise of nationalism in the middle of the present century when the control of educational institutions became a live political issue.

Of the 309 primary schools in 1956-1957, twenty schools with a population of 8,326 pupils were wholly owned and controlled by Government while 281 (95,785 pupils) were under dual control by Government and the Christian denominations. Eight other aided schools (2,348 pupils) belonged to the Mining and Sugar companies. Under the system of dual control teachers are appointed by and subject to the authority of denominational boards which pay salaries and maintain physical facilities out of grants from the national government. The national government has final authority in matters of certification, transfer, promotion and dismissal of teachers; it exercises an appellate function in disciplinary matters, supervises the organisation and implementation of curricula, and examines and certifies primary school-leaving students.

There were in 1957 two Government secondary schools with 1094 students, two grant-aided schools (enrolment, 732) and about twenty-six private schools (enrolment about 5,200).
The Technical Institute, the Carnegie School of Home Economics, and the Teachers Training College were government institutions while the remaining Home Economics School was grant-aided. The private schools were entirely outside the jurisdiction and supervision of the central government. Both the government and church administrations were almost completely centralised.

Some landmarks in the development of the governmental administrative system were:

a. In 1850 an Education Commission with functions of a Board of Education was appointed and quickly abolished when the Church administrations vigorously opposed its recommendations for a secular system of education.

b. An Inspector of Schools was appointed in 1853 with full control of the entire educational effort in Guyana. This appointment marked the beginning of the Department of Education responsible for the primary schools. The head of this Department was later renamed Director of Education and finally Chief Education Officer. The two government secondary schools remained separate sub-departments of Government until late in 1957.
c. The first Guyanese Director of Education was appointed in 1960. All previous directors were recruited from Britain.

d. During the brief office of the 1953 elected government a Minister of Education was appointed with vaguely defined responsibilities and very limited powers.

e. On the return to representative government in late 1957 the ministerial system was firmly established and a Ministry of Community Development and Education was vested with the responsibility for all educational matters.

2. Educational Provision

A. Pre-Primary School Stage: Nurseries or kindergartens for children from 3 to 6 years old have not been widely established institutions either in Guyana or Jamaica. In Guyana there were four main avenues of pre-school educational opportunity available to a limited number of children.

These were as follows:

i. A few kindergartens run by private individuals. These ranged in quality from poorly equipped classes conducted by very inexperienced young girls or women with barely functional literacy, to those few
schools, usually in the two urban areas of Georgetown and New Amsterdam, taught by experienced teachers qualified in Froebel methods, and adequately equipped with up-to-date teaching materials and other physical facilities. Even without the pressing demand for places in these latter schools by middle-class and upper-class parents with appropriate social connections to ensure entry, the mass of working class parents would have found the fees prohibitive.

Of the poorer quality of schools a United Nations Education Commission wrote (1963:51)

Those (in the rural areas) which the mission was fortunate to visit could by no stretch of imagination be called nursery schools—a room in a house with a large number of young children cramped in, sitting huddled together on uncomfortable bench-desks; suitable equipment and apparatus virtually non-existent; untrained ladies and young girls who see their task as one of looking after children and teaching the alphabet and numbers . . .

ii. The preparatory sections of some denominational primary schools. There were as well some private denominational schools which catered for children from 3 or 4 through 11 years and concentrated on preparing their pupils for entrance examinations to secondary schools; again; these were rendered exclusive by reason of the fees charged, if for no other
iii. Government or denominational public primary schools, which were allowed to admit children one year below the compulsory age of 6 in cases where accommodation was available.

iv. The preparatory sections of the two Government secondary schools and some private secondary schools, all in the urban areas, and admitting kindergarten pupils on a fee-paying basis. Until 1957 when the preparatory forms were abolished in the two Government secondary schools—Queen's College for boys and Bishop's High School for girls—they contributed about 60% of the entrants to the secondary sections and this system of recruitment was constantly criticised.

Since no records were kept of the private kindergartens it is difficult to estimate how many of them existed and the number of children enrolled, but it is more than likely that well under 5% of the age cohort attended these institutions. The few nursery sections of the Government or denominational public primary schools had about 570 children on roll at the end of August 1958 (Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1957-1958)—a figure representing not more than three percent of the relevant age group.
B. **Primary Schools**: "Primary" schools, which were re-named all-age schools in 1962, provided the only formal educational experience for most Guyanese children. These schools by law admitted children aged 6 to 14, but where accommodation existed pupils could be admitted at five and could stay until they reached sixteen.

First attempts at enforcing compulsory school attendance from 6 to 14 in Guyana were made in 1945 although a Compulsory Education Ordinance requiring attendance from age 6 to age 11 was passed as early as 1876, six years after a similar law was passed in Britain. An Englishman, George Dennis, the first Inspector of Schools in Guyana was largely instrumental in getting this law passed in Guyana. The main educational effort until the early 1960's was aimed at making primary education universal, and the growing support of parents for this objective was reflected in the steadily increasing enrolment and attendance figures. In 1930 there was an 80% enrolment in the primary schools, with an average attendance rate of 67%. By 1945 enrolment had reached over 90% and attendance 74%; the attendance rate for pupils enrolled in 1957-1958 was 84%.

The primary school population doubled between 1946 and 1960. This increase in school enrolment was in no small
measure due not merely to the increase in the school age population, but to the growing interest shown in education especially by the East Indian population. Comprising about 45% of the primary school age cohort in 1935, East Indians accounted for only 36% of the actual school population.¹ By 1945 their position had improved though they were still under-represented; but by 1955 East Indians represented about 51% of the 5-15 population as well as of the primary school population. The rising interest shown by East Indians in education coincided with their increased participation in political and trade Union institutions (see pp. 87-89).

Activities in the primary school centered around the inculcation of literacy particularly in the first five or six grades. In the last two or three grades pupils were prepared for a school leaving examination principally in English, Arithmetic and the Social Studies. Work in these grades was very much repetitive; not enough careful thought was given to the organisation of worthwhile educational experiences for adolescents, the vast majority of whom were destined to receive no further schooling. Attempts to

¹Unless otherwise indicated figures are obtained or computed from Ministry of Education reports.
teach 'school gardening' met with little success, partly through the antipathy to this activity (noted in an earlier chapter), and partly through inadequate physical and personnel resources. Aesthetic, recreational, and physical education activities received little more than token attention. In seven Handicraft and three Domestic Science Centres some pre-vocational training at the primary level was provided for less than two percent of the boys and about one percent of the girls, while eighteen of the country's 309 primary schools received grants for Home Economics courses.

Nearly all the primary schools conducted a special 'scholarship class' for a group of children between the ages of 9 and 11 selected mainly on the basis of teachers' estimate of their intellectual potential. Instruction for this class, held during school hours, in the evenings, at weekends and even over the vacations, was normally conducted or supervised by the headmaster himself. Fees were generally charged even for classes taught within school hours. The headteacher staked his reputation on "his" successes at the secondary schools scholarship entrance examination, and for two or three years pupils preparing for this examination were drilled almost entirely in the three
areas examined—English, Arithmetic and General Intelligence. Very few teachers—or parents for that matter—considered the rod dispensable for promoting efficient learning, and neither parent nor teacher was daunted by the fact that only 50 scholarships (increased to 60 in 1957) were available for the thousands who sought them. This situation persisted in spite of efforts by the Government administration to correct its more appalling features.

C. **Secondary Education**: The 19th century pattern of educational provision previously described—primary education for the masses and secondary education for the privileged few—basically prevailed in 1957. The UNESCO Mission to Guyana in 1963 observed:

> An inherited weakness of the educational system is the lack of articulation of the primary and secondary levels of education since each grew up separately. (1963:18)

and added,

> The primary schools catered . . . for the mass of children; the secondary school system was for the select few who distinguished themselves at the 11-plus examination or who could afford to go to fee-paying institutions. (Ibid:33)

There were three main avenues of formal schooling open to children between eleven and eighteen. First there were the 7 handicraft and 3 Domestic Science centres referred to earlier. In addition the upper section of the primary school
including 18 Domestic Science Departments provided education for children up to the age of fourteen or fifteen. A small number of pupils stayed on for two further years to prepare for a competitive examination which served as the basis for recruitment of pupil teachers for the primary schools. Of those children over 11 years receiving some kind of formal education at the secondary level about 78% (32,690) were in the senior sections of these primary schools, an enrolment rate of 66% of the 11 to 18 population; actual attendance figures, however, were considerably lower.

Next there were the secondary schools, all with a predominantly classical grammar school curriculum. At the beginning of 1957 there were 2 Government secondary schools, 2 grand-aided schools and about 26 private schools with an enrolment of approximately 6,715 students. Both Government secondary schools, one of the two grant-aided schools, and more than half of the private schools were in the capital city, Georgetown. Between 18 and 20 percent of students from ages eleven to nineteen were enrolled in these 30-odd secondary schools. (The function of these schools, their relative quality, selection processes, and the socio-economic and ethnic composition of the student population
will be discussed later.)

The third avenue was the pre-vocational schools. These were the Government Technical Institute, the Carnegie School of Home Economics and the Fredericks School of Home Economics. By 1957 September, 1,169 students, mostly boys, were enrolled at the Technical Institute for regular classes and 308 for short courses. The two Home Economics schools had a total of about 253 girls.

The overall picture, then, is that just about 20 percent of children over eleven years were enrolled in the secondary schools, somewhere between 10 and 15 percent received no kind of formal schooling, while most of the 66% in the primary schools hardly received a worthwhile programme of instruction. Many of this last group responded by absenting themselves from school or dropping out of the system altogether. Germanacos (ibid:50-51) commenting on the poor attendance in the secondary departments of the all-age schools rejected what he termed "the pseudo-socio-economic reasons" usually advanced--namely, the necessity for children to work in the fields--since unpunctuality and poor attendance were also characteristic of non-agricultural areas. The Germanacos Commission inferred from their sample surveys that the answer lay mainly "in the general attitude
built up over the years towards questions of time, in the
unattractiveness of school conditions, and in ignorance on
the part of parents of the importance of regular attendance
to the educational career of their children". Many differ­ent factors have to be taken into account in trying to
explain the apathy towards the opportunities offered in the
secondary section of the primary schools. It may be, for
example, that parents neglect to send their children to the
last grades of primary schools not because they are unaware
of the importance of regular attendance to the educational
career of their children, but because they are fully aware
that further attendance at a primary school produces no ap­
parent rewards.

Through the individual initiative of many primary
and secondary school teachers, some able and ambitious child­
ren left out of the formal secondary school system were
tutored privately for the same overseas examinations taken
by high school children, success at which provided a gate­
way to middle class occupations and to further education.
Some children, too, studied on their own with the aid of
correspondence courses from overseas colleges. True, the
results achieved through these two channels were modest in
terms of overall examination successes, but the value of
these opportunities for the few successful students should not be underestimated.

In addition to these individual efforts there were the facilities of the two trade schools maintained by the major firms of Bookers Sugar Estates Ltd. and the Demerara Bauxite Company; but these facilities were available to no more than about two or three score of the Companies' employees or apprentices and were limited in educational scope. Finally, tuition in shorthand and typing was provided by a few private individuals, but the number of such classes, which were not registered, is difficult to estimate.

D. Teacher Education: The narrow apex of teacher training and overseas university education completed the formal education pyramid. From its establishment in 1928 until the 1960's the Government Teachers Training College provided professional and grammar school courses for a select handful of primary school teachers already in the profession. At first 30 students were admitted every two years for a 2-year course, but from 1953 the 30 admissions were made annually. In 1955 a scheme was initiated for sending 5 trained and experienced teachers abroad for a 1-year university professional course.

The position in 1957 was that the college had on roll
60 first and second year students. By this date less than 17% of the country's primary school teachers had received professional training, nearly all of them at this institution. (A few of the older teachers had received their training at a similar college in Jamaica.) Opportunities provided at the Teachers Training College were more useful as a means of stimulating the educational aspirations of its small number of students than of providing a professionally equipped teaching force for the primary schools; trained teachers were in fact too few to make a significant impact on the educational situation. Even so, later reform and expansion of teacher education was not effected without considerable opposition from influential members of the teaching profession who expressed fears about the lowering of standards.

Most secondary schools were staffed mainly by secondary school graduates. In the two government schools 38 of the 53 teachers were university graduates (approximately 72%), while in the 28 other aided and private secondary schools, which had a total student population more than six times that of the government schools, there were no more than 32 graduate teachers, approximately 15 percent of the total staff. Less than half of all graduate teachers had
professional post-graduate training or qualifications, which were normally acquired either at the University of the West Indies or universities in the United Kingdom, United States or Canada.

E. University Education: Higher education in the professions, arts, or sciences was acquired in overseas universities mainly on students' own initiative and at their own expense. However, the Guyana government besides contributing to the University of the West Indies, provided loans for a few students and awarded a small number of ad hoc scholarships and bursaries principally for professional improvement courses. Two government scholarships were awarded each year to secondary school graduates to pursue university degree courses and in 1957 sixteen students were in receipt of Government loans.

It was not until the 1960's that fairly reliable records were kept of students studying abroad independently, so figures for private students for 1957 are not available; some idea of the situation could be obtained, however, from a look at the 1960 data which shows that fewer than one-fifth of the 333 students in higher education overseas were on government loans or scholarships.² Of these students 220

were in universities in the United Kingdom, 57 in the U.S.A., 43 at the University of the West Indies, and 13 in Canadian universities.

F. Adult Education: Various official and informal groups took an interest in promoting adult literacy and other welfare programmes, conducted evening classes in academic subjects, ran special courses in such practical areas as cookery, weaving and farming methods, and organised cultural and aesthetic activities. The information available on this phase of educational effort is quite fragmentary, but it is evident that efforts were diffuse, unintegrated, and in some cases too short-lived to be effective. In 1958 the Adult Education Association was formed to co-ordinate the activities of all interested bodies. Government had not assumed leadership in this area of educational endeavour, which received only passing mention in several commission reports on education.

Main groups involved in some adult education project or another were Extra-mural Department of the University of the West Indies, the Sugar Producers Association, the British Council, and various Government agencies. Except for the work of the Sugar Producers Association, which organised educational programmes among its workers on the
sugar estates, much attention and facilities were concentrated in the urban areas.

3. Finance

From the middle of the 19th century after the British government's withdrawal of the Negro Education Grant, the Guyana government bore the major portion of the total public education costs. There has been no notable change in the method of education financing over the years. In 1957 the main sources of education funding were:

i. the recurrent national budget,

ii. the development budget, and

iii. various forms of private funds (including tuition fees and Colonial Welfare and Development Funds provided by the United Kingdom government).

The Germanacos Commission (ibid:29) estimated that in 1960 about 67% of the recurrent expenditure for all levels of education was met by government sources; of the non-recurrent expenditure 38 percent was met by government, and 62 percent by private sources. By far the greatest percentage of overall educational investment went towards the

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3See p. 39.
operation of the primary and all-age schools, though the proportion declined in the 1950's and 1960's as a result of intense activity in the areas of teacher education and secondary and higher education. The proportion of education funds devoted to the primary and all-age schools declined from 84% in 1945 to 74% in 1966. (Bacchus, 1969:416)

In current prices the expenditure on education more than doubled between 1952 and 1961. Although allowances must be made for changing prices it is reasonable to assume that there had been gains in real terms since educational expenditure grew much more rapidly than national income. But social and demographic factors tended to minimise the significance of these gains. While the total expenditure on the primary schools per capita of population rose by 70% over the same period, expenditure per capita of pupils enrolled increased by only 34%. This fact is no doubt explained partly by the rising proportion of the primary school age population (see p. 137 above) and partly by the growing support for education reflected in increased attendance. The increase in the primary school age population was about 10% greater than the total population percentage growth, while the attendance rate in 1961 was nearly 3% higher than in 1952. The increased education expenditure
may be considered then to have served the purpose more of preventing the education situation from deteriorating rather than significantly improving it.

Although the expenditure on education increased in absolute terms, the percentage of the recurrent budget devoted to educational ends remained fairly constant between 13 and 14 percent from 1946 to 1957. Approximately 1.8% of the development budget and 14.1% of the current budget went to education in 1957. The individual allocations among selected education sectors are given in the table below:

Table (11) Allocations among selected education sectors from public recurrent and development expenditure, 1957

(W.I. $,000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Recurrent Expenditure</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Development Ex-</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Total Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
<td>4,562</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>66.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher's College</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Schools</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational Schools</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special and Reform Schools</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table (11) Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Recurrent Expenditure</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Development Expenditure</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Total Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Ministries</td>
<td>869</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Agricultural extension services, medical services in the primary schools, and information and public library services are included under the item 'Other Ministries', while 'Ministry of Education' refers mainly to education administration. Quite striking is the high percentage of the total recurrent education budget and the even higher percentage of the capital budget invested in primary education. This was the general pattern until the 1960's when capital funds devoted to the expansion of secondary and teacher education rose more rapidly than expenditure on primary schools; it must be remembered, though, that the teacher training effort was directed principally to improving the quality and supply of primary school teachers.

Further details on the relative increases in expenditure on primary and secondary education are given on page below.

Private contribution to educational provision has not been included in this discussion because no data was available on the private secondary schools, which were not
registered before 1957 and were quite reticent about matters pertaining to their financial operations. However, it is clear that the central government bore almost the entire costs of primary education while private contributions, apart from Colonial Development and Welfare Grants, went principally to secondary and higher education and substantially supplemented the government effort in these areas.

Jamaica's Educational System

1. Administration

The evolution of the Jamaica system of educational administration was similar to that of Guyana's, except for the absence of any major conflict in Jamaica between Church and Government such as occurred in Guyana during the early years of the Jagan administration. A rudimentary system of education was administered by the Christian denominations until 1842 when partnership between Church and Government began. The Government machinery for educational administration changed steadily with developments in the country's political constitution. In 1944 a germinal Ministry of Education was established. In 1953 Jamaica adopted the system of full ministerial responsibility, and in 1958 the Ministry of Education was vested with full constitutional
responsibility for all matters pertaining to education. The Government as well as the Denominational administrative machinery was wholly centralised.

In 1958 Government was fully responsible for 372 primary schools while 334 primary schools were under dual control by Government and various denominations. Government also owned and controlled three teacher-training colleges and nine post-primary schools (including six technical schools and one agricultural school), while there were 34 grant-aided secondary schools and 3 grant-aided teacher-training colleges. 346 basic schools and infant centres received a small subvention from Government. Finally, there was an unspecified number of wholly private schools at the secondary and kindergarten levels.

2. Educational Provision

A. Pre-Primary School Stage: The provision at this level was very much similar to that described for Guyana. Private kindergartens of varying quality provided accommodation for under 10 percent of children between the ages of 3 and 7. The best and most expensive schools were located in the capital city, Kingston, and were attended by children of the middle and upper professional or business classes. The Jamaican Government showed some measure of concern for
early education by sponsoring short courses for kindergarten teachers and granting a small annual subvention to over 300 basic schools and infant centers.

B. Primary Schools: Jamaica has not so far been able to provide universal primary education. The normal age for admission to the primary school was seven years, but there was no compulsory education law. Several unsuccessful attempts were made since 1892 to institute compulsory school attendance. A new code of regulations passed in 1966, however, lowered the permissible admission age to six years in publicly financed primary schools, and made education compulsory (from ages 6 to 15) in selected areas where adequate accommodation existed.

Approximately 80 percent of the 7-14 population were enrolled in primary schools in 1957. Irregular school attendance of the pupils enrolled presented a grave problem year after year. Between 1950 and 1954 the overall average attendance was 61 percent. The average attendance for the years 1957 and 1958, based on the 288 best sessions, was approximately 69 percent each year.

Jamaica's primary schools were similar to Guyana's in organisation and courses offered. As in Guyana, strong pressures were exerted on the work of the primary school by
the demands of the secondary schools' entrance examinations. The primary school provided the only formal educational experience for the vast majority of students, while its programme was designed to meet the needs of the small number of students going on to high school.

