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THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN JAMAICA SINCE INDEPENDENCE: 1962-1972

by

SYDNEY HOWARD SCOTT

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Development of Secondary Education in Jamaica since Independence: 1962-1972" submitted by Sydney Howard Scott in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Supervisor

External Examiner

Date 27 April 73

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to describe and analyse the major developments which took place in the field of secondary education in Jamaica since this country achieved its Independence, i.e., between August 6, 1962 and August 6, 1972. The focus of the study was directed to an examination of the major factors associated with the expansion of secondary school facilities and the diversification of the secondary education programme.

The major concern at this level was with the Secondary High Schools which were of British origin, and traditionally referred to as Grammar Schools. Close attention was given to the attempts made over the period to shift the emphasis from these schools to two other types of schools: firstly, in favour of the Comprehensive School, and secondly, in favour of the Junior Secondary School.

Documentary data were collected from a variety of sources in Jamaica over a four-month period between May and August 1972. Interviews were conducted with the former Minister of Education and other officials associated with education.

The findings suggest that over the decade since Independence the development of secondary education was in the direction of attempts to democratize secondary educational institutions and to diversify the secondary education

programme. This was in keeping with the philosophy of egalitarianism propounded by the Government which held office during the decade under study. The introduction of the Government Common Entrance Examination in 1957 marked the beginning of the process of change in this direction. The implementation of the "70/30" formula was the first major step in democratizing access to secondary education.

This was followed by experiments in Comprehensive type education and the introduction of Junior Secondary Schools. It was found that the Grammar Schools expanded only minimally over the period, suggesting a shift of emphasis in the official policy from this type of education to that offered in the Junior Secondary Schools.

It was noted that during the course of the rise of the new types of secondary education deficiencies in the supply of secondary school graduates developed. The dilemma appeared to be associated with a conflict between equity in terms of "secondary education for all" and the provision of higher manpower skills to meet the needs of the Jamaican economy.

It was felt that this study provided some insights into a way of dealing more effectively with the problems related to this apparent conflict of goals.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to record his deep appreciation to the many persons who have given of their assistance and support without which the completion of this study would not have been possible.

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Finally, the writer expresses his deep gratitude to his wife, Sheila, his children, Jennifer Elizabeth, Penelope Anne, and David Howard, for their patience and support over two long years of his absence from home.

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CHAPTER I

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

In this chapter the main objective of the study is outlined and areas of study delineated. A justification for the work is presented, terms are defined, and the research design reviewed.

Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study was to describe and analyze the major developments which took place in secondary education in Jamaica in the decade following her Independence, i.e., 1962-72. The major emphasis of the study was upon the expansion of secondary school facilities and the diversification of the secondary education programme. Particular attention was given to the rise of the Comprehensive School and the Junior Secondary School vis-a-vis government policy to de-emphasize the traditional Grammar Schools.

In order to achieve the main objective of the research, the following three areas were set out for investigation:

1. A description of Jamaica prior to Independence with particular reference to social and political developments germane to the island's educational system. This

area of study was deemed essential in order to place the events of 1962-72 in perspective.

2. Examination of major developments in secondary education in Jamaica after Independence. Particular attention was to be given to secondary high school enrolment trends, expenditures on secondary education and to teacher-pupil ratios.

3. Study of the Comprehensive and Junior Secondary School in Jamaica during the decade following Independence. Because this area was of particular importance to the main objective of the study, the following sub-areas of investigation were included:

(a) A review of the comprehensive school concept as seen in Jamaica.

(b) A study of the stated goals for these schools, their perceived features and functions.

(c) Description of the events leading to the establishment of Jamaica's two comprehensive schools.

(d) An outline of the objectives of the Junior Secondary School and a review of their curricula and programmes.

Justification for the Study

Three main arguments are presented here in justification of the study. In the first place, the available evidence indicates that to date very little work has been

done by way of a systematic description and analysis of the factors associated with the expenditure of a large portion of Jamaica's national budget on secondary education, particularly with respect to the diversification of the traditional secondary education system, mainly through the introduction of the Junior Secondary Schools. In his contribution to the Budget debate in Parliament on June 30, 1971, the former Minister of Education gave this reason for the special emphasis that was placed on the Junior Secondary programme:

> . . . much attention has been paid to the Junior Secondary Schools because they were a new institution and because they catered largely to the under-privileged. (The Daily Gleaner, Kingston, Jamaica. July 1, 1971.)