C. Secondary Education: Details on opportunities available at the secondary level in Jamaica in 1957 are discussed in Chapter 8 below. Only the essential similarities and differences between the Jamaica secondary school system and the Guyanese system will be considered at this point.

Limited opportunities for secondary education, severe competition for the few school places available, the emphasis on literary studies, and the influence of external examinations on the secondary school system were all notable characteristics of secondary education in both Guyana and Jamaica.

Jamaica's secondary grammar and technical schools were less concentrated in the capital city and its environs than was the case in Guyana, but there were still just under a half of the country's 43 aided and government owned schools in Kingston and surrounding areas, with nearly 60 percent of the 14,000 secondary school population. One other important difference between the secondary school
system of the two countries was that the financial contributions made by the Jamaican Government to the various aided and Government-owned schools were fairly uniform; so too were the salaries and conditions of service of the teachers. On the other hand the two Government-owned schools in Guyana enjoyed exclusive privileges in terms of annual per capita grants received and teachers' salaries and conditions of service (see Chapter 7).

There was a marked expansion of secondary school facilities in Jamaica in the 1950's. The enrolment of the 10 to 19 population in secondary schools rose from just over 8,500 in 1954 to about 12,800 in 1958, an increase of over 50 percent. By the 1950's secondary education provision had become a live political and social issue in Jamaican society.

D. Teacher Education: Jamaica's teacher-training effort was much more ambitious than Guyana's. In 1957, 46 percent of Jamaica's 4,500 primary school teachers had professional qualifications, compared with a 17 percent ratio in Guyana. In 1958 approximately 50 percent of 4,966 primary and secondary school teachers in Jamaica had received professional training.

Teacher training in Jamaica was not centralised in a
single college as it was in Guyana. Instead, 4 primary teachers' colleges offered 3-year courses in academic and professional subjects. The total enrolment in these colleges in 1958 was 399 students. Besides, the Moneague Training College, opened in 1956, offered an intensive 1-year course for an annual intake of over 100 older and more experienced teachers. Finally, the Caledonia Junior College, established in 1958, provided an "orientation course" of 20 weeks' duration to two batches of 150 young recruits each year.

Except for a substantial Home Economics programme, Technical and Agricultural education was virtually absent from all the teacher-training courses. The normal course offerings included Science and Mathematics, English, the Social Studies, Music, Art, Physical Education, Principles and Philosophy of Education, History of Education, Educational Psychology, and courses in Curriculum and Instruction.

The normal preparation for becoming a qualified secondary school teacher in Jamaica was to take an academic first degree and then pursue professional courses either at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica or in overseas universities. Jamaica's secondary schools were better provided with graduate teachers than were the secondary schools
in Guyana. Nearly 51 percent of the 625 secondary school teachers in Jamaica were graduates, compared with a 26 percent ratio for Guyana. The Guyana Government pursued a policy of subsidising the salaries of only one-third of the graduates in any aided secondary school, while no such restrictions operated in Jamaica. Nearly 63 percent of the graduate teachers in Jamaica were trained, compared with under 50 percent in Guyana.

E. University Education: The presence of the West Indies regional University in Jamaica placed this country at a distinct advantage over the other contributing territories.¹ One reason was that although the University of the West Indies out of its own budget granted one return fare to West Indian students outside Jamaica, most of these students still had to meet their own living costs, which would normally be higher than for a Jamaican student. In 1960 there were 441 Jamaican students (238 male and 203 female) enrolled in the U.W.I. Faculties of Arts, Science, Agriculture, Social Science and Medicine which had a total student population of 910. In 1964, the number of U.W.I. Jamaican students rose

¹Constituent colleges of the University were opened in Trinidad and Barbados in 1963. Guyana opened its own University in the same year.
to 771, more than 63 percent of the total enrolment.

Ministry of Education records for 1960 indicated that for that year there were about 3,800 Jamaican students studying in Universities in the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. The importance of the number of students enrolled in overseas Universities should not be over-estimated, since most of these students were not expected to return home at the end of their studies.

F. Adult Education: Several Government and voluntary organisations provided educational courses for out-of-school adults and adolescents. The Jamaica Library service introduced a Bookmobile service in 1957 and was thus able to extend its operations to remote rural areas. The Jamaica Social Welfare Commission launched a Literacy Project in 1951 for which it subsequently secured UNESCO assistance in the form of grants, fellowships and personnel. By 1958 the Literacy Section of the Jamaica Welfare Commission was well established with a full-time field staff as well as special officers assigned to work in the Prisons. This section has grown from strength to strength making good use of the television and broadcasting media.

In 1958 there were more than 30 Evening Institutes conducted in schools and community centres throughout the
island. These Institutes offered courses in Commerce, Agriculture, and Technical subjects in addition to General Education courses.

A number of voluntary and semi-voluntary organisations also contributed to the program of adult education. Notable among these were the 4-H Clubs operating in various parts of the island, and the Jamaica Youth Corps which organised camping projects for boys to teach them technical and agricultural skills and to provide them with experience in social and co-operative living.

G. Finance: The general sources and methods of educational financing in Guyana and Jamaica were quite similar. The central national budget provided the bulk of the total educational expenditure. Students' fees and assistance from international agencies supplemented Government's resources. No special taxes were levied directly for educational purposes. In 1957-1958 Jamaica spent 11.2 percent of its recurrent budget and 11.6 percent of its development budget on education. Comparative figures for Guyana were 14.1 percent and 1.8 percent respectively. Jamaica's relatively high development expenditure is accounted for mainly by the dramatic increase in secondary school free places in 1958 (see Chapter 8). In 1966-1967 the recurrent educational
expenditure was 14.8 percent of the total recurrent expend-
iture for Jamaica and 17 percent for Guyana.

As in Guyana the rate of increase in expenditure on
secondary education was much higher than that for primary
education in the 1950's and 1960's. Between 1957 and 1967
expenditure on primary level education in Jamaica increased
by 146 percent (at current prices) while that on secondary
level education rose by 364 percent. Corresponding figures
for Guyana were 163 percent and 372 percent respectively.
There is no doubt that the role of the secondary grammar school in Guyana and Jamaica in promoting the fulfilment of personal aspirations for upward social mobility has been crucial. It has already been shown (Chapter 5) that the clerical services provided substantial opportunities for employment. The usual prerequisite for entry into these services including the teaching profession was the possession of a high school diploma or at least a specified minimum of high school education experience. Civil Service entry requirements, for example, were normally a Cambridge School Certificate, or some stated equivalent, with passes in English and Mathematics.

Again, although there were alternative routes to becoming a qualified primary school teacher, various grades and levels of high school certificates shortened the process and made the teachers' preparation less arduous. Without a high school certificate a primary school graduate would normally have to pass eight different local Teachers Examinations to acquire the highest certificate available for untrained teachers. In theory a Class I untrained teacher's
certificate could be acquired in about 5 years, but in practice the nature and organisation of the examinations, and the conditions under which the teacher prepared for them, generally made the process interminable—failure rates for the Teachers' Certificate examination varied between 70% and 90% each year. A Cambridge School or Higher School Certificate could make a considerable difference at least in time if not in effort; hence the importance, to the teacher, of high school opportunity.

For the pursuit of higher education too, or of study in any of the learned professions, a high school certificate was indispensable. Higher education was obtained chiefly in British universities and later at the University of the West Indies; these institutions normally required for admission certificates gained from examining bodies in Britain. The Guyanese high schools, therefore, did not grant their own school leaving certificates but concentrated almost entirely on preparing their students for overseas examinations. Thus the opportunities they provided were useful only for limited ends. It has always been argued that this need not have been the case; that is, that there was no intrinsic contradiction in preparing students for an overseas examination while at the same time offering them
a liberal and personally satisfying education that equipped them for citizenship; yet the reality of the situation was that there was a virtually total neglect in nearly all but the two government financed or two grant-aided schools of any area of activity not included in narrowly selected Cambridge or London syllabuses. Even in these four Government and grant-aided schools efforts to diversify the curricula to include certain practical or technical subjects met with stubborn resistance until the 1950's. The Hammond Memorandum on Education in British Guiana (1942) recommended the introduction of technical courses as Queen's College, but only in 1956 were a few Queen's College students released one day per week to attend classes in technical subjects at the nearby Technical Institute. Then in 1953 the government-owned Bishop's High School and two non-aided Catholic secondary schools for girls added Home Economics courses to their curriculum offerings.

In view of the importance of secondary school education for social, professional and material advancement, two vital questions need to be raised on the provision of high school opportunity:

1. Do the various high schools all have facilities which enable them to provide education of comparable quality?
2. Does the selection process consistently favour some groups of children and exclude others?

It is to these questions that attention will now be directed. First the position in 1957 will be described and then an analysis made of the factors contributing to change between 1957 and 1967.

1. Disparities between the schools, 1957: In many respects there was great advantage in attending one of the two government or two aided secondary schools and to a less extent two or three denominational schools. Not only were graduates of these institutions held in higher social and academic esteem—a circumstance that considerably enhanced their prospects for employment—but the schools were actually far superior to the other (non-aided) secondary schools in terms of accommodation and equipment, breadth of curricular offering, quality of staff, amount of finances available and, with some qualifications to be discussed, examination results achieved.

Classrooms in the government and aided schools were equipped with separate desk-chairs for pupils and the number of pupils per classroom was kept at a maximum of 35. In most of the private unaided schools physical accommodation was unsatisfactory. The normal seating arrangement consisted
of long bench-desks each holding 4 to 6 children. It was also common to find in one open schoolroom several classes of 40 to 60 children.¹

Further disparities in physical accommodation and equipment could be detailed, but some sidelights on the total situation show clearly from the methods of financing for the different institutions. About 60% of the government school students and a much greater percentage in the aided schools paid fees. Though more than 90% of the private school students were fee-paying, fees charged in these schools were 30 to 50 percent less and were not always promptly paid. Besides, most private schools depended entirely on student fees for their operation, while an estimated three-fourths of the cost of running the government schools was met from government funds: There existed, too, great differences between the government schools and the aided schools, as well as between the government boys school and the government girls school. The average grant per pupil in the government schools was about 4½ times higher than that for the aided private schools, and the cost per child in the government boys' school was nearly

¹The present writer had the experience of teaching mathematics to a class of 70 children in one of these schools.
60 percent higher than that for the girls school.

Largely as a result of meagre finances science laboratories were non-existent in most of the private secondary schools, and library facilities were far from adequate. Dr. Jagan, while a member of the House of Assembly in 1951, advocated that the science facilities at Queen's College be opened to private school students in the evenings, but this proposal was rejected. However, when he became the head of the Government in 1953, the policy was introduced of admitting to the sixth forms of Queen's College and Bishop's High School a small number of the top private school graduates; in 1957 fifteen such students were admitted.

Staff in the government and aided schools were better paid, and male staff in the government boys school received higher salaries than the female staff with similar qualifications in the government girls school. Queen's College and Bishop's High School were government sub-departments and the teachers in these schools were senior grade civil servants. They enjoyed generous leave and pension rights not available in any measure to private school teachers. Traditionally they were recruited from Britain; though this policy was gradually relaxed, both
schools had English principals until the 1960's.

The staff in the government schools were also better qualified. Over 70 percent of the teachers were university graduates while fewer than a third of all private school teachers possessed a minimum of a Grade II High School Certificate or 5 Cambridge or London "O" Level passes. In view of their superior academic qualifications, civil servant status, higher remunerations and better terms of employment, the government secondary school teachers enjoyed much more prestige than their counterparts in the private schools. Together with the teachers in the two aided schools they belonged to a separate teachers association. The four schools also organised their own annual athletic and games competitions in which students from other schools did not participate. The community was quite conscious of the comparative practical benefits and status values which attached to both teaching and attendance at the different groups of schools.

Differences in staffing, financing and equipment were generally reflected in relative examination success. In 1955 about 20 percent of a group of 487 private school students gained 5 or more passes at the Cambridge School Certificate examination, compared with 50 percent of 188
students from the government and aided schools at a comparable examination. Germanacos (ibid:63) showed that the differences were even greater in the 1961 examinations. However, some reservations must be entertained about the validity or significance of these comparisons. A few of the private schools achieved outstanding success in certain years and on the whole did much better work than the rest of the private schools; it is somewhat misleading therefore to lump all the private schools in one category and compare them with the government and aided schools. Also, other important factors such as the level of attainment of the pupils on entry into the schools and the number of years of preparation need to be taken into account in comparing the performance of various schools. Yet the basic point remains that the probability of achieving a high school diploma was greater for students in government schools and the aided schools than for students in the other schools.

2. Distribution of opportunity, 1957: It is clear that the government and aided secondary schools offered their students wider educational opportunities, richer experiences and better chances of examination success than the private secondary schools. It is therefore interesting to see how the opportunities they provided were distributed among the
various social, occupational and regional groups in the country. The concentration of secondary schools mainly in two or three urban areas, particularly in the capital city, and their general dependence on students' fees for their operation, were two factors determining the composition of the secondary school population. Of the 30 secondary schools listed in Ministry of Education records for 1957, only 8 private non-aided schools were in rural areas proper. Comprising just under a third of the nation's population, the capital city Georgetown and another town, New Amsterdam, had nearly two-thirds of all the secondary schools. Students in the urban schools tended to be recruited from middle and upper socio-economic classes within the town and its environs.

Data obtained on the background of students admitted to three schools in 1957 give an indication of the regional and socio-economic inequalities in selection. Three schools sampled represent three different strata classified on the combined bases of the esteem in which the schools were held, the level of financial and other resources, and the academic record and reputation of the school.

We look first at the pattern of admission into Queen's College, one of the two government secondary schools,
representing the most prestigious group. 114 students were admitted to this school--31 in the preparatory form, 68 in the first two secondary forms and 46 in the other forms. Of the total, 74 were from Georgetown or roughly 65%. East Indians comprised just under one-third of all students, as well as one-third of the Georgetown students.

Between 1953 and 1956, of the boys entering the preparatory form, one was Amerindian, 5 were Portuguese, 17 East Indians, 19 English, 49 Africans and 85 Chinese (Hansard, 23rd May, 1957).

It will be remembered that over 60% of the students at Queen's College and Bishop's High School paid fees. The rest won scholarships on their performance at the Government County Scholarship examination. In 1957, 59 scholarships were awarded, 44 on a County basis and 15 open. The County of Demerara (see Appendix 2) got 19 of the County awards and all the open awards. This meant that 58% of the awards went to an area with about 40% of the school-age population. Further, Georgetown pupils won nearly all the open awards. In fact it was previously discovered that Georgetown pupils consistently won most of the Demerara County awards, so a separate division, Rural Demerara, was created to which 12 of the 19 Demerara awards were allocated.
Our middle group of schools is represented by St. Rose's High School, a non-aided Roman Catholic School. Of the 39 pupils admitted to this school 20 came from private Roman Catholic preparatory schools, 10 from Roman Catholic primary schools, 6 from private preparatory schools, and 3 went to other primary schools. 7 of the 39 entrants were East Indians. 3 students came from schools outside Georgetown. The fathers of 6 students were employed in lower working class non-clerical occupations; the others were either higher level professionals or businessmen or occupied senior clerical or managerial positions.

Finally, for Tutorial High School, a privately-owned non-aided school representing the lower group, of the 210 pupils admitted 65 percent came from the Georgetown area. (Generally, more rural children attended this last group of private schools than the other schools.) 21 of the 210 entrants were East Indians, but much significance should not be attached to this fact because some of the private non-aided secondary schools attracted mainly Black students, and others East Indians.

Factors Contributing to Change

There were two very important factors influencing the development of education in Guyana in the 1950's and 1960's,
and contributing to the extension of educational opportunity to groups that were formerly grossly under-represented in the secondary school system.

These factors were:

1. the part played by ethnic rivalry between the Blacks and the East Indians in the increase of educational aspirations, and

2. the determined effort of the socialist-oriented Jagan government to implement egalitarian ideals.²

In Guyana, ethnic divisions coincided closely with political grouping (see Chapter 5). This circumstance contributed towards intense opposition to the Jagan government's proposals for educational reform, not only from the ideologically different right-wing United Force, but from Burnham's People's National Congress which shared many of the social ideals of Jagan's People's Progressive Party. Educational controversy in Guyana was therefore much livelier than in Jamaica where political parties were not divided along racial line.

It will be recalled that in Guyana the Blacks traditionally dominated the service occupations including the

²The perception of the value of education as a means of social and economic advancement is taken for granted as a background contributory factor.
teaching profession. Political change in the 1950's consolidated and intensified the interest which East Indians began to show in education a few decades before. This new enthusiasm for education shown by East Indians was reflected in their increasing representation in the secondary schools and the teachers' training college. Two related explanations can be offered for this rising interest. Firstly, East Indians felt that since the East Indian dominated People's Progressive Party was in power their entrance to the professions and service occupations depended only on their possession of appropriate competitive educational qualifications. Secondly, they realised that the educational institutions themselves were now more open to Indians as a result of the Jagan government's sustained effort to eliminate remaining ascriptive practices in the selection of both staff and students for the Government-controlled or aided schools.

It is not suggested that competition for educational opportunities was entirely a matter of inter-group rivalry between the Blacks and East Indians, but that such rivalry was an important dimension of the political conflict between the two major ethnic groups. The competition between East Indians and Blacks for the utilisation of educational
services and the acquisition of educational qualifications, though not much a subject of open public discussion, could be felt by any observer who lived in Black or East Indian communities. Parents in one ethnic group would seek to spur their children on to greater educational effort by referring to the interest shown by children of the other group.

The representation of East Indians in the educational institutions increased rapidly after 1957. Records of admissions to the Teachers' Training College and of winners of free places to the top (chiefly Government) secondary schools reveal the improved position of East Indians between 1957 and 1967. Between 1956 and 1959, of the 90 entrants to the Teachers' Training College, 17 were East Indians, an average of 20 percent. The percentage of East Indian entrants rose steadily, reaching 47.5% percent of the 120 students admitted for the 1967-1969 course. The change in representation of East Indian girls among the student body of the teachers college was even more pronounced. Whereas 5 of the 45 female students entering between 1956 and 1959 were East Indians—an 11 percent representation—of the 69 female students entering in 1967 East Indians numbered 29, or 42 percent. East Indian representation increased too among
free place winners at the top secondary schools. In 1957 31 percent of the boys entering Queen's College were East Indians; in 1967 the figure rose to 48 percent. Further data on the composition of the 1967 free place winners to the top secondary schools are provided below (see p. 192) The rising interest and achievement in education shown by the East Indians is clearly apparent from these figures. This interest was no doubt stimulated not only by political rivalry, but by an awareness of the social and material value of education, as well as by the removal by the Jagan administration of ascriptive barriers to various positions in the educational and other institutions.

Expression of Public Concern for Equality

Increasing political awareness and constitutional development were accompanied by public expressions of discontent over the limited and unequal opportunities for secondary education. Editorial commentators in the major newspapers, the Daily Chronicle and the Guyana Graphic, frequently criticised Government for its failure to support the private secondary schools. But in their advocacy of equal opportunity these commentators still embraced ideas about the tripartite division of students into those fit for classical education, those fit for technical education and
those fit for a general "modern" education. One commentator, for example, (Guyana Graphic, March 15, 1957) called on government to follow Trinidad's lead in classifying secondary schools into grammar schools, modern schools, and technical schools. Here again we find a restrictive interpretation of equality of educational opportunity that stems from the adoption of the social structure and supporting educational ideas of European societies. So that while there is a legitimate clamour for more school places for children from different social strata, and for a diversification of curricular offerings, there is also an implicit desire to commit children at a young age to a predetermined station in life. In this interpretation of equal opportunity to the wider social and integrative purposes of the school are ignored.

The cause of extended high school opportunity and of government financial support for private schools was championed by the teacher-associations. Teachers, however, were not always willing to adjust their educational values and practices to meet the requirements of any large scale expansion of secondary schools. In periods of rapid growth most countries have had to introduce emergency teacher training schemes, or to modify traditional procedures of teacher
education in order to meet the sharp rise in teacher-demand. Guyana's case was no exception. The Teachers Training College traditionally turned out a maximum of 30 teachers annually after a training period of two years. These became the elite of primary school teachers. When plans were announced for reducing the length of training and increasing the number of admissions into the teacher's college, teacher associations raised a storm of protest against what they termed 'the proposed dilution of standards'. A branch president decried "the intention of Government to produce a mass-production of one-year trained teachers" (Daily Chronicle, March 15, 1959). Again, the General President of the British Guyana Teachers' Association drew attention to the fact that the Teachers Training College had built up so good a reputation over the years that its graduates were admitted to read for the Diploma in Education at London University; he was therefore disturbed over the possibility that any modified training scheme might prejudice the retention of this privilege (Daily Chronicle, April 2, 1959). The teachers training college was seen more as a means of personal improvement for a handful of teachers fortunate enough to gain admission rather than as an agency for improving the quality of as many of the country's
teachers as possible. Thus sentiments for the expansion of school opportunity were not always accompanied by a commitment to such changes in other sections of the educational system, and such changes in goals and values, as were necessary to effect this expansion.

Abernethy (1969) noted this tendency of teachers to be concerned with the maintenance of traditional standards rather than the revolutionising of education to meet current needs. Basically this comment is applicable to the situation both in Guyana and Jamaica, but with two qualifications. Firstly, while teachers have been preoccupied with maintaining traditional standards and have played only a minor part in initiating radical change, they have in theory at least supported many educational innovations; but, as suggested earlier, they have not been too eager to carry out and accept all the new responsibilities and the reformulation of goals logically required by the changes introduced. To give a concrete example, the expansion of high school opportunity has generally been accepted by high school teachers in Guyana and Jamaica, but they have not been quick to reorganise their teaching and curricula at the lower levels to cater for the large influx of new entrants drawn from wider sections of the community and with a wide range
of ability. Nor has there been a willingness to modify the traditional objective of the total high school course, namely, the achievement by students of specific subject passes in overseas examinations. Instead, high school teachers continue year after year to lament the low standard of attainment of the new high school entrants, and to blame the primary schools for not doing their job well. Students are often condemned, too, as being unfit for high school education. Note for instance this comment by a university student in Guyana in a term paper on problems of the secondary school teacher. After explaining that the best primary school graduates get enrolled in the top secondary schools he declared, "The residual dregs that reach Form One are definitely not the kind of pupils that the other secondary schools or the secondary departments of the primary schools would be proud of." When one notes, too, the opinion expressed by the President of Guyana Teachers Association (Daily Chronicle, September 9, 1957) that "20 out of 100 children is a generous estimate for those who show real aptitude for the kind of training which will make school teachers and civil servants out of them", an argument used to support the establishment of vocational schools, one realises how new education structures are planned without
any relaxation of commitment to old values.

The second qualification that must be put on Abernethy's assessment is that it is not only teachers who show a preoccupation with standards. Parents and students themselves often betray an awesome regard for the hallowed standards of the past. The present writer recalls his informal discussions with high school graduates in Guyana when the establishment of a university in Guyana was proposed. These graduates, many of them with aspirations and unquestionable credentials to pursue higher education, had reached a dead end in their academic career because of the lack of facilities in Guyana and the exorbitant cost of obtaining university education abroad. Yet they scoffed at the idea of a university in Guyana, concerned as they were with the "low standards" such a university might achieve. It should be observed, though, that the students in question were mostly Blacks, who would generally have been hostile to changes proposed by the dominantly East Indian ruling party—the objections about standards, then, might have carried a heavy taint of rationalisation. Yet it is probably true that people in spite of their egalitarian ideals worship academic heroes and admire the educational institutions that are exclusively devoted to nurturing them,
just as they admire emperors and maharajahas and the institutional arrangements that foster the rise of these exclusive elites. Hence the objection to a local university which promised some ease of access to many who might not otherwise get an opportunity for higher education.

The Role of Government

We turn next to the role of Government in the expansion of high school opportunity in Guyana in the 1950's and early 1960's. The Jagan administration declared its commitment to the ideal of equal opportunity in terms similar, as we shall see, to those expressed by Jamaica's political leaders. During its term of office it sought to accomplish three main objectives:

i. to lessen the influence of the Christian churches in the appointment of teachers and recruitment of teachers;

ii. to democratise entry into the secondary schools by introducing a single national entrance examination; and

iii. to expand secondary school facilities and make them available to wider social strata in different parts of the country, instead of investing all of Government's resources on 3 or 4 urban schools.
The Government's struggle with the Church was a long and bitter one, only the barest outline of which can be attempted here. The system of dual control of schools in Guyana was described in Chapter 6. Briefly, this system made it possible for the various church administrations to exercise considerable control over the denominational primary schools, which were heavily financed with public funds. It will be recalled that one Roman Catholic and one Lutheran secondary school received Government aid. Jagan's socialist People's Progressive Party did not conceal its uneasiness over the power wielded by the Church with the aid of Government's resources. It was well known that in matters of appointment of teachers and selection of students church membership was a decided advantage. The writer's own appointment to an Anglican primary school was accompanied by a gentle persuasion by the headmaster that things would be so much nicer if he were baptised in the Anglican Church.

In both the aided and the unaided Catholic secondary schools there was a predominance of Catholic primary school graduates. It was noted, for example (see p.171), that 30 of the 39 entrants to the Catholic St. Rose's High School in 1957 were from Catholic primary or preparatory schools.
Frequent charges of discrimination in appointments and admissions were levelled against the Roman Catholic Church by ministers in the Jagan Government. One occasion the Minister of Education declared in a public speech:

Many children of respectable parentage were recently discriminated against and rejected when their names were put forward by the Education Department as being entitled by virtue of their performance at the 1961 Government Primary Scholarship and Secondary Schools Common Entrance Examination to admission to these schools, and children who were placed lower in the order of merit list were selected. (Daily Chronicle, June 17, 1961)

The Minister threatened to withdraw Government grants to the schools in question, stating:

... how can the right of freedom of conscience be effectively guaranteed when in order to obtain employment in the Catholic School one has to change one's name and religion; when in order to get admission to a Catholic School one has to change one's name and religion, or is discriminated against if one is a non-Catholic? (Ibid)

Challenged to give evidence of the alleged discrimination, the Minister named 10 East Indian candidates who were refused admission to Catholic secondary schools although their standing on the entrance examination earned them the right of admission. He noted:
Of 40 places available in St. Stanislaus, the Catholic secondary school for boys, only 30 were chosen in order of merit and the reason was because they had come from Catholic schools and had stated their first choice as St. Stanislaus. (Ibid., June 25, 1961)

In the case of St. Rose's and St. Joseph's, two Catholic girls' schools, it was maintained that of 110 places allotted only 30 were chosen in accordance with the merit list, while no fewer than 14 of the candidates admitted failed to reach the minimum level recommended by the Ministry of Education for entry to the aided schools.

Criticisms alleging discrimination by the Christian churches against non-Christian teachers and students seldom contained any direct reference to race, but it is known that the People's Progressive Party was concerned over the unfavourable position of East Indian teachers and students, most of whom were either Hindus or Muslims. The Jagan Government reacted to the situation it condemned by proposing the establishment of a Teachers Service Commission, and by taking over full control and ownership of 50 primary schools which were built out of public funds. At the secondary level it decreed that only those who qualified at the Common Entrance Examination should be admitted to the aided secondary schools.

These measures met with stiff opposition from Church
administrations as well as the principals of most non-denominational aided secondary schools. Government was charged with seeking to destroy the freedom of parents to send their children to a school of their choice and with attempting to drive the privately owned schools out of existence. Petitions were sent to the United Nations, and parents and children were organised to stage protest rallies. It must be noted that this militancy took place in a general climate of intense struggle between Government and all the forces opposed to it—the Black dominated trade unions and Opposition Party, right wing political groups, and city merchants. In this climate of opposition there was little effort at compromise and cooperation but Government was still able to use its legislative power to effect change. Students were now admitted to the aided and Government secondary schools on the basis of their performance at a common selection examination.³ (Both by regulation, however, and by a loop-hole in the law, the aided schools could still admit limited numbers of students of their choice.)

³In Jamaica, where both political parties represented a cross section of ethnic and socio-economic groups, a similar change in selection procedures was accomplished without controversy.
was not merely legislative. It introduced and executed a policy, continued by the Burnham administration, of localising secondary school facilities; so that by 1967 there were 25 Government secondary schools in different parts of the country, compared with the existence of only 2 Government Secondary schools in Georgetown in 1957. The number of students in the Government and Government-aided secondary schools rose from 1,765 in 1957 to 16,565 in 1967. At first some of the new government schools ran well below capacity because not enough children within the area served by the schools reached the required minimum level at the Common Entrance Examination. This situation provided a clear indication of the inflexible ideas held about the nature and purpose of secondary education, namely, a kind of academic offering suitable only for the outstanding few. Later, however, perhaps more from a desire to prevent economic wastage than from a change of heart on the part of the administration, entrance regulations were relaxed to allow the schools to fill their vacancies.

The increasing attention paid to the expansion of educational opportunity is reflected as well in the rising expenditure on education generally, and on secondary education in particular. The recurrent education budget rose
from 14 percent of the total recurrent public budget in 1957 to 17 percent in 1967, while the proportion of the recurrent education budget devoted to secondary education rose from 6.3 percent to 13 percent.

The establishment of a secondary school in a previously deprived area did not necessarily mean a noteworthy reduction in inequality of opportunity, for secondary schools varied widely in quality and resources. The long established schools, for instance, Queen's College and Bishop's High School in Georgetown, and Berbice High School in New Amsterdam (which became a Government school in 1963) had a total of 56 graduate teachers as against only 49 in the 22 new schools. Teachers were still attracted to the older schools where salaries and conditions of service were much better. Queen's College and Bishop's High School continued to occupy the special place they have always held in Guyana's education system (see p.166). No Government has been able, or perhaps has ever cared, to alter significantly the organisation and function of these schools. Measures for the diversification of the school curricula have always passed these schools by, especially so Queen's College. Even the most radical Minister of Education Guyana has ever had, the People's Progressive Party's Cedric Nunes,
declaring his Government's commitment to a comprehensive school policy, added the caveat:

Children who would benefit most from a secondary Modern type of education would be catered for in Government Secondary Modern Schools, or, for the time being, in the Secondary Modern Division of the present all-age schools . . . The additional places which would then be made in the Secondary Grammar Schools will be reserved only for those children who are considered most likely to benefit from such schools. (Daily Chronicle, July 8, 1962)

Today this thinking still remains. New comprehensive schools are set up while the sacred classical grammar schools remain essentially unaltered.

A further effort by the Jagan administration to make good its promise of secondary education for all proved abortive. The upper section of the all-age schools were required to be re-organised into secondary departments preparing students for the normal overseas examinations in mathematics, language, science and the social studies. In most cases not even modest changes were made in personnel and equipment. Consequently, with a few exceptions which the Government dramatised, the schools were unable to meet their new responsibilities.

In this discussion of Government's role in expanding secondary school opportunity the part played by the Jagan administration was our primary concern. This Government,
which lasted from 1957 to 1964, succeeded in broadening the base of secondary education, expanding the teacher training programmes, reducing the grosser forms of religious and racial discrimination in the selection of students and teachers for the Government schools and to some extent for the aided secondary schools, spreading out secondary school facilities to rural areas, and setting up the University of Guyana. It failed to effect any real re-organisation of secondary school curricula and to remove the distinction between students fit for grammar school education and students fit for practical education. There is no doubt, however, that the retention of the traditional school curricula was supported in general by the popular attitudes to education. During the years 1964-1967 the Burnham Government mainly consolidated the work of the previous administration. Major reconstructions by the Burnham administration fall outside the period of our investigation, but have so far consisted of the erection of technical and comprehensive high schools, in different parts of the country, heavily financed by World Bank loans.

Effect of Changes on the Distribution of Free Places* in the Top Secondary Schools

Through the decentralisation of secondary school

*No tuition fees.
facilities, high school opportunity was extended to formerly deprived regional and social groups. But the two Government secondary schools in Georgetown continued to provide services far superior to those offered by all other government schools and most of the private or aided secondary schools. It was noted earlier that in the 1950's the entrants to these two schools which received the bulk of Government's secondary school expenditure were drawn mainly from urban, non-Indian, and middle and upper socio-economic groups. In addition, an analysis of the admissions to a Roman Catholic aided secondary school in 1957 showed that most of the entrants came from private Roman Catholic preparatory schools or from Roman Catholic primary schools.

Legislative and other changes initiated during 1957-1967 in an effort to alter these patterns of recruitment have been discussed above. We shall now examine the effect of these changes on the composition of the free place winners to the top secondary schools.

The differentials to be considered are:

a. ethnic differences;
b. regional differences;
c. differences in parental occupation; and
d. differences in type of previous school attended.
The occupations of parents were divided into 7 categories as follows:

1. Professional and Executive—including members of the learned professions, heads of government departments and business executives.

2. Teachers.

3. Clerical and Service workers—including store clerks, civil servants, nurses, policemen.


5. Skilled and semi-skilled--including craftsmen, tradesmen, middle and lower order technicians.

6. Unskilled--including manual labourers, farmers, factory workers.

7. Housewife--there was a large number of responses with this uninformative designation, which will have to be treated as 'unknown'.

This classification was adopted on the premise that material wealth, social status and values, educational background, and current contact with the world of books combine to create an environment for the child conducive to and supportive of the kind of learning required for success at the secondary schools entrance examination in particular and
the kind of schooling in general. It is further assumed that Categories 1-4 embody these attributes to a significantly higher degree than Categories 5-6, and in the discussion of the data comparison will be made between these two groupings. One further advantage of this broad grouping is that it should help to reduce the possible errors resulting from interpretative judgements which were made necessary by the inadequacy of information obtained from Ministry of Education files.

(a) **Ethnic differences**

In 1967 Government awarded 284 secondary school free places mainly at the top three Government Schools, Queen's College, Bishop's High School, and Berbice High School. 131 of these places went to boys and 143 to girls. 46 percent of the boys and 31 percent of the girls were East Indians. In all, East Indians comprised 37 percent of the winners. Between 1953 and 1956 an average of about 15 percent of the entrants to Queen's College were East Indians. The proportion of East Indians rose to 31 percent in 1957, and to 48 percent in 1967. East Indian boys, then, almost eliminated their disadvantage in representation in Queen's College during

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4 In 1967 East Indians comprised about 51 percent of Guyana's total population.
the Jagan regime. Figures for the representation of East Indian girls in Bishop's High School in 1957 are not available, but in 1967 they comprised about 37 percent of the entrants.

(b) **Regional differences**

In 1957 about 65 percent of the 74 entrants to Queen's College were from Georgetown. In 1967, of the 124 entrants 80 were from the metropolitan area, again approximately 65 percent. Of the total number of free place winners in 1967 over 75 percent came from Greater Georgetown (72 percent of the boys and 78 percent of the girls). There was no improvement in the representation of the rural groups.

(c) **Occupational differences**

The following table shows the percentage distribution of free place winners according to occupational group, race, and sex:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Boys (%)</th>
<th>Girls (%)</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ind-</td>
<td>Non-</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ian</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Professional and Executive</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table (12) Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Boys (%)</th>
<th>Girls (%)</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Non-Indian</td>
<td>Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Teachers</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Clerks and Service Workers</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Commercial</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Skilled and Semi-skilled</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Unskilled</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Housewife and )</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Unspecified )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classes 1-4, the professional and clerical groups, are heavily over represented relatively to their proportion of the total population.\(^5\) The position of these middle and upper classes in Guyana was more advantageous than in Jamaica, for they comprised about 77.5 percent of the free place winners in Guyana compared with 50.1 percent in Jamaica (see p.234). Two factors help to explain this difference. Firstly, the number of free places available in Guyana was proportionately much smaller than in Jamaica. With very

\(^{5}\)In 1965, the latest year for which relevant figures are available, these groups comprised about 45.8% of the labour force. (O. J. Francis. Manpower Survey Report, 1965)
few free places available, upper class representation is likely to be high. Secondly, it is possible that Jamaica, being somewhat more urbanised and industrialised than Guyana, would have provided a better educational and economic climate for the children of skilled workers, enabling them to compete with other occupational groups on less uneven terms than their counterpart in Guyana.

Some differences in the pattern of occupational representation between the East Indians and other ethnic groups in Guyana reflect differences in the social conditions of these groups. For the boys for example, greatest disparities lie in the clerical, commercial and unskilled occupations. 26 percent of the boys winning free places were children of non-Indian clerks and service workers, compared with 11.4 percent for the Indians. On the other hand in the commercial class Indian boys accounted for 11.5 percent of the winners as against only 6.1 percent for non-Indian groups. Blacks and other non-Indian groups dominated the clerical and service occupations while the East Indians were prominent among the merchant class. East Indian boys in the 'unskilled' class accounted for 6.9 percent of the winners while non-Indians constituted only 1.5 percent. Farmers were listed in this category and it is possible
that this group consisted of a number of successful Indian small farmers.

Also striking is the relatively poor showing of the Indian girls of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers compared with both Indian boys and non-Indian girls. From these differences one could perhaps propose a hypothesis that the pressures on Indian girls of lower working class parents for post-primary educational achievement were less severe than on Indian boys and non-Indian girls in the same group.

(d) Differences in type of previous school attended

The following table shows the distribution of the free place winners according to the type of school attended previously:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Previous School</th>
<th>Boys (%)</th>
<th>Girls (%)</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ind-</td>
<td>Non-</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ian</td>
<td>Ian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Preparatory</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>74.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Primary</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>74.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Guyana the award of free places to preparatory school students was not restricted by legislation as it was in Jamaica (see Chapter 8). These students comprising not more than 5 percent of the relevant school population won nearly 36 percent of the places.

It will be noticed that the proportion of preparatory school students winning free places was much higher for girls than for boys. Middle class parents in Guyana are more likely to send their daughters to private preparatory schools and their sons to public primary schools.

Further, the pattern of success is similar for Indians and non-Indians. The headmistress of one of the leading preparatory schools in Georgetown informed the present writer in an interview that over the last 10 years East Indians have shown an unprecedented interest in enrolling their children in her school. Formerly, she observed, she received applications for admission from a small number of educated upper class East Indians; but in recent times Indian parents seeking a place for their children have come from different social strata, with the business class well represented.

In general all our evidence indicates the upsurae of interest and rising educational achievement of the East
Indians in all levels of education during and after the Jagan regime. However it is doubtful whether the representation of East Indians in the Roman Catholic secondary schools had altered over the years. In 1957 out of a class of 39 entrants to a first form in the Catholic St. Rose's High School 9 were East Indians, while in 1967 there were still only 7 East Indians among the 36 entrants. Nor was the general socio-economic composition of the entrants to this school more varied in 1957 than in 1967. Of the 39 entrants in 1957, 36 came either from private Roman Catholic preparatory schools, Roman Catholic primary schools, or private non-denominational preparatory schools; in 1967, 31 of the 36 entrants were drawn from these sources. Further, the fathers of only 6 of the 1957 entrants were employed in manual, skilled, or non-clerical occupations; in 1967 only two parents belonged to these categories, all others being either professionals or businessmen, or holding senior clerical positions. New admission regulations and procedures initiated by Government between 1957 and 1967 did not alter the socio-economic composition of the students entering this school.

In general two notable changes were effected in the pattern of distribution of secondary school opportunity
during 1957-1967. Firstly, new secondary schools were established in different parts of the country providing school places for a considerably increased number of children. Secondly, East Indians made great gains in representation among the entrants to the top government secondary schools. However, the chances of selection for a free place in these top schools were still weighted heavily in favour of urban children and children from a middle and upper socio-economic background. It seems, too, that the representation of East Indians in the aided denominational schools did not improve. Further comment on the results of the survey will follow an analysis of the Jamaica situation.
CHAPTER 8

HIGH SCHOOL OPPORTUNITY IN JAMAICA - 1957-1967
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PRESSURES FOR EXPANSION

As in Guyana, limited facilities for secondary education, the location of these facilities, and the processes of selection were some factors affecting the distribution of high school opportunity in Jamaica up to 1957. Secondary school children tended to come from a few private preparatory schools, they generally paid fees, and were mainly of urban middle and upper class origin. As members of the public and democratically elected political leaders became sensitive to, and vocal about, the inequalities of representation in the secondary schools of various socio-economic groups, national governments sought by various means to increase the opportunities of the under-represented poorer and rural classes. Some of the measures taken, and the concern shown by various sections of the community for the equalisation of secondary education opportunity are discussed in what follows. Further, the conclusion is examined that despite some modest reduction of social inequalities in secondary school selection over a 10 year period, 1957-1967, the selection system still favoured urban children, and children of white-collar workers, professionals, and
private businessmen, as was the case in Guyana.