Secondly, secondary education has been the subject of much public criticism and controversy during the period under study particularly in respect to experiments in programmes and the changes in policy. Therefore, a study of this nature should throw some light on some of the factors related to the conflicting views that have been expressed in regard to perceived advantages and disadvantages of the new programmes and policies. Since Independence, public demand for secondary education appears to have increased. The expansion of the educational facilities at this level was designed to meet this demand. This investigation could provide a much clearer picture of what was intended for secondary education in Jamaica versus what actually

developed.

The results of this study could also be valuable in assisting in the clarification and reconceptualization of the whole area of secondary education. One of the consequences of this could be an awareness of the way in which a developing nation attempts to deal with the problems relating to the expansion of secondary educational facilities in keeping with the concept of egalitarianism. This aspect of the study may prove useful to other developing nations wrestling with similar concerns.

Finally, this research might suggest some useful guidelines for consideration in terms of recommendations for the future development of secondary education in Jamaica.

DELINEATION OF THE STUDY

Delimitations

The study was restricted to an examination of the major trends in the development of secondary education and the diversification of the educational programmes at this level via the Comprehensive and Junior Secondary Schools. A major concern was the role of the Secondary Grammar School.

Technical and Vocational education as distinct aspects of secondary education fall outside the scope of this investigation. This is not to infer that any less importance is attached to these types of education, but rather that they can be regarded as separate topics for particular study. Nearly all the Secondary High Schools

teach, to some extent, the theory and practice of some of the technical, vocational and commercial subjects. In fact in many of the High Schools some of the more practical subjects like Woodwork, Metalwork, Home Economics and Commercial Subjects are offered in the General Certificate of Education Examinations.

Although the main objective of the study was to examine developments in secondary education in the period between the attainment of Independence, i.e., August 6, 1962, and August 6, 1972, considerable attention was directed to the events leading up to the year 1962 in order to understand more fully the events falling within the particular period under study.

The analysis used in this investigation was essentially a documentary analysis with some supporting information from interviews. In view of the fact that data were treated chronologically and, in part, by specific events, the study could perhaps best be termed an historical study.

Limitations

The study was subject to the following limitations:

1. The unavailability of some informants directly connected with the educational changes during the decade, e.g., the Permanent Secretary, the Parliamentary Secretary and the Minister of State in the Ministry of Education. Although the writer was able to get an appointment to meet with the new Minister of Education at 3.00 p.m. on July 19,

1972, after his budget speech in Parliament, it happened that shortly after being courteously received by him, an urgent demand on his time for his attention to matters of State prevented the interview from taking place.

2. The extent to which an unsettled and somewhat sensitive social and political atmosphere associated with the aftermath of a General Election on February 29, 1972, resulting in a change of Government, may have coloured whatever opinions or views to which the investigator had access whether formally, as during some of the debates in Parliament which he attended or, informally, during other situations.

3. The unavailability of certain documents and reports, e.g., the 1970 Census Report.

4. The research was subject to the limitations of nearly all studies which rely in part on the interpretations of a single researcher.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following definitions apply to the terms that will be used in this study:

Primary Schools

These were originally called Elementary Schools, and they provide free basic education for children between the ages of 6 and 12, i.e., Grades 1-6.

All-Age Schools

These are Primary Schools with senior departments, offering a free general education for children of all ages between 6 and 15.

Junior Secondary Schools

The education offered in these schools is free and is also referred to as First Cycle Secondary Education. These schools cater to children in the age range of 12 to 15 years, i.e., Grades 7-9. At Grade 9 an Achievement Test, set by the Ministry of Education, determines the number of children, approximately 20 per cent of the enrolment, who qualify to continue their education in the separate Grammar, Technical or Vocational schools. For the remainder, the 80 per cent not "qualifying" for second cycle education, Grade 9 education is terminal.

Secondary High Schools

These are the traditional Grammar Schools of British origin, offering a heavily academic type of education. The terms High School, Grammar School and College are used interchangeably to describe these schools which provide this type of education. They cater to children in the age range of 12 to 19 years, i.e., Grades 7-13; and entry to them is based on the performance of children of 11+ in a Common Entrance Examination set by the Government. Although the education that is provided is not free, some scholarships

and a larger number of free places are awarded annually, and 70 per cent of these awards are allocated to children from the Primary Schools. The remaining 30 per cent go to the children from other schools. Admissions to the University of the West Indies consist mainly of the graduates of these Secondary Grammar Schools who have completed Form 6, i.e., Grade 13.