The Position in 1957

There were in 1957-1958 36 secondary grammar schools providing accommodation for 12,824 pupils between the ages of 11 and 18, and 7 technical and vocational schools with an enrolment of 2,247.¹ The total number of students in these institutions was under 20 percent of the 11 to 14 year old children in the all-age (7-15) schools, and not more than 10 percent of the entire 11 to 18 year old population. Competition for entry into these schools was therefore very keen.

Before 1957 each school set its own entrance examination, and, except for a small number of scholarships provided by the schools out of their own funds, successful students were admitted on a fee-paying basis. Scholarships were also awarded by the Government on the results of competitive examinations supervised by the Ministry of Education. The recipient of a Government scholarship was entitled to a free place at a Government or grant-aided secondary school

¹Unless otherwise indicated, figures on school enrolment were obtained from Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education. No information was available on the wholly private secondary schools, but the general argument throughout the chapter is not thereby seriously affected.
of his choice. Boarding, book and clothing allowances were also provided for a few scholarship winners who met certain criteria of need set out by the Ministry of Education. In 1954 the total number of scholarships granted by Government and the secondary schools amounted to 200. This number was more than doubled by 1957; yet in this year about 85 percent of all students were fee-paying. Capacity to pay, previous educational attainment, and proximity to a secondary school were important factors determining secondary school selection, all these factors favouring children from urban middle and upper class homes.

Under a new secondary schools policy announced by the Manley administration in 1957 a country-wide preliminary and final examination supervised by the Ministry of Education provided the basis for selection of both fee-paying and free place students. At the same time the number of scholarships was reduced and 1500 free places were awarded to the top candidates. In a sample of 500 of the 1500 winners (selected by taking every third name on the entire list) it was found that 263, or roughly 53 percent were from the capital city Kingston and its environs, which will hereafter be referred to as the urban area. This metropolitan area had less than a quarter of the island's total population.
No records were available on the socio-economic background of the parents, but an analysis by Douglas Manley (1963) of the results of a later year provided some information on this differential. Manley selected a sample of 1730 of the 17,532 entries for the 1959 selection examination and found a similar degree of over-representation of the urban group. Children from Metropolitan Kingston won 52.7 percent of the free places though they constituted 25.4 percent of the entries. Of the urban primary school entrants 15.3 percent won free places compared with 4.6 percent for the rural primary school.

The influence of occupational background is seen in the following table adopted from Manley:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>% - age of Total Entries</th>
<th>% - age of total Free Places</th>
<th>% - age Success</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional and Managerial</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>45.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled and Semi-skilled</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table (14) Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>% - age of Total Entries</th>
<th>% - age of total Free Places</th>
<th>% - age Success</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The overwhelming representation of the white collar occupational groups is evident. The first three groups in the table won 64 percent of the free places. From census data for 1960 it is estimated that these groups together comprised about 15 percent of the male and 22 percent of the female labour force. Clearly, children of the white collar workers had much greater chances of success at the entrance examination than children from the other groups.

Each year about 2,000 students who did not gain free places were awarded grant-aided places. This meant that they paid part of the cost of tuition. Annual tuition costs to the child ranged from 24 to 54 pounds, equivalent to about one-fifth to two-fifths of the 1960 per capita income. Thus, tuition fees and other expenses incurred in school attendance would have combined with the factor of inferior performance on the entrance examination to limit the number of poorer children who could gain access to
government supported secondary education institutions.

A further disadvantage suffered by poor rural children was the inadequacy of secondary school provision in rural areas. In Jamaica there was a concentration of the better secondary school facilities in the capital city and its environs—a familiar pattern in many other under-developed territories. In 1957 18 of the 37 grant-aided high schools with over two-thirds of the total secondary school population were in Kingston and surrounding areas, while entire rural parishes with sizeable populations were without any similar facilities. The parish of St. Mary,² for example, with a population of 100,000 had no secondary school. The nearest secondary school available to boys in Trelawny, a parish of 62,000 inhabitants, was about 20 miles away. Poor transportation services in many of these areas made it necessary for many students to spend hours travelling to and from school or to board within easy reach of the school. (Incidentally, it seems difficult to understand why the Anglican Girls School in Trelawny was not converted into a co-educational school. Such weaknesses in educational provision and organisation reveal the disadvantages of an educational

²See Appendix 3.
system that is allowed to develop without some measure of planning and co-ordination at a central national level.)

On the basis of such criteria as financial resources available and social environment, rural secondary schools were, with a few possible exceptions, inferior in quality to the urban schools. It is true the secondary schools in Jamaica were more uniformly subsidised by Government than was the case in Guyana. The Jamaica Government paid fixed per capita grants to each subsidised school, out of which teachers were paid uniform salaries. Besides, no teacher enjoyed special civil service status and privileges as in Guyana. However, direct grants by Government for special expansion and teaching projects varied from school to school. Moreover, the urban schools were generally much larger than the rural schools and charged much higher fees. Thus they had greater resources and were able to provide far better services and equipment for their students. Of course, in competing with the rural schools for teachers they also enjoyed the advantage of their urban environment.

The 1950's - Pressures and Policies for Change and Expansion

The late 1940's and the 1950's were years of rapid political growth and rising political awareness in Jamaica.  

3See Chapter 5.
Constitutional changes provided for increasing control of the Government machinery by popularly elected leaders. The 1950's too were marked by an unprecedented growth in the Jamaican economy, for which the establishment of the bauxite industry was in no small measure responsible; the per capita income rose at an annual rate of 5 to 6 percent over the same period (Economic Survey, Central Planning Unit, Jamaica Government, 1961). Between 1953 and 1959 Jamaica had one of the highest rates of economic growth in the world.

In this new climate of political and economic ferment the expansion of educational facilities at all levels was viewed as a matter of dire urgency. Political leaders not only saw education as a means of social, personal and economic development, but also became concerned over what they considered to be the unequal distribution of opportunity. In part they were responding to the mood of the masses; in part they sought to stimulate this mood in order to gain political support, and no doubt to pursue and seek an endorsement of their social ideals.

Some factors described by Abernethy (1969) in accounting for the rapid education growth in Eastern and Western Nigeria during the 1950's could equally apply to Jamaica's
case. The factors identified were: popular pressures for expansion; the response by the new legislators to these pressures in an effort to protect their careers; their genuine perception of education as a means contributing to personal improvement, social equality and national economic growth; and the role of teachers in politics. Abernethy also cited regional competition, a factor which could not be applied to Jamaica. In Guyana, though, as we have argued, ethnic rivalry played an important part in stimulating educational aspirations and achievement.

Public Enthusiasm

Some indication of public enthusiasm for primary and secondary education could be seen in the numerous reports in the "Daily Gleaner", Jamaica's only daily newspaper, of delegations to the Ministry of Education, or to a constituency representative, to complain either about the absence of a secondary school in a given area, the dilapidated state of a primary school or, more generally, the inadequate provision of educational facilities at both primary and secondary levels. Similar protests were the subject of many letters to the Editor. One contributor (August 8, 1957) claimed to know a private citizen who was willing to donate a piece of land as a site for a secondary
school in one of the deprived parishes.

Meanwhile, leaders of public opinion made constant references to inadequacies and inequalities of the education system. Editorial comments, for example, frequently emphasised the need for more science and technical education, and for both governmental and public initiative in extending facilities to various social groups. One editorial comment read:

Under a truly democratic educational system—and nothing less can satisfy the long term needs of the whole Jamaican community—higher education at the expense of the state must be the opportunity secured by ability rather than by wealth or influence. (Daily Gleaner, January 8, 1957)

Again—

It is a pretence and hypocrisy to say that elementary school leads to the secondary school when the ages of admission to both schools are so rigged that mostly those with special means are the only ones who can really benefit. (Ibid., April 24, 1957)

There was also some reference to public impatience over the pace of the implementation of change:

The democratisation of local education requires more than co-operation in educational circles; it must enlist the enthusiastic support of the general public. That public has grown cynical about educational schemes which have not yet been translated from the realm of idealism to the provision of every kind of educational opportunity for children from every social and economic background. (Ibid., July 20, 1957)

Other editorial columnists were concerned with the inadequate
supply of teachers and the importance of education for economic development:

The shortage of secondary school teachers is most marked on the science side—probably the most important branch of secondary education in an island striving for rapid agricultural and industrial progress. (Ibid., January 18, 1957)

Response of the Teaching Profession

The teaching profession through the agency of the various teachers' associations played an important part in the development of Jamaican education. It aroused public attention and stimulated governmental response by its vigorous campaign for the improvement not only of the teachers' working conditions but of the physical conditions and accommodation in the primary schools. As an official body it persistently advocated the expansion and reform of the secondary school system to broaden the base of secondary school selection and to diversify the secondary school curriculum. Through researches on secondary school selection conducted by influential members of the association the need was demonstrated for increased attention to infant

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4 It was common to find individual teachers, steeped in traditional Platonic modes of educational thinking, protesting strongly against changes designed to loosen the elitist structure of secondary education; but official professional pronouncements on this aspect of educational change were much less reactionary.
education. But measures adopted by the teachers' association for improving the educational system were more than verbal, for they organised and substantially financed short courses for interim secondary school teachers.

In inaugural addresses by association presidents, demands for improved salaries and working conditions for teachers, as well as for a generous increase in the country's educational budget, could be expected with certainty. Other recurrent demands were the revision of school curricula, the integration of the entire school system, the lowering of the age of entry to the primary school from 7 to 5 years, and more attention to infant education. In January 1957 the newly elected president of the Jamaica Union of Teachers called for the introduction of a special education tax, but this measure has not yet been introduced in any of the British Caribbean territories.

The teachers' associations in Jamaica could have been a very powerful force for fairly smooth and rapid educational change in the 1960's had not relations deteriorated between them and the political executive of the Ministry of Education.

Response and Protest of Political Leaders

Political leaders were not slow to respond to the pressure for increased educational opportunity, and in some
cases even took the initiative in expressing concern for educational development and the democratisation of the school system. This concern is seen partly in their public verbal expression of new ideals and of discontent with the existing system, partly in the schemes initiated to deal with problems identified, and also in the willingness of members of government to vote funds for the expansion of the school services.

It is clear however, as subsequent discussion will show, that the realisation of much desired goals was thwarted by many factors, of which two major ones can be identified. The first was the persistence of adopted European social and educational structures, and of inherited traditional British elitist ideas among members of all sections of the community—students, teachers, parents, administrators and executives—about the nature and purpose of secondary education. The second was the paucity of resources that had to be spread thinly over a wide range of social services, resulting in the failure to make a bold commitment of sums of money adequate to produce any spectacular impact on the education situation. This discrepancy between noble aspirations and tangible commitment of resources has afflicted the educational sector in particular
in many poor territories.

A recurrent protest of political and government leaders was that the educational system discriminated against children of the poorer classes, denying them fair representation in the publicly financed high schools. In almost every parliamentary debate on education demands and proposals were made for remedying this situation.

The Minister of Education in the Manley Government in 1957 introduced measures for increasing the number of free secondary school places from 450 to 1,500 for students between 11 and 12 years old, and for the first time awarded 100 free places to older students between 13 and 15 years of age. At the same time expansion grants were awarded to 5 Kingston and 5 rural secondary schools to provide 700 new places. Estimates passed for the development and expansion of secondary schools amounted to 75,000 pounds in 1957-1958 and 211,000 pounds in 1958-1959.

In introducing the new proposals the Minister enunciated 3 fundamental principles on which he said the Government's plan proceeded:

To provide primary education for all children between the ages of seven and eleven inclusive, to provide increased further education opportunities to those children who possess special ability and to provide these facilities on a basis of equality. (Hansard, April 30, 1957)
Free place grants and living expenses for the needy children who qualified "would serve to put an end to the discrimination that has existed against children of parents who cannot pay fees." (Hansard, ibid.) The Minister sought support for these policies not only by appealing to their egalitarian aspect, but by arguing that they were necessary for national and economic development. Noting that the implementation of the new measures would incur a considerable expenditure he urged:

I ask Members of the House not to be frightened at this large sum . . . because in past years similar expenditures were made on agriculture. We cannot industrialise without more education. (Hansard, ibid.)

Further

Educational policy must look forward to the growing demands of our expanding economy and of our advance to nationhood . . . we must aim at something which will eventually give opportunity to every child in Jamaica. (Hansard, ibid.)

About four years later towards the end of the term of office of the Manley Government the then Minister of Education claimed success for the policies implemented:

Go into the high schools today . . . When you hear this talk about discrimination go into the high schools today . . . and you see sitting side by side white, brown, pink, blue, Indian, Chinese, all the colours you can think of . . . The new Education Programme is creating the real base and foundation of unity amongst our people. (Hansard, March 8, 1961)
The validity of this claim will not be discussed at this point. The reference merely illustrates the faith in education as an instrument for creating social equality and national unity.

In these education debates in the House of Representatives no voices were raised against proposals which purported to increase the opportunities of the poorer classes. Similar measures introduced in Guyana resulted in a storm of protest among opposition members. In Jamaica opposition members were either very careful about the way they criticised matters of strategy and procedure or were concerned to show that the government's proposals did not go far enough towards removing inequalities. The contributions of one opposition member in particular to the 1957 debate are of great importance, since this member, the Hon. E. L. Allen, was to become the Minister of Education in the Bustamante Government from 1962 onwards.

Allen presented to the House a counter proposal for education reform, in which he stated,

We believe that while all men can hardly ever be equal in mental, physical and moral attributes, nevertheless it is the duty of the state to regard equality of opportunity as an ideal to be aimed at. Our educational policy is based on these premises. (Daily Gleaner, April 30, 1957)

Further:
The policy of subsidising the rich or wealthy at secondary schools should be abolished until provision has been made for all suitable poorer children. (Ibid.)

He proposed the objective of some form of secondary education for all students but argued:

No grant should be payable by Government to a Secondary Grammar School on account of any child who does not possess the aptitude and ability to profit satisfactorily from the type of education given at that school. (Ibid.)

Throughout most of the parliamentary debates on secondary school opportunity in Jamaica and Guyana one can detect, generally, an unwillingness to challenge the structure and purpose of the adopted British and European institution of the secondary grammar school. Perhaps more important was the failure to recognise the prior environmental conditions that affected performance at the secondary schools entrance examinations. The idea of equal opportunity of admission to the secondary schools was interpreted by most political leaders to mean that those who showed, presumably, by their performance at the 11+ (entrance) examination their capacity to benefit from the type of secondary education offered should not be kept out of the system by their parents' inability to pay school fees. Indeed 'secondary education for all' was a slogan frequently heard, but in practical terms this meant secondary grammar
school education for a select few and a much smaller number of technical high school places for those unable to win grammar school opportunities.

Both as a Member of the Opposition in 1957 and, later, as the Minister of Education, Mr. Allen showed on occasion a clear desire to break out of this educational tradition. He declared, for example, that the system of picking out the best children on the Common Entrance Examination and sending them to grammar schools was wrong; students, he said, should be allowed to choose between the secondary grammar and the technical school, all secondary schools should ultimately provide a comprehensive programme, and the country's final objective should be to secure secondary school places for all primary school graduates. (Echoing here the early British educational problem, the soundness of requiring a child to choose at 11 or 12 years between a secondary grammar and a technical programme did not seem to be seriously questioned.)

The Ministers of Education in the Manley Government, notwithstanding the major expansion projects they initiated, were still impressed by traditional concepts. In 1957 one Minister announced the proposal to spend 30,000 pounds for post-primary places in the all-age schools to take care of
children who could not win free places at the secondary grammar schools, and argued,

We want good manual training outfits in these post-primary all-age schools where the children can learn woodwork, metal work, etc . . . (Hansard, March 26, 1957)

Later another Minister expressed his disapproval of the idea of comprehensive schools:

In a developing society like Jamaica there is no doubt that the system of differentiating secondary education is the most advantageous, and is far superior to one which envisages a system of comprehensive schools. (Hansard, April 22, 1959)

Practical Government Measures and Public Reaction

It would be naive to assert that the pressures identified above were the sole contributory factors towards the expansion of secondary education opportunity in Jamaica. One could propose among other important causes of secondary school expansion the internal dynamics of growth of the entire educational system. An enlarged primary school system creates not only increased pupil demand for the next stage of formal education, but a need for more teachers for the primary schools, in effect for more secondary graduates. Eventually as the schools and other employment agencies begin to compete with one another for secondary school graduates, whose number must now grow rapidly, it becomes necessary to broaden the basis of admission to
secondary education institutions. A growing university would also have its impact on the development of secondary schools. To indulge in paradox, nothing makes an education system expand like an expanding education system. However, despite this logic of school development, under a centralised education system such as Jamaica's, education growth and the increasing equalisation of opportunity could not be achieved without some measure of Government support and sponsorship.

Between 1957 and 1963 three basic methods were adopted by the Jamaican Government to reduce inequalities in secondary school admission:

1. The secondary school system was expanded by setting up new government schools, recognising more private schools for Government aid, and offering expansion grants to existing grant-aided schools. The result of these measures was a 55 percent increase in enrolment in Government and grant-aided secondary schools between 1957-1958 and 1963-1964, or over 5 times the rate of the population increase for the same period.5

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5These estimates are computed from Ministry of
2. The number of financial scholarships was reduced and a considerably increased number of free places awarded. The principle of providing living allowances for very poor children who won free places was retained, but relatively few children received such allowances.

3. A national examination under Government supervision served as a basis of admission for all students in respect of whom a Government grant was paid. Candidates who wished to enter a grant-aided secondary school were required to obtain a fixed aggregate at these examinations, but in the rural areas where enough children did not qualify, the cut-off point was reduced to allow rural schools to fill their vacancies. The minimum age for entry at this examination was set at 11 years apparently to help offset the advantage of early formal educational experience enjoyed by the more privileged children.

Education Annual Report, various years, and Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1968, Department of Statistics, Jamaica.
Public Response

These measures for extending secondary school facilities met with immediate public response. In 1957 after the Government announced its intention to more than triple the number of free places, about 17,000 children sat the selection examination, compared with an average of 4,000 in previous years. Many parents of primary school children now began to feel that their children had a chance of gaining an opportunity for free secondary education, and exerted great pressure on headteachers to enter their children and coach them specially for the entrance examination.