Technical High Schools

Entry to these schools for children between the ages of 13 and 15 years, i.e., Grades 8-11, is also determined by a separate Common Entrance Examination set by the Ministry of Education, and only nominal fees are charged for those children who are enrolled as fee-paying students. A four-year programme in pre-vocational training is provided, the first two years being spent on a general education, while the last two are devoted to specializations in the areas of technical and commercial subjects. In this latter stage the programme takes on a practical bias. The following external examinations set by different examining bodies in Britain are taken:

a. The Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institute;
b. The Associated Examining Board;
c. The London General Certificate of Education;
d. The Royal Society of Arts Examination;
e. City and Guilds Institute.

Vocational Schools

These schools offer a one- or two-year specialized programme in Home Economics, Agriculture, Carpentry, Metal-work, Plumbing, Auto-mechanics and commercial subjects for boys and girls of 15 years and over--Grades 10 and 11. The Royal Society of Arts, the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institute Examinations are taken.

Comprehensive Schools

They offer a diversified programme of secondary education including academic and non-academic subjects suitable for children of varying abilities and aptitudes between the ages of 12 and 17, i.e., Grades 7-11. This type of education is free and entry to these schools is on a non-selective basis; but in fact the academically brighter children are selected for admission to the Grammar Schools on the strength of the Government Common Entrance Examination. The courses are given a heavy practical bias.

External Examinations

Cambridge School Certificate. These examinations, known also as Senior Cambridge, were set and marked by the University of Cambridge and were taken mainly by the pupils of the traditional Grammar Schools at the end of a five-year course. It was a group examination in the sense that the subjects were classified by groups, and at least six subjects, including English Language, chosen from different

groups, had to be taken at one sitting. A pass in English Language was compulsory for the award of a certificate. After a further two years, i.e., at the end of Grade 13, the Higher School Certificate Examination was taken and this was the qualifying examination for entry to University. These Examinations were written in December each year, but after December 1963 they were replaced by the General Certificate of Education which was set by Cambridge for the first time in the summer of 1964.

The General Certificate of Education. The G.C.E., as these examinations are more frequently referred to, are held in the summer of each year and are set by both the University of Cambridge and the University of London, although the London G.C.E. Examinations are held in January as well as in the summer.

The G.C.E. of both Universities may be taken at two levels: 1. the Ordinary Level (O'Level), i.e., at the end of Grade 11, after a normal five-year high school course and, 2. at the Advanced Level (A'Level), i.e., at the end of Grade 13 in Form 6, after seven years of high school education. The G.C.E. is a subject examination with no compulsory subject and any number of subjects from one to nine may be taken, except that school candidates are required by the Cambridge regulations to enter and sit for at least three subjects at the first sitting. All the High Schools send forward children for the Cambridge G.C.E. and the upper

school programme is planned in accordance with the prescribed official syllabus; but in some of the schools pupils are allowed to take subjects in the London G.C.E. Major scholarships tenable at the University of the West Indies or at universities in Britain or North America are awarded annually on the strength of the best performance in the Cambridge G.C.E. at the Advanced Level. There are plans afoot, however, to replace these examinations by regional examinations under the auspices of a proposed West Indian Examinations Council.

Second Cycle Secondary Education

This term refers to all types of secondary education --Grammar, Technical, Vocational and Comprehensive--which are offered in these schools to children between the ages of 15 and 19 years; and these types of programmes complement the Junior Secondary or First Cycle Secondary Education programme which caters to the 12-15 age group.

The Common Entrance Examination

This is the equivalent of the "11+" Examination in England whence it was imported into Jamaica, and is administered by the Ministry of Education annually to select the children who are adjudged suitable on the basis of their performance in this competitive examination to enter the Grammar Schools. A number of awards are made by Government and these fall into different categories as follows:

Government scholarships. The award of a Government Scholarship means that all educational expenses including boarding, uniforms, text books, etc., in addition to tuition fees, are paid by Government. Only a very small number of scholarships (now less than 50) is awarded each year and this is done on the basis of outstanding merit.

Free places. Some 2,000 children out of a very large number of candidates who sit the examination annually (there were 27,000 entries in 1972) receive free places. This means that the parents of these children do not have to pay the tuition fees charged by the schools, but are responsible for all the other educational expenses involved, such as, the cost of books, uniforms, etc. A small percentage of very needy pupils, however, are given special allowances in the form of book grants, school lunches and transportation costs.

Grant-aided places. Approximately the same number of children are awarded what is called grant-aided places, which means that the parents of the children in this category who take up the award are called upon to pay the tuition fees (and these vary from school to school) and to be responsible for all the other educational expenses involved. The Government in turn gives to the school a subsidy or grant-in-aid.

Finally, there is a very small group of pupils,

approximately 2 per cent of the annual total enrolment of each Secondary Grammar School, who do not fall into any of the categories listed above; but who are admitted completely at the discretion of the Principal of the particular school provided: 1. accommodation is available; 2. the normal standard of entry is reached and, 3. the parents undertake to pay all the educational expenses to be incurred, ranging from the tuition fees to the Government subsidy. These children are officially classified as "full fee-paying" pupils.

Status and Stratification

The sense in which these terms are used coincides with the meanings suggested by John and Mavis Biesanz (1964: 90, 133). They are defined in this way:

> A status is a position in a society or a group. It has an identity of its own apart from any given individual who occupies it; it is an item of culture.

The members of society tend to be classified in terms of superiority, inferiority and equality. This vertical scale of evaluation, this placing of people in relatively stable and enduring strata or layers, is what is called stratification.

METHODOLOGY

Data Collection

The data for the study were collected from a number of sources in Jamaica between May and August 1972. These

included:

a. The University of the West Indies

b. The Ministry of Education

c. The Institute of Jamaica-Reference Library

d. The Government Printing Office

e. The Central Planning Unit

f. The Census Office

g. The Department of Statistics

h. The Gleaner Company, publishers of the national Newspaper, The Daily Gleaner.

i. The Offices of the Jamaica Teachers' Association

j. The Houses of Parliament (called Gordon House).

Extensive use was made of all relevant material appearing in numerous issues of the Daily Gleaner covering the entire period of the study and, in some instances, use was made of some earlier issues where these proved relevant and useful. Heavy reliance was also placed on the Hansard Reports of the proceedings of Parliament, copies of most of which were obtained by courtesy of the Clerk of the Jamaican Legislature. He also facilitated the writer in gaining access to the Estimates of Income and Expenditure appropriate to most of the period covered by this research. As some of the other relevant reports and documents are published jointly by two or more departments, delays and other difficulties made the efforts at gaining access to these unsuccessful. The Ministry of Education Performance Reports, together with

those Ministry Papers submitted to Parliament, which were available, in addition to other journals, official publications of the Jamaica Teachers' Association and unpublished papers and minutes of the Association of Headmasters and Headmistresses of the Secondary Grammar Schools, formed other useful sources of data. Addresses on the air, on television or reports of these in the press conveying the expressed views and opinions of prominent persons in the field of education or outstanding professionals or citizens in the national life of the country provided, where these were appropriate, helpful insights into many of the issues with which this study was concerned.

In addition to the main sources of data referred to, which formed the basis for the documentary analysis of the problem under study, some supplementary materials in the form of articles and unpublished occasional papers served the purpose of the writer during the conduct of the investigation.

Interviews

As the nature of this study is such that it relies essentially on the analysis and interpretation of documentary data, the purpose of the interviews was to gain supplementary insight into the way in which representative key informants in Government and organizations perceived the trends in secondary education development over the post-Independence decade, i.e., since August 6, 1962. It was

thought that, particularly in regard to the educational innovations, i.e., the Comprehensive and Junior Secondary Schools, some interviews including the main policy-makers--and more specifically, the former Minister of Education--and some of the High School principals could throw some light on some of the factors associated with these innovations.

Because of the obligation to honour the undertaking that the writer gave, namely, that the anonymity of the interviewees would be guaranteed, it will not be possible to make more than some general observations that appear to be consistent with the views that were expressed by the respondents.

The key informants were: (a) the former Minister of Education; (b) the Director of the Institute of Education--The University of the West Indies; (c) the acting Professor of Education--The University of the West Indies, Faculty of Education; (d) the President of the Jamaica Teachers' Association, and (e) some of the Principals of the Secondary High Schools. In addition, every available opportunity was taken to have informal communication with different persons of varying positions, responsibility, and influence in the society, bearing in mind always that the purpose of such interaction was "more in the spirit of exploration and discovery than in the spirit of proof" (Bell, 1964:192). In other words, one was seeking an aid to the interpretation of the documentary sources of data.