Some concern over the new policies was shown by a few middle and upper class private citizens. Fears were expressed chiefly over the possible drop of standards that could result from the sudden steep rise in the secondary school population. A well known and widely read columnist of independent means, writing under the pseudonym of Thomas Wright, praised the new policy of offering a large number of secondary school places but drew attention to the problem of "coping with the 'dilution' of existing secondary schools when children without certain family background depress standards of education, deportment and behaviour". He noted
that there was great opportunity for increased private effort "to counteract the effect of the Government's mass production", called for a few "'snob' schools (nothing to do with colour or wealth beyond a certain point)", and continued,

every society has understood the necessity of having educational institutions that cater to a small minority trained in character, taste, etc., representative of all that is mostly currently civilised. We are now on our own. We must develop a ruling caste like everyone else, democracy notwithstanding. (Daily Gleaner, May 8, 1957)

A secondary school teacher supported this columnist on the need for 'snob' schools:

The nation's life needs a core of intellectualism. And the intellectual ruling caste that constitutes this core, as T. W. rightly believes, cannot be produced by state education which by its very nature must be purely secular . . . Thomas Wright was obviously thinking of Eton and Harrow but we could find examples nearer home in Harrison College in Barbados. (Daily Gleaner, June 1, 1957)

Another contributor in a letter to the Editor, was worried about the resultant "tremendous hardships among the middle class people who send their children to secondary schools at great sacrifice . . . These are the people who need help as they are the backbone of Jamaica". The contributor further observed that the measures could split society as parents might decide to send their children to schools in England if fees were the same.
Further Measures for Equalising Opportunity - The 70-30 Plan

It soon became clear that in spite of increases in secondary school accommodation, the award of more free places, and the re-organisation of the entrance procedures, no serious change occurred in the representation of the disadvantaged groups in the nation's best secondary schools. In 1960 public primary school children won 873 free places while 871 places went to children either from private preparatory schools or already in the first forms of secondary schools. In 1961, 954 primary school children won free places compared with 1,000 free place winners from other sources. So it would appear that as the number of free places increased the disparities between the chances of public primary school children and those of private school children either remained static or widened rather than narrowed. This state of affairs was prophetically commented upon in an editorial in the Daily Gleaner in 1957: "... what may appear to be more scholarships for the masses may turn out to be free education for those with special means". (May 2, 1957) This editorial writer was no doubt aware of the fundamental environmental and educational disadvantages of the primary school child as compared with the private school child with whom he had to compete at a selection examination.
The phenomenon of widening inequalities attending the initial expansion of opportunity was noted by Foster in his discussion of the development of secondary education in Ghana and the Ivory Coast in the early 1960's. Foster commented (1970:231):

... educational development in Africa will not be correlated necessarily with increasing equality of educational opportunity; rather at certain stages of growth relative differentials may increase ... This does not suggest that absolute chances for access to secondary schooling among different ethnic or socio-economic groups will become less but that as new places are created a substantial portion of them will be appropriated by groups already characterised by higher socio-economic status and higher levels of educational achievement.

In Jamaica two circumstances contributed in 1962 to create a new determination to grapple with the problem of continuing inequalities in secondary school distribution. The attainment of independence and the election to office of a new political party, the Bustamante-led Jamaica Labour Party, set the stage for further major changes in secondary school provision and recruitment. It can be said, indeed, that gestures in the re-organisation of education are characteristic of colonial territories attaining new constitutional status. The new Minister of Education in the Bustamante administration, the Hon. Edwin Allen, introduced a radical measure which was aimed at achieving that reasonable
balance of opportunity among economic and regional groups that had so far proved elusive. Nothing that children from the private preparatory schools with a population of 4,000 eligible pupils won 1,200 free places while the primary schools with 84,000 won only 900 places the Minister protested,

I think that this is not right and my Government will not allow injustices of that kind to be perpetuated, for the children in the primary schools are not basically, intrinsically or academically inferior. (Hansard, June 6, 1962)

Attributing the disproportion to the cultural bias of the selection tests Allen stated that if he had his way, only those who could not pay to go to secondary school would get scholarships and free places or other partial help "and the result would be a certain amount of equality with those who could go". "But since this would be too sudden a change for which the people would not be prepared" the Minister continued, "the Government was effecting a compromise by allotting 70 percent of the free places to primary school children and 30 percent to the preparatory schools". (The assumption here, and it was quite a reasonable one, was that children of poor parents did not normally attend preparatory schools).

The measure was passed without any substantial dissent
from Opposition members. Since both political parties claimed the support of the masses it seemed as though no member of the House cared to go on record as being opposed to measures apparently designed to improve the position of the "working class".

Effectiveness of New Measures - The distribution of High School Free Places in 1967.

Between 1957 and 1967, then, four different approaches were taken to deal with the problem of inequalities in secondary school selection—increase in school places, increase in free places, change in examination and other entrance procedures, and legislation restricting the number of winners from the preparatory schools. The results of these innovations as reflected in the composition of 1967 free place winners will now be examined. The differentials to be considered are the same as those used in discussing the Guyana situation, except for the ethnic background of students. These differentials are:

(a) Type of primary school attended - public primary, or private preparatory;
(b) Geographical residence, as indicated by location of previous school attended; and
(c) parental occupation.
The classification of occupations remains the same as for Guyana, but one observation is necessary. Generally, children gave the occupation of the male parent with whom they lived; but a feature of Jamaican family life is a high incidence of fatherless households. It seems as though the mother's occupation was given in these cases. These inconsistencies together with the large number of responses that simply read 'housewife' are sure to affect the validity of this exercise. It is clear that any conclusion drawn should take account of these limitations.

Regional Differences

In 1967 the Government awarded 2,000 free places, divided equally between boys and girls. The following table shows the distribution of these places according to the geographical region of the school attended; an inspection of other data suggests that this is a reliable indication of the student's normal residence. Where appropriate data are available a crude statistic will be used to compare the relative opportunity of various groups. The concepts to be employed for this purpose, Selectivity Index and Relative Opportunity, are defined operationally as follows:

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Adopted from Foster (ibid.).
Table (15a) Percentage distribution by region of 1967 free place winners in Jamaica  
(N = 2,000 = 1,000 Boys + 1,000 Girls)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%-age of 11-13</td>
<td>%-age of 11-13</td>
<td>%-age of 11-13</td>
<td>%-age of 11-13</td>
<td>%-age of 11-13</td>
<td>%-age of 11-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>53.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of country</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even allowing for inaccuracies in Census estimates it is evident that the chances of a free place for a Kingston school child were many times higher than those for a rural child. In 1957 about 53 percent of the free-place winners were from the capital city and suburbs. In 1967 the proportion stood nearly the same, at 55 percent.
Selectivity Index = \% - age representation of specified sub-group in selective system \\
\% - age representation of specified sub-group in total population

Relative Opportunity of Sub-groups A and B = \frac{Selective Index for Sub-group A}{Selective Index for Sub-group B}

For convenience of comparison the sub-group with the lowest selectivity index will be given the value 1. Data concerning the size of the sub-groups in the total population are based on estimates from 1960 Census figures and Ministry of Education Annual Reports.

Differences in Type of School Attended

The following table shows the distribution of free places according to the type of schools from which free place winners were recruited and the geographical breakdown for each type of school. The group 'Primary' includes all government and denominational public primary schools where no fees are paid, and 'Preparatory' refers to the private preparatory schools and junior sections of secondary schools. (Those who sat the Common Entrance Examination from the secondary schools would have all been fee-paying students, and for this reason are treated as 'private preparatory'.)
Table (15b) Distribution of 1967 free place winners in Jamaica by type and location of previous school attended

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>S.I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Preparatory</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Preparatory</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Preparatory</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Primary</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Primary</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Primary</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>69.5</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It can be seen that the 70-30 policy was closely followed for the country as a whole. Yet two striking results emerge from the survey. Firstly, despite their lower representation in absolute terms non-primary school children still had five times as much chance as primary school children of winning a free place. Secondly, while the 70-30 policy applied for the country as a whole, it did not apply in certain areas. Of the Kingston boys who won free places, for example, 58 percent came from the primary schools and 42 percent from the non-primary schools; for the Kingston girls the ratio was 54:46. The concentration of the preparatory schools in Kingston is reflected in these results.

It will be observed from all these tables that girls were well represented among high school free place winners. In fact Manley (ibid.) drew attention to the superior performance of girls in the Common Entrance Examination and their larger numbers in the secondary schools.

**Differences Among Parental Occupation Groups**

Jamaica's education administrators and political executives usually made careful statistical analyses of the degree of representation in the secondary schools of public primary and private preparatory school graduates, but it
seems that comments on the representation of various socio-economic groups were often based on knowledge of a few dramatic instances or on the results of cursory, informal observation. Senior officials in the Ministry of Education informed the present writer in an interview (June 10, 1969) that a direct result of the introduction of the 70-30 policy was the increasing integration of upper and lower socio-economic groups as the upper classes began sending their children to public primary schools. There was no striking evidence in the records of the 1967 free place winners to support this view. By and large it still seemed as though professionals and executives sent their children to private preparatory schools or a few outstanding (chiefly denominational) primary schools--as they always did--while skilled and unskilled workers sent their children to public primary schools, without any opportunistic change of school calculated to increase the child's chances of winning a free place. It was the middle classes who were represented solidly in both types of institutions and who showed a speculative tendency to change from one type of school to another just before the examination, until this practice was restricted by government legislation.

Of a total of 167 free place winners from the
professional and executive class 131 came from the preparatory schools, about 78%. At the other end of the scale 12% of the 595 students from the skilled and unskilled groups were recruited from preparatory schools. In occupation group (4) comprising private businessmen 60 percent came from preparatory schools; for groups 2 and 3 consisting of teachers, clerks, and civil servants, the proportion was 35 percent. The social class representation in preparatory schools cannot be determined merely from the composition of the free place winners; but the figures lend support to the belief that attendance at the costly preparatory schools concentrated in metropolitan Kingston is largely associated with size of parental income and to a lesser degree with parental educational status.

The total representation of the various occupational groups among the free place winners is shown in the following table.

About 50 percent of the free place winners were from the first four groups, while the specified skilled and unskilled workers represented 29.8 percent. It is quite possible however that Group (7) included a substantial proportion of skilled and unskilled workers; yet it is clear that the white collar professional and merchant groups,
Table (16) Percentage distribution of 1967 free place winners by occupational group and region
(N = 2,000 = 1,000 Boys + 1,000 Girls)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Boys (%)</th>
<th>Girls (%)</th>
<th>Grand Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Professional and Executive</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Teachers</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Clerks and Service Workers</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Commercial</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Skilled and Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Unskilled</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Housewife</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Unspecified</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

50.1 29.8 20.1
comprising no more than 20 percent of the total population, enjoyed markedly superior chances—the relative opportunity of the first four groups is computed to be at least four times as high as the remaining four groups put together.

No reliable data were available for 1957 with which the 1967 figures can be compared, and Manley's analysis of the 1959 situation (see p.203) uses a different classification of occupations from the one employed here. However, the 1967 results can be weighed against the Government's claims and objectives. Most certainly, opportunity for the poorer classes from the 1950's onwards was much greater than in earlier years when the secondary school system was almost entirely exclusive. But it is evident that after the initial phase of expansion was completed in the 1950's further efforts to increase the representation of the working classes were only moderately successful. The 70-30 selection policy failed to equalise the chances of the upper and lower classes as intended, but might have achieved a redistribution of free places among middle and upper class children, and prevented a decline in rural representation in the secondary schools. Increasing the number of free places surely resulted in a loss of funds from those who could afford to pay school fees and would normally have done so.
In explaining the continued disadvantage of the lower classes in spite of school expansion and legislation Manley's comment was instructive:

Children from these groups (from the homes of unskilled workers and peasant farmers) win a fairly high proportion of all the free places awarded, because of their great numbers, but such a small percentage of the group itself actually wins these places that these pupils can scarcely be said to be competing in the same sense as the children of clerical or skilled manual workers, for example. The mean performance of these groups is so low that adjusting the system of rewards so as to improve their chances of obtaining free places will be of largely marginal benefit, for after seven years of primary schooling it appears that only a very small proportion of them are capable of high school work. (Ibid: p.71)

The unequal representation of working class children among secondary school free place winners was indeed striking, but one should not overlook the fact that the system of selection was open enough to allow a number of these children to gain social mobility through schooling. An awareness of this possibility certainly stimulated the interest of the poorer classes in secondary education to the extent that many whose children could not win free places in open competition were willing to pay tuition fees for attendance at the grant-aided or less well established private secondary schools. The situation arose, therefore, in which many children of well-off parents got a good secondary education at the expense of the Government, while many children of
poorer parents paid for inferior secondary school services.

Comment

In both Guyana and Jamaica legislative and other changes during 1957-1967 failed to improve appreciably, if at all, the relative chances for free secondary education of rural and lower working class groups. The strategies adopted in the two countries were for the most part similar. Jamaica, however, was bolder to attempt by legislative means the control of admissions from the private preparatory schools, while Guyana took steps to weaken the influence of the Christian churches in matters of selection of students and teacher recruitment.¹

Though the socio-economic balance in high school representation was largely unaffected, the ethnic balance in Guyana was considerably altered. The changes introduced in Guyana secured for the East Indian population greater

¹The uniqueness of these measures in the respective territories may be accounted for indirectly by the differences in ethnic composition of the two populations and the close relationship between ethnic and political divisions in Guyana. Any attempt by the Jagan administration to introduce Jamaica's "70-30" policy would have alienated the non-Indian section of the electorate since their children were predominantly represented in the preparatory schools. This racial element in preparatory school attendance was absent in Jamaica. Again, since there was no strong association between religion and race in Jamaica the question of the control of schools was not as urgent as in Guyana.
opportunity for free secondary education and generally increased their participation at all levels of the education system. It seems clear that the East Indians were denied certain educational privileges by the application of ascriptive criteria, and when these were removed by a Government that championed their cause they made rapid gains. The socio-economic and socio-psychological barriers to educational achievement, however, proved more difficult to eradicate and continued to thwart the attainment of egalitarian objectives.

Perhaps the most important single factor affecting performance on the secondary school selection tests is the educational experiences provided by the child's home environment and the supportive behaviour of parents. The elaborate survey by Coleman et al. (1969) on educational opportunity in the United States of America tended to the conclusion that socio-economic background, or more precisely the child's learning environment, rather than the quality of school or size of classroom, was the crucial factor in school achievement. In view, though, of the very deplorable conditions of some primary schools in Jamaica and Guyana one may be inclined to challenge the applicability of the Coleman findings to these countries. But Reid (1964) drew similar
conclusions from his comprehensive study of the effects of a number of educational and sociological variables on the performance in English and Arithmetic of Jamaican primary school children. Reid's research indicated that neither class size nor availability of equipment bore any appreciable relationship to pupil performance while very strong ties were found between the criterion and variables such as parental education and other socio-economic factors, as well as the professional level of teachers.

On the basis of such findings it is tempting to conclude that the weakness of the selection system that limits the educational opportunity for rural and working class groups lies in the educational poverty of the home environment of these groups. However the possibility cannot be ignored that the fault may lie equally in the Procrustean school system which pupils are required to fit. The causes of failure to achieve equal opportunity reside not only in the circumstances of those who fail, but also in the nature of the opportunities at stake, in the way schools are organised, in their objectives, in the kinds of values and learning they promote. It is probably considerations such as these that have inspired the aggressive campaign of the outstanding Latin American educationist Ivan Illich against
the formal school. "This generation," Illich wrote (1969), "should bury the myth that schooling is a necessary means of becoming a useful member of society . . . The free public school must be fought in the name of true equality of educational opportunity." Illich's point here was that the methods of public school organisation and provision within the present context of Latin American society carry built-in conditions that perpetuate the existence of inequalities. In several important ways this criticism is applicable to Guyana and Jamaica. For instance, the early differentiation of secondary schools and the ideas and realities pertaining to their relative merit most certainly encourage in students either a feeling of arrogance (in the case of those selected for the secondary grammar schools) or a sense of inferiority in the others. Moreover, many of those who gain entrance to grammar schools fail to achieve the narrow objectives and demands imposed on them and are consequently filled with a sense of frustration and worthlessness.

It has been demonstrated that in both countries the concern for "standards", combined with the view that some people are not fit for "secondary education" interpreted as the promotion of certain kinds of learning in specified subject areas, has helped to limit the extension of high
school opportunity to deprived groups. In their analysis of the problems of educational development in Southern Asia, Adams and Bjork (1969) commented that resistance from elitist groups to the democratisation of education took several guises: there were arguments about the maintenance of quality and standards; exclusively 'quality' secondary institutions were established; and vocational schools were promoted. Our study was revealed that these were familiar tactics in Guyana and Jamaica, and that even mass leaders, parents, and students contributed to the delay of secondary school expansion by being unable to disabuse their minds of Platonic modes of educational thought. At first the expansion of secondary schools and secondary school curricula took the form of vocational education for grammar school rejects and trivial agricultural education for rural children. Later, administrators tried to remove these distinctions, but they found it difficult to overcome the prejudices against non-literary education which had already been built up in the minds of the public and nurtured by the differential system of rewards in the society for various kinds of work done.

Finally, attempts to equalise opportunity at the secondary level by modifying the selection procedures and by
legislative control of admissions continued to meet with only limited success, partly because of the failure of the primary school system. From time to time commentators in both countries publicly expressed consternation at the low level of attainment of primary school graduates, but no concentrated attack was ever made on this problem, apart from the initiation of modest teacher-training expansion schemes. Modifying the secondary school entrance procedures to correct disparities in the selection opportunity of various groups, was a superficial rather than fundamental solution to the problems of educational inequality.

In spite of the weakness of the primary system the Government in both territories placed overwhelming emphasis on secondary level expansion. Bacchus (1969:42) has shown that the growth of expenditure on education in Guyana in the 1950's and 1960's was over 40 percent higher for the secondary stage than for the primary stage. True, universal secondary education provision was at a germinal stage compared with universal primary education; therefore much more effort was needed in the former area. Apart from this fact, however, three other reasons could be suggested for the direction of effort:

1. International agencies provided funds for the
expansion of secondary school facilities and not for primary education. As a result Governments tended to concentrate mainly on those areas in which they could obtain financial assistance.

2. There was the prevailing view among education executives and international economists that the quickest returns to investment in education were to be obtained by spending at the secondary level; yet the assumption that the primary school base was solid enough to support secondary school expansion was not true in practice in Guyana and Jamaica.

3. By the middle of the 20th century the expansion of primary education had ceased to be newsworthy in Guyana and Jamaica or to excite the sentiments of voters. Because of the importance of secondary school certificates for obtaining jobs and the improved social status they conferred, the erection of a new secondary school by Government made a great impact on the minds of the electorate.

There is no reason to believe that further efforts to provide greater opportunities for the underprivileged classes by expanding secondary education along the lines described above will meet with any notable success.
Improvements will have to be sought in new directions. To anticipate later discussion, there needs to be new emphasis on development at the primary level, on the reorganisation not only of the school system but of the system of rewards in the society, and in general on the amelioration of the social conditions and social relationships throughout the two territories.
CHAPTER 9
SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND, OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND CURRICULAR INTERESTS OF FOURTH-FORM STUDENTS IN GUYANA AND JAMAICA

The effective expansion of secondary education opportunity depends on the extent to which high schools cater for the variety of curricular and occupational interests of students drawn from different regions and different socio-economic groups. The curriculum planner needs to know the educational and occupational aspirations of students in order to anticipate and resolve some of the problems likely to be encountered in the development of new programmes. Such knowledge is also useful to the classroom teacher involved in educational and career guidance.

The survey undertaken in this chapter was motivated by other considerations as well. Traditionally, high schools in Jamaica and Guyana offered mainly literary and science courses. Efforts to introduce technical subjects into the curriculum often proved abortive partly because of poor organisation and partly because of lack of enthusiasm on the part of students, parents and teachers alike. The high school was seen mainly as an avenue to clerical,
professional and service occupations or, put differently, as a means through which the less prestigious skilled manual occupations could be avoided.

The growth of nationalism and the concomitant drive for economic development created a determination in government administrations to train technical and agricultural skills through the high schools. There prevailed, however, a tacit assumption that technical courses were really suitable for those lower working class children who failed to do well in the traditional literary and science programmes, and that agriculture in particular was for rural children. This survey investigates whether such assumptions underlying educational policy for the differentiation of school curricula are reflected in the interests of students. In general it seeks to answer the question: Is there any distinction among secondary school students from various regional and socio-economic groups in Jamaica and Guyana with respect to their occupational aspirations and interest in technical subjects? The theory advanced here is that students continue to see the secondary school as a means of escape from manual occupations, skilled or unskilled; consequently there would be no greater interest in technical subjects and skilled occupations among rural and lower
working class children than among children from the metropolis and from clerical and professional occupational backgrounds. Specifically, the following hypotheses are investigated:

1. There is no relation between regional background and occupational choice.
2. There is no relation between regional background and interest in technical subjects.
3. There is no relation between regional background and preference for farming over other technical subjects.
4. There is no relation between occupational background and occupational choice.