Interview with the Former Minister of Education

The writer was courteously received and accommodated by the former Minister of Education at his residence at Frankfield in Clarendon on Sunday, June 4, 1972 at 10.00 a.m. Special permission was obtained for the interview to be taped, and this aided considerably not only the accurate recording of the verbal interaction, but also the promotion of an atmosphere of informality. The interviewer was guided by a list of some specific questions formulated on the basis of the objective of the study, which served to provide direction to the search for documentary material; but care was taken to ensure that the former Minister and Honourable member of Parliament was free to introduce or develop as he thought fit any other points as he perceived them to be relevant to the discussion. Clarification of a number of points emerged from the discussion, which perhaps might not have been fully appreciated from an examination of the documentary material. One of these points had to do with the Comprehensive and Junior Secondary School idea of which the former Minister was the main proponent, and around which so much controversy had centred. In view of the reservations that were noted earlier in regard to the reporting of the interviews, it will suffice to say that congruence existed between the viewpoints expressed in the discussion and those conveyed in the official documents. A type-written transcript of the interview was prepared shortly after and this

was used as the basis for the processing and interpretation of the material.

Other Informants

Interviews with other key informants, including the High School principals, followed approximately the same pattern except that the particular situations and preferences associated with them dictated the alternative method of making notes during the interview and recording verbatim such responses as were deemed significant and relevant. Verification of these was done by requesting the interviewees' confirmation of the accuracy of what the interviewer recorded as having been said. After each of these interviews as full an account as possible was written up and an interpretation of the views and information obtained in this way was attempted. Some interpretation of the data, however, took place during the course of each interview. One marked impression was that there seemed to be general agreement with the concept of egalitarianism as applied to the educational innovations that were introduced. However, the implementation of the relevant policies and programmes at the time was perceived as being associated with a situation conducive to a number of criticisms. On a more positive note, there was the distinct impression conveyed from the discussions with all these informants of a profound commitment to the cause of education and a tremendous desire to work towards the achievement of its goals for the social and

economic development of the Jamaican society.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The remainder of the thesis is organized as follows:

Chapter II presents an introduction and general background to the study in terms of the social structure and historical development of Jamaica. This is followed by a discussion of the social, economic and political developments from the pre-Independence era up to 1972.

Chapter III discusses the general background and structure of the educational system and the problems of illiteracy.

Chapter IV focuses on the major developments in secondary education since 1962.

Chapter V is concerned with the post-Independence innovations in secondary education, i.e., the Comprehensive and Junior Secondary Schools. A general analysis of secondary education development in Jamaica over the period, together with some comments and recommendations are given in Chapter VI.

Chapter VII presents the summary, some conclusions and implications of the study and general comments.

The bibliography appears at the end of the final Chapter.

CHAPTER II

JAMAICA: GENERAL BACKGROUND

Jamaica is an island in the Caribbean Sea and is the largest of the group of islands formerly known as the British West Indies. It covers an area of 4,411.21 square miles and is situated between latitudes 17°43' and 18°32' north and longitudes 76°11' and 78°21' west. The greatest length of the island is 146 miles and its greatest width is only 51 miles, making internal transportation to all parts of the island a relatively easy problem. It is located 90 miles south of the eastern extremity of Cuba and 100 miles west of the Republic of Haiti. Geographically, it is isolated in relation to the nine smaller island territories that comprised the former British West Indies, and this may be illustrated by the fact that St. Kitts, the nearest to Jamaica, is 800 miles to the east, while Trinidad is over 1,000 miles due southeast. The proximity of the island to the Bahamas and the United States of America is probably important because of the migration of educational personnel to these countries. The significance and importance of Jamaica's central position in the Caribbean may perhaps be appropriately summed up in the words of the Handbook of Jamaica (1966:6) as follows:

> From its central position in the Caribbean Zone, and the fact of its being in the direct track between

> Europe and the United States and the Isthmus of Panama, Jamaica furnishes special advantages and conveniences for trade and commerce between these points.

In terms of its geographical boundaries the island is divided into three counties: Cornwall in the west, Middlesex in the centre and Surrey in the east. These are sub-divided into fourteen (14) parishes which are almost evenly distributed on a county basis, as may be seen from Table 1. Figure 1 is a basic map of Jamaica, Figure 2 illustrates the island's position vis-a-vis her Caribbean neighbours.

Topography

The island is very mountainous and particularly in the eastern part where the central range is known as the Blue Mountains the altitudes are considerable. The Blue Mountain Peak attains an elevation of 7,402.4 feet. There are wide variations in climatic conditions with the highest temperatures at the sea coast rising to over 90° and falling to 40° on the tops of the highest mountains, a factor contributing to the settlement of a sizable European population. Numerous rivers and springs are to be found in most parts of the island, particularly along the coast, although there are areas in the midland and western parts of the country where it is very dry.

Population

A preliminary Census Report for 1970 puts the

Table 1

Jamaica: Divisions by Counties and Parishes

Surrey	Square Miles	Middlesex	Square Miles	Cornwall	Square Miles
1. Kingston (including Port Royal)	10.10	St. Catherine	483.27	St. Elizabeth	474.44
2. St. Andrew	181.30	St. Mary	254.04	Trelawny	352.55
3. St. Thomas	300.17	Clarendon	467.89	St. James	240.61
4. Portland	328.53	St. Ann	481.05	Hanover	177.08
5. --		Manchester	339.79	Westmoreland	320.39
Total	820.10		2,026.04		1,565.07
				Grand Total	4,411.21

Source: Handbook of Jamaica, 1966:6. Kingston: Government Printing Office

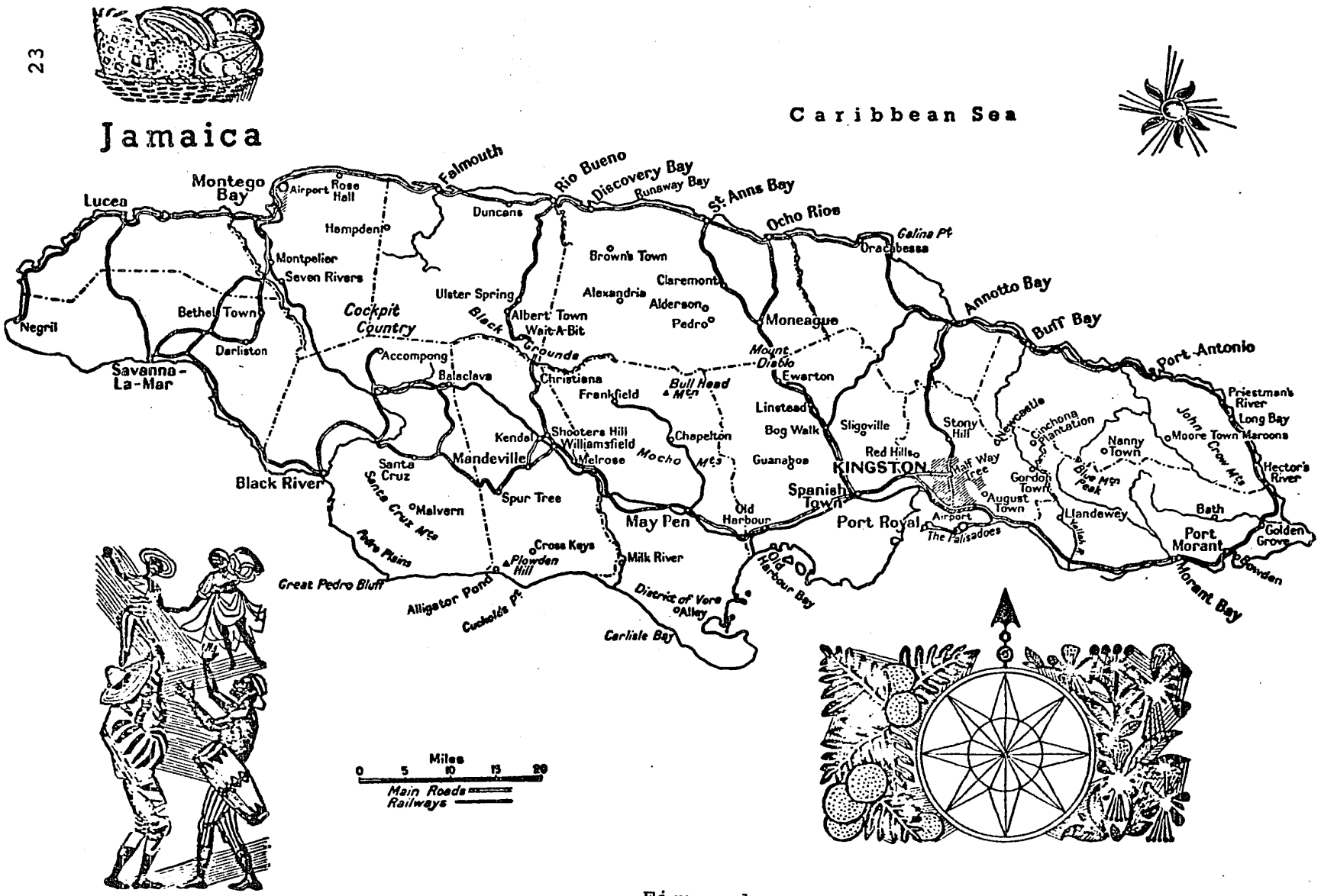


Figure 1

Map of Jamaica

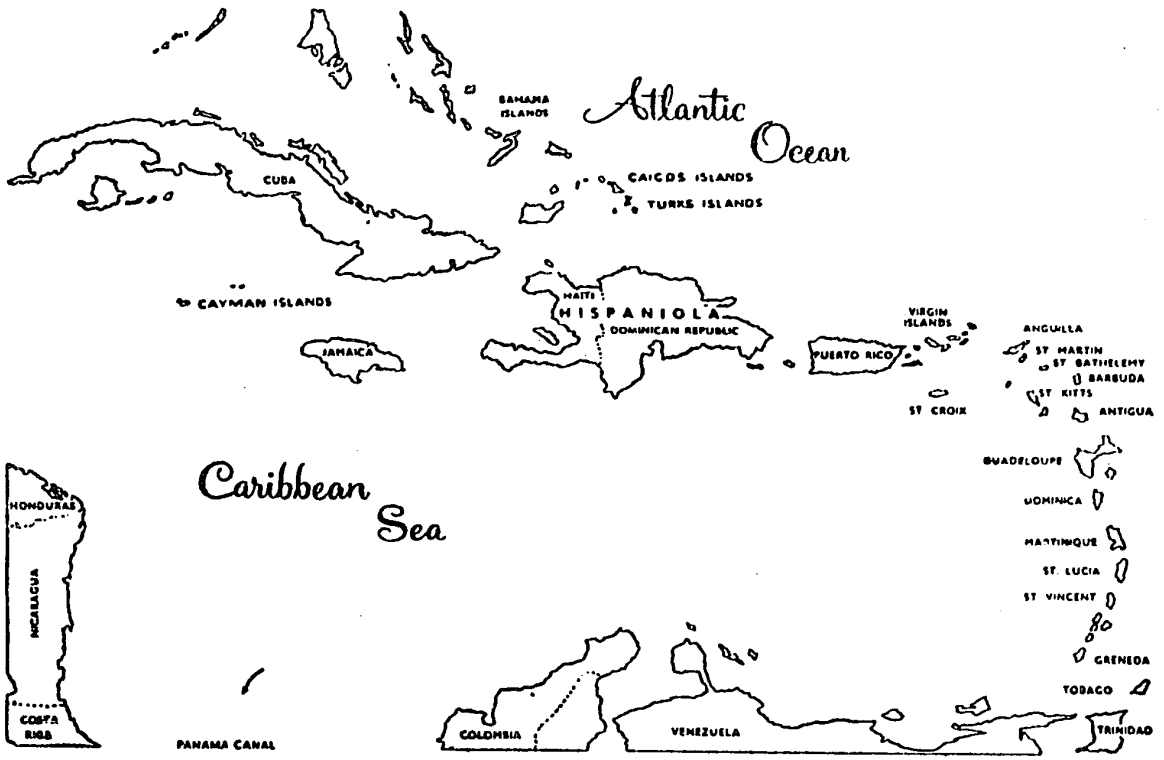


Figure 2

Map of the Caribbean Area

population of Jamaica at 1,861,300. This shows an increase of 14.6 per cent over the 1960 census population figure of 1,624,400. Although in the two decades between 1950 and 1970 there was a downward trend in the infant mortality rate and the overall death rate--the former dropped by 34.3 per cent between 1950 and 1960 and 37.5 per cent between 1960 and 1970--the ten-year period from 1950 to 1960, however, saw an increase in the birth rate to the extent of 26.9 per cent. But, as the following figures indicate, there was a subsequent decline in this rate for the decade 1960-1970 from 42.0 per 1,000 to 34.4 per 1,000.

Table 2

Demographic Statistics: 1950-1970

Year	Death Rate	% Change	Infant Death Rate	% Change	Birth Rate	% Change
1950	11.8		78.3		33.1	
1960	8.8	-25.4	51.5	-34.3	42.0	+26.9
1970	7.7	-12.5	32.2	-37.5	34.4	-18.1

Source: Demographic Statistics, March 1971, P.I. Department of Statistics, Kingston, Jamaica, November, 1971.