Procedure of Enquiry

Sample: In each country a list of registered non-technical secondary schools was obtained from the Ministry of Education and about one-third of these schools selected for the survey carried out in the 1969-1970 academic year. The researcher used his own knowledge of the schools and the judgement of Education Officers to select stratified school samples representative of various regions, socio-economic levels, types of administration and control (Church, Private, Government and Government-aided), and academic prestige.
A fourth-form cluster was selected from each school. The total sample comprised 405 students from 13 schools in Guyana and 406 from 14 Jamaican schools.

**Method:** A questionnaire\(^1\) was administered in which students were asked to indicate inter alia

(a) area of permanent residence;
(b) previous primary school attended;
(c) parental occupation;
(d) occupational choice; and
(e) curricular choice.

The actual questions asked for (d) and (e) will be presented below, where appropriate.

The questionnaires were sent to head teachers and administered by form-masters. One of the leading secondary schools in Guyana, a Government boys' school, did not respond to the questionnaire.

The occupational classification used was fundamentally the same as that which formed the basis of our analysis of the relationship between social class and secondary school selection, and which was described in Chapter 7. Some modifications had to be made to meet certain statistical

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\(^1\)See Appendix 5.
requirements; these will be indicated as the need arises.

All data were regarded as categorical in nature. In addition, there was no reason for assuming normality of distribution of the populations concerned. The non-parametric statistic, chi-square test of independence, was therefore employed in the analysis of the questionnaire responses. Statistical significance is reported at the 5 percent level of confidence.

Limitations: The validity of any questionnaire type research is liable to be affected by problems of the use and interpretation of concepts. To offset this difficulty as much as possible a preliminary draft of the questionnaire was administered to two fourth forms in an effort to detect and remove ambiguities. Nevertheless, problems of written communication could not thereby be entirely eliminated.

A further source of weakness of the survey was the reliance on one single factor to determine occupational and curricular interests, that is, the response to direct questions concerning occupational and curricular choice. Further, it may be argued that what children say they are interested in becoming or studying often represents not their real interest but their belief about what is expected of them by the researcher, or teacher, or parent. Yet, what
a child thinks he ought to say can be useful information about social attitudes and values which must be taken into account in planning and executing educational policy.

Finally, it may have been better to administer the questionnaire to a random selection of children from different forms throughout all the high schools rather than to some fourth form clusters, but the administrative problems would have been considerably increased, thereby reducing the willingness of the schools to participate in the exercise. This survey must be seen not as a complete and perfect piece of research but as a preliminary exploration in a field in which little or nothing has been written in the two countries studied.

Analysis of Results - Boys

1. Regional Background vs Occupational Choice

Hypothesis tested: There is no relation between area of residence and occupational choice of students.

As in previous sections of this study two areas of residence were distinguished,

(a) the capital city along with its environs, called the urban area, and
(b) the rest of the country, treated as the rural area.
The category 'occupational choice' was divided into three components, namely, choice of a first job after leaving school, job expectation, and ultimate occupational preference. The questions asked were as follows:

a. What is the first job you would like to get?

b. What is the first job you think you will get?

c. If you had a free choice what occupation would you like to take up eventually?

The following basic classification of occupations was employed:

Class 1 - higher professional and executive;

Class 2 - teachers;

Class 3 - clerical and service workers, including civil servants, nurses, policemen;

Class 4 - small businessmen;

Class 5 - skilled and semi-skilled workers;

Class 6 - unskilled workers

The sizes of cell entries in the chi-square contingency tables made it necessary to combine classes of occupational choices, or in some cases to ignore classes altogether where the frequencies were negligible.

As can be seen in Table 17, the hypothesis that there is no relation between regional background and choice of a
first job is rejected at the 5 percent level of confidence.

Table (17) Percentage distribution of occupational choices (first job) by region - Guyana Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Choice (First job)</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 3, 4</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 88 104

= 8.167 P 0.05 - Hypothesis rejected

3 df

The findings do not support the view that rural children are more likely than urban children to choose skilled occupations. Instead there are indications that there is greater preference among the urban than among the rural groups for skilled and higher professional occupations while the choice of teaching as a first job is associated more with rural than with urban residence.

Table (18) reveals a similar pattern for job expectations of the two regional groups in Guyana. In this case the differences in the choice of teaching, skilled and clerical jobs are more pronounced.
Table (18) Percentage distribution of occupational choices (job expectations) by region - Guyana Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Expectations</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 3, 4</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= 19.285 P 0.05 (also P 0.01) - Hypothesis rejected

The no-relationship hypothesis is required even at the one percent level. 50 percent of the rural children expect to get a teaching job when they leave school, compared with 17 percent of urban children. Perhaps rural children are aware of the low level of industrialisation and limited opportunity for skilled and clerical employment in the rural areas, and see teaching as offering the quickest temporary employment opportunity at acceptable rates of remuneration. A related factor contributing to their pattern of choices is probably the relative conspicuousness of teachers, compared with other workers, as models with which students could identify.
When students were asked to state what job they would prefer to do ultimately if they had a free choice, Guyana boys opted overwhelmingly for higher professional occupations—76 percent of the urban and 61 percent of the rural group. But as shown in Table (19) the no-relationship hypothesis was again rejected, a greater proportion of urban than rural students choosing higher professional occupations, and a greater proportion of rural than urban students choosing teaching. Ultimate preference for skilled occupations was not consistent with first-job choices and job expectations.

Table (19) Percentage distribution of occupational choices (ultimate preference) by region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ultimate Occupational Preference</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 3, 4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 92</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= 10.127  P  0.05 - Hypothesis rejected

3 df
Two striking results consistent throughout the entire survey are (a) the greater willingness shown by rural and lower working class groups that urban and middle and upper class groups to opt for teaching, and (b) the relatively low proportion of students who chose teaching as an ultimate career, compared with those who expected teaching as a first job. From Tables (18) and (19) it can be noted that two percent of the urban group expressed an ultimate preference for teaching compared with 17 percent who expected their first job to be teaching. Corresponding figures for the rural group are 14 percent and 50 percent respectively.

The fundamental pattern of choices of Jamaican boys was almost entirely similar to that for Guyana boys. Differences in rural and urban proportions were generally more pronounced and all three hypotheses were rejected even at the one percent level. Table (20) summarises the chi-square results of the tests of independence between area of residence and (a) first-job choice, (b) job expectations and (c) ultimate occupational preference.

In Guyana and Jamaica urban children were more likely than rural children to opt for skilled occupations. The ultimate preferences of Guyana boys, however, were not consistent with this over-all pattern.
Table (20) Chi-square values of tests of independence between regional background and occupational aspirations (first-job choice, job expectation and ultimate occupational preference) - Jamaica boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(urban)</td>
<td>(rural)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region vs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First-job choice</td>
<td>25.885</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job expectation</td>
<td>12.858</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ultimate preference</td>
<td>13.425</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Hypothesis of no-relationship between variables rejected at the one percent level.

There was, on the whole, markedly less interest in teaching among Jamaican boys than among their Guyanese counterpart but the urban-rural differentials were similar. For example, 3 percent of urban Jamaican boys expected teaching to be their first job, compared with 17 percent for Guyana. For the rural groups corresponding figures were 26 percent and 50 percent respectively. Complete distribution tables for all tests are given in Appendix (4).

The dissimilarities between Jamaica and Guyana with respect to the popularity of teaching as a career in fact reflect some socio-economic differences between the two countries. Jamaica with its higher degree of industrialisation offers more attractive jobs in commerce and industry
to its male population. The ratio of male to female
teachers in the two countries is illuminating. In Jamaica
less than 20 percent of all primary school teachers are
male, compared with about 50 percent in Guyana. The pro-
portions of male teachers in the secondary schools are
roughly 40 and 64 percent respectively. An ethnic histori-
cal factor in Guyana, however, the late entry of East
Indian girls into the profession, contributes to the greater
proportion of males in teaching.

2. **Regional Background vs Curricular Choice**

   The item that sought to determine students' interest
   in a given list of technical subjects read as follows:

   If you were offered the opportunity to take two of the
   following courses in your remaining years in school
   which two would you choose? (Put a tick opposite the
   two you choose. If you would not like to do any of
   these subjects put a tick opposite 'none of the above'):

   a. motor mechanic
   b. woodwork (including cabinet making and carpentry)
   c. farming methods
   d. radio and electrical repairs
   e. metal work
   f. masonry
   g. none of the above.

   These are the courses either commonly offered in technical
   schools in Jamaica and Guyana or usually mentioned in pro-
   posals for the differentiation of the school curricula.

   Contingency tables were prepared showing the number
of students who chose at least one of the subjects as against those who opted for 'none of the above'. It was felt that this method of approach was likely to yield more genuine results than if students were asked to respond directly to the question: Would you like to do a technical subject in your remaining years in school?

The hypothesis investigated was that there is no relation between regional background of students and their willingness to pursue technical courses. This hypothesis was rejected for Guyana boys at the 5 percent level. But the relationship suggested in Table (21) is contradictory to what educational policy normally assumes, for rural boys were less willing than urban boys to opt for technical courses. This difference in attitude is probably accounted for, at least partially, by the presence of a technical institute of high standing in Georgetown and lack of similar facilities in the rural areas, as well as by the urban child's keener perception of opportunities open to persons with technical skills. It is not inconceivable, however, that rural children more than urban children see high school education as a means of escaping from manual labour, skilled or unskilled, and a means of gaining 'white collar' occupations.
Table (21) Percentage distribution, by region, of students opting for at least one technical subject - Guyana Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response to Technical Subjects</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choosing at least one</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choosing 'none . . .'</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 99</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= 4.733 P 0.05 - Hypothesis rejected

1 df

Table (22) indicates that the hypothesis of no relationship is tenable for Jamaica boys.

Table (22) Percentage distribution, by region, of students opting for at least one technical subject - Jamaica Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response to Technical Subjects</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choosing at least one</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choosing 'none . . .'</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 84</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= 0.160 P 0.05 Hypothesis tenable

1 df
In both countries a quite substantial proportion of students showed a willingness to pursue technical courses, a factor that reduces the importance of any differences that may be noted between the responses of the urban and the rural groups, and that should prove encouraging to the curriculum planner.

The hypothesis that there is no relation between regional background and selection of farming was confirmed for both Guyana and Jamaica, as seen in Table (23), but Table (Biii) in Appendix (4) shows the general low popularity of farming.

Table (23) Chi-square results of tests of independence between regional background and choice of farming - Guyana and Jamaica Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>N (Urban)</th>
<th>N (Rural)</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>1.176</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>Not significant*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>1.744</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Not significant*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Hypothesis of no relationship accepted at 5 percent level.

3. **Parental Occupational Background vs Students' Occupational Choice**

Hypothesis: There is no relationship between occupational background of parents and students' occupational choice.
Some modification of the six-fold occupational classification had to be adopted in order to meet the requirements of chi-square computation concerning size of cell entries. Parental occupational levels were combined into two groups thus:

Classes 1 - 4 'white collar', comprising the professional, clerical, commercial and service occupations; Classes 5 - 6 "blue collar", comprising skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

Occupational choices were put into three groups:

Higher professional (class 1).
Teaching, clerical and service (classes 2 - 4), and Skilled and semi-skilled (classes 5 - 6).

The complete distributions of choices are shown in Appendix (4). Table (24) below gives the chi-square results for the various tests of relationship for Guyana boys.

Table (24) Chi-square results for tests of independence between parental occupational background and students' occupational aspirations - Guyana Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>N Parents' Occ. White Collar'</th>
<th>N Parents' Occ. 'Blue Collar'</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occ. background Vs First-job Choice</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.229</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>80 Not significant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table (24) Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>N Parents' Occ.</th>
<th>N Parents' Occ.</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'White Collar'</td>
<td>'Blue Collar'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occ. background Vs Job expectation</td>
<td>6.161</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Significant*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occ. background Vs Ultimate preference</td>
<td>5.530</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>not significant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Hypothesis of no-relationship rejected at 5 percent level.

There was no statistically significant relationship between parental occupational level and immediate or ultimate occupational choice among Guyana boys, but there seemed to be some dependency relationship between parental occupational level and the students' occupational expectation. An inspection of Table (Cii) in Appendix (4) reveals that expectation of professional jobs is more associated with students from a 'white collar' parental occupational background, while expectation of clerical and service jobs is more associated with children of parents with 'blue collar' occupations.

A similar dependency relationship was shown for all three tests for Jamaican boys—choice and expectation of professional jobs was more associated with 'white collar'
parental occupational background, while choice and
expectation of clerical jobs was more associated with 'blue
collar' occupational background. There was no consistent
pattern of choice of skilled occupations in either country.

Table (25) Chi-square results for tests of
independence between parental occu-
pital background and students'
occupational aspirations - Jamaica
Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>N-Parents' Occupational Background</th>
<th>Occupational Background</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Occ. background vs first-job choice</td>
<td>9.070 2</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occ. background vs job-expectation</td>
<td>8.733 2</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occ. background vs Ultimate preference</td>
<td>13.403 2</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Hypothesis of no relationship rejected -- at 5 percent level for (1) and (2), and at 1 percent level for (3).

On the whole our hypothesis that there is no relationship
between parental occupational level and students' occupation-
al choice was not supported by the survey, but the generally
low popularity of skilled occupations was evident, and the
relationships between parental background and choice,
expectation, and ultimate preference for skilled occupations
were not uniform (see distribution tables in Appendix).

Girls

1. **Regional Background vs Occupational Choice**

   One striking feature peculiar to the occupational choices among the girls was the negligible frequency of choice of skilled occupations. Nearly all girls in both Guyana and Jamaica chose either professional and clerical or service occupations. Table (26) shows that for Guyana girls there was no significant relationship between regional background and ultimate occupational preference, but significant relationships existed between region and choice of a first job as well as between region and occupational expectation. In each case girls from the urban area were more likely than rural girls to opt for clerical jobs but less likely to opt for teaching.

   **Table (26) Chi-square results for tests of independence between regional background and occupational aspirations - Guyana Girls**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>N (Urban)</th>
<th>N (Rural)</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Region vs First-job Choice</td>
<td>27.169</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Significant*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region vs Job expectation</td>
<td>19.216</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Significant*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region vs Ultimate preference</td>
<td>4.350</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Not significant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   *Hypothesis of no-relationship rejected at 1 percent level.
In Jamaica there was a significant relationship in all three cases as shown in Table (27), the choice of teaching again being more associated with rural than with urban residence.

Table (27) Chi-square results of tests of independence between regional background and occupational aspirations - Jamaica Girls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>N (Urban)</th>
<th>N (Rural)</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Region vs First-job Choice</td>
<td>13.459</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>Significant*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region vs Job expectation</td>
<td>12.475</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>Significant*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region vs Ultimate preference</td>
<td>13.238</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>Significant*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Hypothesis of no-relationship rejected at 1 percent level.

Urban girls were as in Guyana more likely than rural girls to choose and expect professional occupations, but the pattern of choice of clerical occupations was not uniform. The attitude to teaching as an "intransit" job, so evident among the boys, also prevailed among the girls, while teaching again seemed to be more popular among Guyanese than among Jamaican students.

2. Regional Background vs Choice of Technical Subjects

No significant relationship was found in either country between regional background and willingness to opt
for at least one technical course from a list comprising home economics, handicraft, shorthand and typing, woodwork and farming. In both Guyana and Jamaica over 80 percent of the students chose at least one technical course, but less than 8 percent opted for farming.

3. **Occupational Background vs Occupational Aspirations**

The number of girls choosing skilled occupations in both countries was inconsequential; this category was therefore omitted in the statistical analysis. The two-fold classification of parental occupational background adopted for boys was retained—professional, clerical, commercial and service occupations (including teaching) comprised one group, while skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled occupations constituted the other. The classification of occupational choice was modified. Categories employed were higher professional, teaching, and clerical and service jobs.

Significant relationships were found (Table 28) between parental occupational background and first-job choice, job expectation, and ultimate job preference of Jamaican girls; and for Guyana girls, between occupational background and job expectation as well as ultimate occupational preference. In each case girls from a 'white-collar' parental occupational background were more likely than their 'blue-
Table (28) Results of chi-square tests of independence between parental occupational background and occupational aspirations Guyana and Jamaica Girls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>N(Parental Occupation)</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. background vs First-job Choice</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. background vs Job-expectation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. background vs Ultimate Preference</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. background vs First-job Choice</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. background vs Job-expectation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. background vs Ultimate Preference</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Hypothesis of no relationship rejected at 5 percent.

collar' counterparts to opt for professional occupations and less likely to opt for teaching. The pattern of choice for clerical subjects was not consistent. These results are similar to those obtained for boys.
Summary

Table (29) summarises the results of all hypotheses tested:

Table (29) Summary of results of hypotheses tested.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>Results - Boys</th>
<th>Results - Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. No relationship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between regional background and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. first-job choice</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. job expectation</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. ultimate preference</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. choice of technical subjects</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
<td>Tenable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. selection of farming</td>
<td>Tenable</td>
<td>Tenable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. No relationship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between occupational background</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. first-job choice</td>
<td>Tenable</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. job expectation</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. ultimate preference</td>
<td>Tenable</td>
<td>Rejected</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The findings do not support the view that there is no distinction between urban and regional groups or between different occupational groups with respect to their occupational aspirations. Consistent relationships have been found between regional and socio-economic groups and choice of teaching and higher professional occupations but not between regional and socio-economic groups and choice of skilled occupations. Our hypothesis of no relationship between regional and socio-economic groups and interest in technical courses was found to be tenable except for Guyana boys; urban Guyana boys were more likely than rural boys to opt for technical courses.

Some details of relationships found are as follows:
1. The socio-economic and regional background of the students did seem in general to be related to their occupational aspirations, but interest in skilled, non-clerical or non-professional occupations seemed to be low especially among the girls. Urban students and students from a 'white-collar' parental background showed a greater tendency than rural students and those from a 'blue collar' parental background to aspire to higher professional occupations.
2. One important result consistent throughout the
entire study was the association of rural residence or lower working class parental background with interest in teaching as an immediate occupation or ultimate career. Also striking was the greater willingness of all students to choose teaching as a temporary first job than to choose it as a permanent career.

3. Except among Guyana boys no significant relationship was found between Regional background and interest in technical courses, and for all samples there seemed to be no widespread aversion to technical subjects.* In Guyana, rural boys seemed less likely than urban boys to opt for the inclusion of technical subjects in their school course.

4. There was no consistent pattern of association between socio-economic and regional background and interest in skilled occupations.

Discussion

It appears that the diversification of the school curricula to include technical courses would not encounter resistance or apathy on the part of the students. The fact, then, that students seem quite willing to pursue technical

*Except for farming.
courses in school but show markedly low interest in occupations requiring similar technical skills needs some comment. Several factors may be responsible for these attitudes. Firstly, it is not unlikely that students find their school programme monotonous, and would like to vary their activities. Indeed, this view is supported by students' response to two open-ended items in the questionnaire; "What do you dislike about your school life?" and "What subjects would you like included in your school curriculum?" In answer to the first question there were frequent references to 'boring subjects' or 'boring school life', while technical and recreational subjects constituted nearly 50 percent of the responses to the latter item.

The view is usually expressed in many territories in the British Caribbean that high school graduates despise manual occupations, skilled or unskilled, and that they aspire only to 'white collar' occupations not requiring them to 'soil their hands.' This view seems an over-simplification of the issues involved. It may be true that the average child who enters a high school in Jamaica and Guyana aspires to a professional or clerical job, but it is likely that the reason is to be found not wholly in the traditionally higher social status of the clerical occupations
but also in the lower economic benefits accruing from skilled employment. It is questionable, too, whether social status and economic reward are separable in this context.

Similar arguments could be adduced to explain the attitude to teaching revealed in this survey. There is no doubt that the teaching profession offers less attractive conditions than a career in the civil service or in commerce for example. Students and their parents who live in an environment where there are varied employment opportunities will surely be aware of more desirable alternatives to teaching, and their occupational plans and aspirations will be influenced accordingly. One could venture the prediction that as a result of increasingly lucrative opportunities in industry created by urban industrial growth, the teaching profession in Guyana and Jamaica will for some time to come draw its recruits more and more from rural groups, lower working class families and, though not suggested in this survey, from high school graduates with inferior academic achievement. It also appears likely that more young people will come to regard teaching as a temporary means of earning a livelihood while they prepare for other occupations.

The low interest which students showed in farming is disquieting in view of the increasing emphasis being placed
on the growing on food in development projects of predominately agricultural communities such as Guyana and Jamaica. It is probable, however, that students were reacting to particular unfavourable connotations that the term 'farming' conveyed for them, and that their responses would have been somewhat different if the term 'agriculture' had been used instead in the questionnaire. Yet it seems that any programme to develop agricultural activities in school and community in Guyana and Jamaica would have to include measures to improve attitudes to these activities and, relatedly, the rewards for pursuing them.

The narrow range of students' occupational choices found in this survey suggests that there is pressing need for a programme of career guidance, a service that has so far been neglected in most British Caribbean territories. A fair knowledge of opportunities and the rewards they offer may not only broaden students' occupational aspirations but may contribute to the successful organisation of more varied high school programmes necessary for the effective provision of equal opportunities.

Diversifying the school curricula to cater for varied interests and talents, reducing the discrepancy between wages accruing to different kinds of employment, and
creating favourable attitudes to technical and agricultural activities in work and school, are measures necessary for the reduction of inequalities in educational opportunity. It is neither possible nor desirable, however, to eliminate all differences in social status and financial rewards attached to various kinds of employment. Consequently, preferences for particular occupations and related school courses will persist. Now it is reasonable to assume, in the absence of research evidence to the contrary, that the latent ability to pursue these preferred occupations and school courses is not the exclusive possession of special socio-economic, ethnic or regional groups, and that the preferences for particular kinds of occupation which this study has shown to be associated with special groups arise chiefly out of environmental circumstances. The provision of equal educational opportunity, therefore, must entail not the organisation of uniform school courses or merely the diversification of curricular offerings, but the creation of conditions that will enable various socio-economic, ethnic, and regional groups to benefit from the more highly prized educational services leading to the more lucrative jobs.

We conclude this discussion with an observation
pertaining to some contrasts found in the Jamaica and
Guyana situations. It has been noted that the pattern of
results, though broadly similar for Guyana and Jamaica,
reveals some differences that reflect different economic
and social conditions in the two countries. For example,
it has been observed that the relatively low interest shown
in teaching by Jamaica's male secondary school students
corresponds with the lower proportion of male teachers in
that country than in Guyana and the greater opportunities
in industry. In some cases where differences in response
were significant but not consistent, as in the relationship
between occupational level and occupational aspirations,
perhaps a need for finer tools of investigation is
suggested. It is possible, though, that a more systematic
and sophisticated study of socio-economic and educational
institutions in the two countries may indeed reveal genuine
differences in relationship between the variables investi-
gated and indicate some of the factors which account for
these differences.
SUMMARY AND PROPOSALS FOR REFORM

In his closing chapter in "Education and Social Change" E. J. King writes (1966:220)

It is one thing to look with insight on social and educational trends and another thing to decide what to do in a particular case. Though no sensible decision can be made about anything without the large-scale study of education in transformation, or without a particular study of the cultural whole within which a school system has its being, the decisions which face a parent, teacher, or administrator at any one time or place still turn on local realities and resources.

The local realities and resources of the two countries studied compel one to offer no more than some unpretentious recommendations for expanding and improving the distribution of secondary education opportunity, recommendations that are limited in scope because they are non-utopian in objectives. First, though, some of the main problems of education provision which were identified in previous chapters and which need urgent attention will be briefly summarised.

This study has shown that not only was the benefit of a secondary school place enjoyed by very limited numbers of students in both countries, but that the system of distribution predominantly favoured urban groups with a
clerical and professional occupational background. Further, the usefulness of whatever opportunity was available was restricted by the narrow curricular offerings of the secondary school. In Guyana especially there was almost total emphasis on literary and scientific studies, very little attention being paid to the development of technical skills and knowledge. Secondary school education, was, in reality, a preparation for entrance into regional or overseas universities or into clerical and professional occupations.

While recognising the need to diversify the secondary school curriculum Government did not show any firm and sustained commitment to providing the necessary funds or leadership for effecting any major reconstruction. On the other hand students, it was felt, supported or influenced by their parents were averse to pursuing technical courses. The findings of our survey suggest that in theory students are willing to include technical subjects in their school programme; it is conceivable though, that their practical behaviour would be affected by their perception of the relative rewards attending technical and academic careers.

Again, implicit in many administrative policy statements on the need for diversified secondary school curricula
was the view that technical courses were appropriate options mostly for those children who were considered unlikely, or who failed, to achieve fixed levels of performance in the literary and scientific areas. This attitude to technical subjects on the part of educational administrators and policy makers helped to curtail the development of curricula relevant to the countries' needs, thereby limiting the effective expansion of opportunity.

Two further problems at least obliquely referred to in this study were the shortage of financial resources and the modest success of the secondary school system in terms of its intended objectives. It was noted that the main source of educational finance in both economies was the central national budget. Because of the rapid population growth and the slow pace of economic development, the funds provided for education out of the national budget could not achieve any spectacular improvement in secondary school provision, but merely managed to maintain existing inadequate levels. The major resources for capital development were supplied from foreign loans or grants. Eventually, however, increased recurrent costs became a heavy burden on the local economies. Educational development was thus planned in isolation and not within the
framework of a total and carefully detailed strategy for social and economic development. Currently, well under 30 percent of primary school graduates enjoy the benefit of five years of formal secondary stage education; it is clear, then, that to extend such a privilege to every primary school child without a simultaneous upsurge in economic activity would impose too formidable a strain on the countries' financial and human resources.

Finally, the achievements of secondary school students at their school leaving examinations give much cause for concern. Although a school's success is not measured merely in terms of students' performance at overseas school leaving examinations, in the thinking and expectations of Guyanese and Jamaican parents examination results are crucial. Teaching and the civil service provide the main avenues of non-manual employment for school leavers, and the requirements for entrance to these professions normally include four or five subject passes at the London General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level examinations. While a few schools consistently maintain a high level of success at the examinations the overall results in both countries have been disappointing. In 1967, for example, 10.8 percent
of the 7,791 Guyana candidates who entered for four or more subjects at the London G.C.E. 'O' Level examinations obtained a minimum of four subject passes. Approximately 52 percent of all candidates failed to pass in a single subject (Ministry of Education, Guyana 1968). The corresponding failure rate for Jamaica is given as 32.4 percent of a total of 3,242 (Ministry of Education, Jamaica: not dated).

These then are some of the problems of secondary education in Guyana and Jamaica: limited opportunity enjoyed predominantly by certain regional and occupational groups; narrow literary and scientific curricula which do not wholly meet societal needs; too severe emphasis on success at overseas examinations with very modest achievement of this objective; and inadequate human and material resources. It is to these problems that urgent answers must be found in a climate of rising aspirations for personal improvement and national development, a climate, too, of a growing awareness of social injustices and strident clamours for equality.

To provide universal secondary education Jamaica and Guyana will have to rely on massive amounts of overseas aid and foreign personnel. However even if such aid were available and were not rejected on political grounds, the
countries would still be suddenly faced with considerably increased recurrent expenses which their economies would not be able to bear. Our proposal, therefore, is that the promise and objective of free secondary education for all, so much evident in political party manifestos, should be immediately abandoned. Instead, an investigation should be carried out to see how best the primary schools may be utilised to provide all children with a sound basic education from which they can develop further knowledge and skills.

Without going into details on what such a program of basic education would be like, one can lay down some fundamental principles which should guide its formulation. In the first place the tendency to make the role of the formal school more and more diffuse has to be stubbornly resisted in order that essential tasks might be effectively carried out in a situation of sparse resources. One views with amazement the various responsibilities vested on the formal school day after day in a naive attempt to remedy all the ills of society. Whenever attention is drawn to a social crisis a new subject is proposed for introduction in the school curriculum. Sex education, family life education, education for international understanding, traffic education, instruction in "Co-operatives", are new responsibilities
schools in Guyana have been recently asked to assume, responsibilities which, it is often proposed, cannot be discharged except by the organisation of distinct courses occupying fixed times on the school's time-table.

In poor countries the choice has to be made between teaching basic skills to all children in the first stages of their school life, and providing ambitious educational programmes for a few. Sometimes it even seems that in Guyana the real choice lies between doing a little but doing it well, and doing a lot but doing it badly. At the same time the notion that education goes on only within the walls of a school has to be overcome. As one writer put it: "The idea that the only way people get educated is by being enrolled in institutions is part of the unfortunate mythology that has complicated our educational crisis . . ." (Huberman, 1970).

Basic skills and understandings which the first phase of formal schooling should seek to promote may be listed as follows:

a. The communication skills - reading, writing, listening and spelling to convey and receive messages without too much loss of information;

b. Simple computation skills founded on an understanding of the structure of a mathematical system;
c. skills for gathering information and manipulating the environment - including simple procedures of scientific enquiry and problem solving behaviour.
d. Skills and knowledge necessary for healthful living.

Learning of the basic skills must be organised in such a way as to teach children co-operative ways of behaviour and prepare them to cope with problems of interpersonal relationships.

The first phase of formal schooling, to be provided by the state, should be designed to achieve the basic minimum objectives outlined above, while various kinds of out-of-school arrangements could be made to familiarise children with historical and contemporary features of their culture, to provide them with opportunity for creative and general aesthetic enjoyment, and to equip them with the capacity for asking questions about the way their country is run. School clubs or community projects could be organised, for example, to promote areas of learning and social experience not adequately catered for in the formal school program. The use of mobile resource units with teams of specialist teachers and community workers will help to reduce the cost of supplementary learning programs. The
general strategy adopted in the Indian experiment in the 1950's to reduce adult illiteracy is an example worth following.¹

Beyond this first phase of basic education there are two kinds of problems to be resolved. The first has to do with the reorganisation of the curricula of existing secondary schools to ensure that students get maximum benefit from their attendance at school. The second problem concerns the provision of some form of educational opportunity beyond the present primary level to those children who fail to gain admission in the secondary schools. Both Governments are currently paying attention to the reorganisation of the secondary school curricula to bring the school more in line with the national circumstances and the national needs and aspirations. One aspect of this reorientation that needs more attention is the freeing of the secondary school system from the fetters of overseas examinations. Guyana and Jamaica in collaboration with

¹A number of social education centres were opened in various states. In Delhi a Social Caravan consisting of four large trailers with a mobile theatre and appropriate audio visual equipment served as a centre for instruction, camping in different villages for three or four days at a time. This innovation was appraised to be so successful that other Caravans were organised and mobile cultural squads followed the Caravans to continue their work. (See Cramer and Browne 1965:320)
other British Caribbean territories should create a regional institution to evaluate the work of the schools and certify students. However care will have to be taken to leave individual territories and individual schools with enough freedom and flexibility to experiment with their own program of studies, for a central examining body whether located in Britain or in the Caribbean could, without adequate safeguard, exercise a pernicious influence on the work of the schools.

It is the second problem of extending post-primary school opportunity to those groups of children now left out of this phase of educational provision that Guyana especially has so far failed to come to grips with in any imaginative way. Usually the costs for new expansion schemes financed from foreign sources turn out to be so astronomical as to limit severely the possibility of any significant breakthrough in the equalisation of opportunity. It is suggested here that in areas where there is inadequate provision for post-primary education the distinction between primary and secondary schooling should be broken down, Government should seek to estimate how many years of education it can, with increased effort, provide for each child. Instead of seeking to build new secondary schools for
instance to offer some children five more years of schooling beyond the primary level it should reorganise the structure of existing primary schools allowing for at least two more years schooling for each child. But there should be a revolution of school practice in these latter years. It is not only the distinction between primary and secondary schooling that needs to be removed for the children in deprived areas but also the rigid distinction between the school and the work place.

In any reorganisation of the school program for these children education should be centered around work in the context of community development. In his speech on "Education for Self-Reliance" President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania (1967) outlined a philosophy of the school as an economically self-supporting community. Under the Nyerere proposal pupils would learn various social, technological and academic skills in the process of producing food or other goods that would contribute largely to the upkeep of the school community. Though this goal of self-sustenance may be overly ambitious for many schools the basic requirement that children's education should be planned around work, in an actual rather than a contrived production situation, is very sound indeed. Children's
education would thus become meaningful in a real sense and criticisms of the irrelevance or dysfunctionality of the school curriculum would not be justifiable.

A corollary to the idea of linking education with work is that of linking work with education. The present system of education in Guyana and Jamaica encourages a perception of formal schooling at a given period of one's life as a crucial and terminal stage of the educational process. In most cases those who "drop out" of this formal stage tend to remain out of the educational system for the rest of their lives, except for a handful of very determined, ambitious individuals or for those few workers in large industrial establishments which organise educational programmes to upgrade worker efficiency. Both the school and the work-place should become centres for production and continuation education. Work and schooling should be so arranged to permit students to drop out from school into the world of work, and to permit workers to "drop in" from the world of work into school. In this way citizens would be able to increase continually their capacity for production, and for aesthetic and intellectual enjoyment.

To support this restructuring of the school new procedures should be adopted by foreign agencies in the
issuing of loans and grants for educational development. For example funds should never be provided for the erection of school buildings in isolation from other areas of community development. The school and some work project involving skills to be taught in it should be planned and funded in conjunction. This method of approach would require careful study of the feasibility of alternative strategies for development both in educational and economic terms.

A new kind of teacher, too, will be required to work in this reorganised system, a teacher possessing academic and technical skills and trained in the techniques of working with a team of other specialists to organise learning, production and marketing. Current schemes in teacher education for the most part prepare teachers to work independently with formal school classes pursuing academic courses. Only a small proportion of training college students opt for courses in Home Economics or the Industrial Arts and, in Jamaica especially, these students are quickly lured into industrial establishments after graduation. Training college courses should be reorganised in order to make technical education and some aspect of work within industry an integral part of every teacher's
The dilemma of poor countries is that economic development requires improved technical and general educational expansion, while such expansion requires financial and other resources that are generated by economic development. One way out of this vicious circle is a liberal infusion of funds from external sources. But as mentioned earlier external aid, even though some of its possible economic and ideological dangers could be averted, is always only a temporary relief measure. In the last resort a country pays for the education system it has. Ways must be found therefore of raising internally the funds needed for development. In the interest of social justice and economic expediency those who enjoy special services provided by the state should, where feasible, be required to contribute in some way towards the cost of such services. An expanded source of educational financing is urgently required in Guyana but a general education tax would be undesirable, for this would perpetuate the present system where poor citizens help to pay for the free education of the privileged. Instead, those who are fortunate to enjoy the benefit of a complete secondary education should be required to pay part of the costs of this social service
during a specified period of their working life. What is being proposed, in effect, is that secondary education in the poorer countries should be treated like higher education in some richer countries, where students are granted loans to pursue university studies.

No attempt at educational reconstruction in Guyana and Jamaica will produce any outstanding results without increased local participation and parental involvement. In both countries there has indeed been some moderate success in the drive for co-operation through the medium of parent-teacher associations. But involvement should run deeper than at this informal level where, in effect, parents are often merely asked to endorse school policies or to give financial support for school projects. A dialogue needs to be initiated between educators and the local communities on the problems, purpose and promise of the educational institutions within the community. Further, local government authorities should be entrusted with substantial responsibilities for some areas of educational provision and administration. It seems as though the most useful contributions at the local level can presently be made in the fields of pre-school and post-basic education, in other words, in those spheres in which the state has not so far
been able to make adequate arrangements.

There are some problems of decentralisation, though, that must be anticipated and averted. First, there is the problem of unequal resources of various communities, which could result in very disparate standards and levels of educational provision and achievement. National funds suitably deployed could supplement the budgets of poorer communities. Secondly, in the absence of central administration the duplication of under-utilised expensive facilities in neighbouring communities is more likely to occur. Again, it may be argued that educational planning for social change has become too sophisticated an exercise to be entrusted to non-specialists. This was one reason given to the present writer by the Minister of Education in Jamaica for not involving local communities to a greater degree in the decision-making process. The other reason adduced was that co-operation at the local level would be more difficult to achieve through a process of decentralisation in communities where bitterly opposed political groups exist side by side. It is quite possible, however, that political hostility at the local level could be minimised rather than exacerbated by the necessity to plan together for the educational improvement of the community.
In Guyana political divisions coinciding as they do with ethnic divisions could create special problems for a decentralised system of educational administration. It is not unlikely that some communities where any one of the major ethnic groups predominates could frustrate the national purpose of integration by seeking to set up institutions representative only of the dominant group in the community in the composition of both students and staff. This is a problem that even the present centralised system faces in some regions, and this problem could assume more serious proportions.

These possible dangers of decentralisation are an argument not for centralisation but for co-operation between national and local organisations. No Government should relinquish its ultimate responsibility of providing local administrative units with guidance, technical assistance and supervision within a framework of a consensus of general educational and social objectives. No community, too, should be excluded from participating in the making of fundamental decisions about the education of its youth. The dangers of amateurism in a decentralised system of administration are real, but as E. J. King explains (ibid.) these dangers can be mitigated by organising training
courses for lay administrators. On this problem King writes (ibid. 226:227):

Everywhere there is a serious dilemma in all school government: that of providing a stable framework and an accumulation of experienced expertise, and at the same time a continuous evolutionary opportunity. In relatively slow-moving activities (like home-making) which do not so persistently influence the lives of so many people by large-scale conversion, care is taken to provide trained advisers and supervisors; but in education until very recently the amateur administrator has been paramount in several English-speaking countries because even skilled officers are in the last instance under the thumb of the watch dog 'representatives of the people'. If the latter are to safeguard their roles, and not disappear before a centralised civil service of teachers and educational administrators . . . they too must 'go to school' and see the way the world is going.

Finally we come to a consideration of measures that could be adopted to alleviate the problem of unequal representation of different socio-economic groups in the educational institutions of both countries. It seems unlikely that any culturally unbiased selection examination could ever be devised which would obliterate the disadvantages suffered by children from lower socio-economic classes. Any verbal, pencil and paper test will require perceptual orientations, linguistic skills and conceptual understandings which will vary from environment to environment. Therefore the objective of achieving equality of secondary school opportunity through the sole device of selection by educational merit
must be abandoned. Assuming that for the foreseeable future Jamaica and Guyana must retain the existing secondary school system which admits a limited number of children for five years of literary, scientific and technical studies, then ways must be found to allow different geographical areas fair representation in the privileged state-financed institutions, while taking steps to ensure that they function efficiently. It is proposed that the practice of regional selection which once prevailed in Guyana should be re-introduced. A quota of places should be reserved for specified geographical areas, and students should be chosen not merely on the basis of results at countrywide selection tests but also on cumulative school records. Socio-economic influence on chances of selection will still persist but to a less extent, since the lower-socio-economic groups in the rural areas will gain better representation than at present. Schools have a social purpose to fulfil which includes, but is not co-extensive with, academic excellence. Even if it could be proved that this new method of selection would result in an overall lower level of academic attainment by the secondary schools—a consequence that does not at all seem inevitable—then the loss in average level of certificates will be more
than compensated for by the social benefits to be derived through the sharing of common experiences by children from various socio-economic environments. The present writer argued for this regional method of selection in an article in the Guyana press (Sunday Chronicle, December 6, 1970) and commented:

True the policy recommended . . . would in a way entail the reintroduction of ascriptive practices in selection but on socially significant and socially desirable criteria. It is suggested that the principle of awarding free places in our privileged Government Secondary Schools to special regions or special groups (e.g. Amerindians in the Rupununi) is worth applying where overriding social purposes dictate, provided that the recipients can be reasonably expected to perform adequately in the target situation.

Further, this principle should be adopted at all levels of our educational system. This is the great experiment in American university education today. New concepts of equality are evolving to replace old ideas about opportunity by rigid order of merit, when merit is determined by the very inequalities the education system is trying to reduce, and at any rate is judged by very narrow standards.

Finally, measuring a person's performance on a test at any age and deciding on his educational potential is a cheeky enterprise: to do so at age 11 and to draw fine distinctions is so much more audacious that we should really avoid taking ourselves too seriously. We should instead pay some attention to the other goals, requirements and possibilities of our entire social situation.

There may have been some overstatement here of the simple truth that the 11+ selection tests are not infallible predictors of what a child can achieve educationally.
However, the essential point is that teachers should not too readily condemn 11-year-old children as incapable of certain kinds and levels of educational performance solely by reason of the results obtained on the tests. Instead they should seek to identify factors in the pupil's experience and environment which may have been responsible for low performance on the tests and then take steps to create conditions in the classroom which would be conducive to effective learning.

Following is a summary of the main recommendations for grappling with the problem of limited and unequal distribution of secondary education opportunity in Guyana and Jamaica:

1. Restrict the scope of the early stage of education to the provision of basic communication skills, and skills of enquiry.
2. Relate the later stages of high school education to work and community development.
3. Particularly in deprived areas remove the rigid distinction between the primary school and the secondary school.
4. Provide opportunity for further educational experience in the working life of youths and adults.
5. Remove or reduce the influence of overseas examination on the work of the schools.
6. Let high school graduates contribute during some period of their working life to the cost of their high school education.
7. Link educational schemes financed by overseas loans and grants to community development projects.
8. Change the content and method of teacher education to provide technical skills and skills in community development to all teachers.
9. Reorganize the system of educational administration to invest local groups with more responsibility particularly for the provision of post-primary education.
10. Adopt a regional method of selection using cumulative school records in addition to nation-wide selection tests.

These recommendations have been proposed with a deep awareness that no reorganisation of the education system or change in selection devices would drastically alter the pattern of unequal distribution of opportunity outside the context of a total strategy for social and economic development and reform. As suggested in previous chapters, no
appreciable success in the equalisation of educational opportunity could be achieved unless the careers open to various talents are all substantially satisfying. This would mean that in Guyana and Jamaica the system of rewards must be radically changed to provide much less differentiated social recognition and material benefits than are currently obtained for different kinds of work done. However, the proposals offered here have been formulated on the assumption that barring an unexpected social revolution of catastrophic proportions educational engineering will have to be piece-meal and, consequently, the short run gains will be modest. Hence, for example, the suggestion that a new kind of school should evolve in deprived areas side by side for the time being with existing, albeit modified, structures.

The educational planner, it seems, will have to divide up his tasks and attack different problems in different phases, while the social and economic planner work simultaneously for improvements in the cultural and material environment of each community. There will be need for integration of the various educational, social and economic activities, and such integration seems woefully lacking in Guyana's development plans to date. Whatever strategy is adopted the process of development would be slow and arduous
unless the poor masses become intensely dissatisfied with their lot and assume substantial responsibility for making and executing decisions for the betterment of their lives. The dilemma of our situation is that our education system will not appreciably improve unless the masses become discontented, while a much improved education system is necessary both for breeding discontent and for developing the capacity for constructive action!

A Closing Note on Problems of Educational Change in Guyana

During the final stages of the preparation of this thesis the writer returned to Guyana to take up an appointment in the Faculty of Education in the University of Guyana. In what follows an attempt is made to outline some of the more striking problems of educational change in that country of which he became aware in the fulfilment of the various roles he was called upon to perform. The account will be avowedly personal and subjective. Inasmuch as this thesis dealt with educational opportunity in changing societies and offered recommendations for planned change this report seems appropriate and no attempt will be made to establish points of relevance to the main body of the thesis.

One problem evident at all times is the shortage of
financial resources necessary to meet local aspirations for the expansion of educational opportunity. The Guyana Government seems to entertain no grand notions of a dramatic spurt in educational expenditure from the national budget for the immediate future. Acutely aware of the high rate of unemployment estimated at about 18 percent, Government seeks to intensify its efforts to generate jobs through investment in agricultural projects and the development of small industries on a co-operative basis. It is hoped that the middle and lower level technical skills required to service these ventures will be provided in the existing Technical Institute and seven projected comprehensive high schools to be constructed with the aid of a World Bank loan of G$20m. The Minister of Education has indicated that no other comprehensive schools are contemplated because of the formidable cost of such institutions. Nor is there a policy for providing any meaningful education for over 60 percent of primary school graduates who either drop out of the school system or fail to get into a post-primary school. A further illustration of the financial difficulties attending educational expansion is that when economies are sought during the annual budgetary review of estimates, the education budget suffers the severest reductions.
Next comes the problem of purpose. Educational administrators seem to be groping for a philosophy and a master plan for guiding educational reconstruction. This enthusiasm for a clearly defined goal and a general method of approach seems to have over-reached its mark, because one senses an almost messianic faith that a philosophy is all that is needed for a major breakthrough in educational development. In the meantime various educational institutions continue to go about their own business in their own traditional ways, their separate roles within a national framework unarticulated and unintegrated. Two consequences of the lack of a total strategy for development come readily to mind. Firstly, different institutions in their expansion schemes tend to duplicate services that could best be provided elsewhere. For instance the Government Technical Institute in Georgetown has proposed that it should train teachers in technical subjects, providing both the technical and professional education although the professional aspects of teacher education could be carried out by the Government Teachers' College a half mile away, or by the University of Guyana's Faculty of Education less than three miles off. Secondly, institutions continue to criticise one another for failing in their respective
functions. The high schools complain that students enter from the primary schools without adequate preparation and attainment; the University and the Teachers College similarly condemn the high schools, while the primary schools criticise the teacher training institutions for failing to turn out competent teachers with relevant skills. Surveying the education scene one gets a picture not of a system operating to fulfil common purposes but of a number of isolated parts that do not constitute a whole. The Ministry of Education has revealed its concern over this situation by its efforts to initiate discussion among various institutions on the role of education in Guyana. What is needed, however, is not merely a broad plan and objective but what Holmes (1965:79-80) calls "specific regulating theories" for transforming norms into rules for day to day operation.

Another difficulty impeding change arises out of the fact that institutions tend to have a life of their own. Curriculum changes proposed for the University of Guyana, for example, have been resisted by scholarly academics whose first and only commitment appears to be the development of their respective disciplines in ways to which they have grown accustomed from their own experience and education in
foreign lands. Two illustrations will suffice. Some Professors oriented towards a classical European university tradition still regard with disdain any attempt to introduce a degree course in Home Economics in the University on the grounds that this is not a worthy subject for university study. Again the failure and drop-out rates for the Arts, Natural Sciences and Social Sciences courses in the University of Guyana have been exceedingly high throughout the years, yet no appraisal of what the University is trying to do and how best it might accomplish its objectives has so far been seriously attempted. Figures supplied by the Registry for students registered in the years 1963, 1964 and 1965 reveal that the failure and drop-out rate ranged from 33 percent to 65 percent for the three faculties mentioned, with an overall average of 50 percent. Some Professors, however, persist in contending that the courses they run and the way they run them are Platonic absolutes. With change so difficult to occur at the top of the educational system the chances of reconstruction at the lower levels are severely reduced.

The energy and resources expended in ethno-political conflict in Guyana are not to be underrated as factors restricting change. Many discussions on the most straightforward professional matters are stymied before they even
get started, because hostile groups enter deliberations with a previous ideological or political commitment that predisposes them to obstruct whatever the other side supports. Moreover, distrust of one group for another results in the non-utilisation or under-utilisation of talent. The reservoir of ability in a small community becomes acutely reduced when, on the basis of criteria irrelevant to the task at hand, large sections of that community have to be denied the opportunity to make their contribution. There is no national consensus in Guyana. Mutual suspicion prevails between the two major ethnic groups and among various political factions. In this atmosphere of distrust, unreasoned opposition and resistance to planned change is commonplace.

A somewhat related problem arising partly out of political suspicion and distrust is the tendency of executives in the Ministry of Education to rely almost entirely on the foreign experts for advice on most of the fundamental issues in educational development. It is probably true that a small country such as Guyana lacks an adequate cadre of local top level educators with the skills, knowledge and experience for all the jobs that need to be done in the field of education. It would therefore be
shortsighted and even disastrous to adopt a chauvinistic attitude towards the recruitment of personnel from abroad. However, there are indications that the available local talent is overlooked in preference for the services of the visiting expert. Particularly in the field of education no really serious efforts are made to entrust local personnel with the kind of responsibility that would challenge them to develop their creative resources. While a continuous stream of educational experts flow in and out of Guyana the abilities of local educators atrophy from disuse. (In the midst of this situation the political posture has recently been adopted of discontinuing the recruitment of overseas volunteer teachers many of whom could hardly be replaced within a reasonable period.) Because of the constant rush of foreign advisers into the country change tends to be discontinuous and suffers in addition from the lack of internationalisation of its purpose and rationale by the local staff who ultimately have to sustain it.

There is yet another way in which political factors restrict change. It is a common practice wherever free elections are held for political candidates to hold out the promise of a glorious future to the electorate. In Guyana this has often meant a promise, for instance, of free
secondary education, which even the most privileged citizens have come to expect for their children. This promise of free secondary education continues to be made when it is clear that new sources of finance must be tapped if the rising aspirations for education opportunity are to be significantly met. Politicians seem to consider it political suicide to renege on this long standing promise. The Minister of Education declared in an interview that she could never contemplate the imposition of any charges on secondary school students because her Government had promised the electorate that education would be free to the highest stage for all who could benefit from the opportunity. The point that is constantly overlooked is that no service provided by Government is ever "free". Every service is paid for not only out of direct taxes on higher incomes but also out of the labour of the poorer working class. The present system of high school funding and selection, besides perpetuating an unfair distribution of both costs and benefits, limits the potential for expansion.

Certain prevailing elements of "folk" culture in Guyanese society—for example, particularistic modes of social relationship—contribute to the under-utilisation
of talent and the restriction of progressive change.
Mainly through personal and sympathetic considerations individuals are retained in key positions long after they cease to be functional, so that their work and responsibilities devolve upon the shoulders of persons already overtaxed. In some cases, too, whole institutions are either established or maintained beyond the point where they are needed, in order that a few personal or political favourites may be comfortably accommodated.

Finally, Guyana and the other Commonwealth Caribbean countries by not exploring and exploiting the possibilities of co-operation in the field of education miss great opportunities for learning from one another and supplementing one another's resources. Much can be gained by the various territories through an exchange of information and through mutual assistance. The recent institution of an Education Desk at the Caribbean Regional Secretariat should go some way towards accelerating the process of educational development in the constituent territories. But already there are signs that suspicion and unrestrained nationalism will be forces to reckon with in the struggle for change.

This account of the problems of educational change
in Guyana has probably not escaped bias and distortion coming, as it is, from an involved observer; and the account is certainly incomplete. Reference has been made only to those factors that have been apparent in one's daily on-the-job experience, and not to more fundamental aspects such as the maladjustment and incongruence of functionally interdependent institutions. Whatever the real problems are, however, the hope for rapid change, we assert for the last times, lies in the stimulation of public interest and concern over the way our institutions are run, in increased public participation in decision-making, in the re-ordering of social goals and the restructuring of the system of social and material rewards. Growing activity in the building of schools or the provision of other resources through self-help and cooperative effort, as well as sporadic expressions of discontent over decisions by the educational administration, provides occasional relief from pessimism and despair.


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Hon. E. L. Allen, Minister of Education, Jamaica - 18th

Mr. R. Murray, Senior Chief Education Officer, Jamaica -
10th June, 1969.

Mr. A. G. Shaw, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education,
Jamaica - 10th June, 1969.

Hon. Shirley Field-Ridley, Minister of Education, Guyana
7th, 15th August, 1969.

Mr. W. O. Agard, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education,
Mrs. R. Hunter, Headmistress, St. Margaret's Preparatory School, 15th September, 1969 - Georgetown, Guyana.
APPENDIX (4)

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS - SUMMARY OF 2 TABLES

A.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY REGION, OF STUDENTS' OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

(i) Region vs First-job Choice - Jamaica Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Choice</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Urban</td>
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<tr>
<td>Occ. class 3 - 4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 5</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(100%) (100%)

N = 76 66

= 25.885 P 0.01

3 df
(ii) Region vs Job-expectation - Jamaica Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job-expectation</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>Occ. class 2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 3-4</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
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<tr>
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\[= 12.858 \quad P \quad 0.01\]

3 df

(iii) Region vs Ultimate occupational preference - Jamaica Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ultimate Occupational Preference</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 3-4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>80</td>
<td>67</td>
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\[= 13.425 \quad P \quad 0.01\]

2 df
(iv) Region vs first-job choice - Jamaica Girls

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<th>First-job Choice</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Urban</td>
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<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>N = 109</td>
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= 13.459  P 0.01
2 df

(v) Region vs job-expectation - Jamaica Girls

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<th>Job expectation</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 3</td>
<td>79</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>N = 86</td>
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= 12.475  P 0.01
2 df
(vi) Region vs ultimate occupational preference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ultimate Occupational Preference</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Rural</td>
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<td>43</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 3</td>
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<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 110</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>111</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

= 13.238 P 0.01
2 df

(vii) Region vs first-job choice - Guyana Girls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First-job Choice</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 3</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>34</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 4</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 91</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>85</td>
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= 27.169 P 0.01
3 df
(viii) Region vs job-expectation - Guyana Girls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job expectation</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Occ. class 3</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(100%) (100%)

N = 65 75

= 19.216  P 0.01

1 df

(ix) Region vs ultimate occupational preference - Guyana Girls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ultimate Occupational Preference</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 3</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(100%) (100%)

N = 88 85

= 4.350  P 0.05

2 df
B.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY REGION, OF STUDENTS OPTING FOR TECHNICAL COURSES

(i) Region vs response to technical courses - Jamaica Girls

(ii) Region vs response to technical courses - Guyana Girls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response to Technical Courses</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choosing at least one</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>(81)*</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choosing 'none . . . '</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>(19)*</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(100%) (100%)

N = 128 (100)* 112 (91)*

= 1.076 P 0.05

* - Guyana Girls

= 0.002 P 0.05

1 df
(iii) Region vs choice of farming - boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response to Farming</th>
<th>Regional Distribution (%)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choosing farming</td>
<td>15 (100%)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not choosing farming</td>
<td>85 (100%)</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>95 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N = 99</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= 1.176 P 0.05</td>
<td></td>
<td>= 1.744 P 0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 df</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 df</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF STUDENTS' OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

(i) Parental occupation vs students' first-job choice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First-job Choice</th>
<th>(%) Parental Occupation Distribution</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'White Collar'</td>
<td>'Blue Collar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2 - 4</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 5 - 6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 109</td>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= 3.229 P 0.05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 df</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(ii) Parental occupation vs students' job-expectation - Guyana Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parental Occupation Distribution (%)</th>
<th>'White Collar'</th>
<th>'Blue Collar'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2 - 4</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 5 - 6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 94</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= 6.161  P  0.05

2 df

(iii) Parental occupation vs students' ultimate job preference - Guyana Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parental Occupation Distribution (%)</th>
<th>'White Collar'</th>
<th>'Blue Collar'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2 - 4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 5 - 6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 113</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= 5.553  P  0.05

2 df
(iv) Parental occupation vs first-job choice
Jamaica Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First-job Choice</th>
<th>Parental Occupation Distribution (%)</th>
<th>'White Collar'</th>
<th>'Blue Collar'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2 - 4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 5 - 6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= 9.070  P 0.05
2 df

(v) Parental occupation vs students' job expectation - Jamaica Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job-expectation</th>
<th>Parental Occupation Distribution (%)</th>
<th>'White Collar'</th>
<th>'Blue Collar'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2 - 4</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 5 - 6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= 8.733  P 0.05
2 df
(vi) Parental occupation vs students' ultimate job-preference - Jamaica Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ultimate Occ. Preference</th>
<th>Parental occupation distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'White Collar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2 - 4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 5 - 6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(100%) (100%)

\[ N = 81 \quad 51 \]

\[ = 13.403 \quad P \quad 0.01 \]

2 df

(vii) Parental occupation vs students' first-job choice - Girls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First-job choice</th>
<th>Parental Occupation Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guyana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'White Collar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 3</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(100%) (100%) (100%) (100%)

\[ N = 115 \quad 59 \quad 111 \quad 85 \]

Guyana: \[ = 5.203 \quad P \quad 0.05 \]

Jamaica: \[ = 8.435 \quad P \quad 0.05 \]

2 df \quad 2 df
(viii) Parental occupation vs students' job-expectation - Girls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students' job-expectation</th>
<th>Parental Occupation Distribution (%)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'White Collar'</td>
<td>'Blue Collar'</td>
<td>'White Collar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Blue Collar'</td>
<td>'Blue Collar'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(100%) (100%) (100%) (100%)

N = 85 52 96 74

Guyana:  = 4.735 P 0.05  Jamaica:  = 6.273 P 0.05
1 df 1 df

(ix) Parental occupation vs students' ultimate job preference - Girls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students' ultimate job preference</th>
<th>Parental Occupation Distribution (%)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'White Collar'</td>
<td>'Blue Collar'</td>
<td>'White Collar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Blue Collar'</td>
<td>'Blue Collar'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 1</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. class 3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(100%) (100%) (100%) (100%)

N = 116 55 117 85

Guyana:  = 9.800 P 0.01  Jamaica:  = 12.735 P 0.01
2 df 2 df
APPENDIX 5

OPINIONAIRE

The following questions are designed to find out what you think about certain aspects of your school life.

Kindly read the questions carefully and answer them as accurately as you can.

Do not write your names on the sheets. In this way your answers would be kept confidential.

This opinionaire is intended solely for academic purposes.

1. School .................................................................
2. Sex ...................... 3. Age .................................
4. Position in class on last school report .................
5. Admission status (tick () appropriate one)
   a. free place
   b. grant-aided
   c. full fee-paying
   d. other (state)
6. Father's/guardian/s occupation (or last occupation if deceased) ........................................
7. Mother's/guardian's occupation (or last occupation if deceased) ........................................
8. State your permanent place of residence (Town or village and parish) ............................
9. Which parent(s) do you live with
   (a) both ......................
   (b) father only .............
   (c) mother only ............
   (d) none ......................
10. At what stage do you plan leaving school? (Cross out (c) if your school has no sixth form)
    a. before completing 5th form ..........
    b. after completing 5th form ..........
    c. after completing 6th form ..........
11. What do you plan to do after leaving school?
    a. go to work ..............
    b. go to a teachers' training college ...........
    c. go to a university ..............
    d. work for a while then attend university ........
e. work for a while then attend teachers' college

f. work in the day and attend evening classes ....
g. other (state) ......................

12. What is the first job you would like to get? ...........

13. What is the first job you think you will get? ......

14. If you had a free choice what occupation would you like to take up eventually? ..................

15. Who has suggested in the past that you follow the occupation you have just selected? (in question 14)
   a. a parent or relative
   b. a friend
   c. a teacher
   d. other (state)
   e. nobody

16. Is there any occupation you would particularly hate to pursue? If so, state which. If there is no occupation that you particularly hate simple write 'none'.

17. What two subjects or activities (other than your present subjects) would you like included in your school course? Give a short reason for your answer.

18. If you were offered the opportunity to take two of the following courses in your remaining years in school which two would you choose? (Put a tick opposite the two you choose. If you would not like to do any of these subjects put a tick opposite 'none of the above'.)

For Boys Only

a. motor mechanic .........
b. woodwork (including cabinet making and carpentry) ................
c. farming methods ........
d. radio and electrical repairs ........
e. metal work .............
f. masonry ...............
g. none of the above ......

For Girls Only

u. Some handicraft course such as bookbinding or basket weaving
v. shorthand and typing....
w. farming methods ........
x. cookery, needlework or other Home Economics course ..........
y. woodwork ............
z. none of the above ......
19. Which two of the subjects listed above (for boys a to f, for girls u to z) would you like doing least?

20. Of all your present school subjects which two do you like least?

21. State any two things you like about your school or your school life:
   a. .................................................................
   b. .................................................................

22. State any two things you dislike about your school or your school life:
   a. .................................................................
   b. .................................................................