The 1971 Economic Survey recorded a slight increase of 34.9 per cent in 1971 over the 1970 figure of 34.4 per cent. These figures probably indicate a stabilization of the birth

Table 3

Population Figures and Birth Rates: 1962-1971

Year	Population at December 31	Birth Rate (per 1,000)	Death Rate (per 1,000)	Rate of Natural Increase (per 1,000)	Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 Live Births)
1962	1,676,000	40.3	8.9	31.4	48.1
1963	1,720,000	39.3	8.0	30.3	49.2
1964	1,762,000	39.8	7.7	32.1	39.3
1965	1,811,000	39.0	7.9	31.1	37.3
1966	1,859,000	38.9	7.8	31.1	35.4
1967	1,893,000	35.9	7.1	28.8	30.5
1968*	1,924,000	34.3	7.6	26.6	34.7
1969	1,863,700	35.1	7.6	27.4	33.4
1970	1,890,700	34.4	7.7	26.8	32.2
1971**	1,911,400	34.9	7.4	27.5	27.1

Source: Economic Survey: 1964 , p. 40; 1966, p. 40; 1970, p. 46; 1971, p. 7.

* C.P.U. (Central Planning Unit) Estimate Unadjusted
** Provisional

rate, but it is as yet too early to tell. The registered number of births also rose from 64,375 in 1970 to 66,277 in 1971, "the first increase since the absolute number began to fall in 1967" (Economic Survey 1971, p. 7). It will be useful to look at some of the relevant demographic statistics for the period since 1962. As will be seen from the preceding Table 3, the rate of natural increase only began to fall steadily since 1967--indicating that the secondary school population (12 years plus) from 1979 is likely to begin to fall.

It must be pointed out, however, that if it were not for the continued high rate of Jamaican emigration, particularly to the United Kingdom in the 1950's and early 1960's, and in more recent years to North America, the actual increase in population between 1950 and 1970 would have been even greater (Francis, 1963:1-4). In terms of migration to the United Kingdom alone, the figures moved from a total of 2,210 in 1953 to 39,203 in 1961, falling to 22,841 in 1962, the year of Jamaica's Independence (Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1960, No. 20, p. 20; 1968, No. 27, p. 42).

By comparison with the 1961 figure of 39,203 there was a substantial decrease in the number of Jamaicans emigrating between 1963 and 1966. However, there was a significant increase again in recent years as the figures given below indicate:

Table 4

Migration of Jamaicans: 1963-1971			
1963	-	7,494	
1965	-	6,500	
1966	-	8,900	
1968	-	20,000	
1969	-	29,000	
1971	-	31,500	(Provisional)

Source: Economic Survey 1969, p. 48; 1971, p. 8.

In a discussion of emigration and population it is useful to direct some attention to the trends in the population of secondary school age, i.e., 12-18 years. A first observation is that there was a significant increase in the number of persons under sixteen (16) years of age among the Jamaicans emigrating in the 1950's and 1960's. There were 51 such persons among those who migrated to the United Kingdom in 1953. This figure rose to 4,522 in 1964 (Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1960 and 1968). In the absence of a detailed breakdown of the respective numbers in the age group 12-16, it is not possible to say what percentage of the 4,522 young persons under the age of 16 were in fact of secondary school age; but it seems reasonable to suggest that were it not for this mass exodus of young people the pressure on the already limited educational facilities including those at the secondary level would have been increased and forced an additional burden on the Government with regard to the provision of secondary education.

An examination of the data supplied by the 1960 census shows that of a total population of 1,609,800, the 12-18 age group was 217,800. The enrolment recorded in all the Secondary High Schools for this year was about 16,259. In the projections of the 12-18 age group given by M.G. Smith (unpublished paper 1965), attention is drawn to the increasing size of this age group for the five year periods to 1970. The figures are presented in table form as follows:

Table 5

Secondary Age-Group Population (12-18 years): 1960-1970

(Population in 000's)

Year	Total Population (a)	Secondary School Age Population (12-18) (b)	Per cent Increase of b/a
1960	1,609.8	217.8	13.4
1965	1,794	272	15.1
1970	2,013	324	16.1

The increase in the size of the secondary school age population is in keeping with the trend established in the 1960 census and stated by Francis (1963:1-11) in this way: "While 46% of the 1943 population were under 20 years old, in 1960, 50% of the entire population was in this under-20 age group". He went on to point out, however, that although

there have been substantial increases in school enrolment and attendance, the percentage of the 5-14 age group not in attendance at school in 1960 was 16.4% (Ibid., 3-5).

Historical Background

It seems necessary at this stage to say something about the historical background of the island in an attempt to provide a proper perspective for an understanding of the complex nature of Jamaican society fashioned out of the various elements of different races and cultures imported from Europe, Africa and Asia. And this factor was to have a direct bearing on the later development of secondary education.

With the discovery of Jamaica by Christopher Columbus on May 5, 1494, the original inhabitants of the island, the Arawak Indians, "mild and peaceful, simple and generous by nature", as Black (1965:14) described them, were brought directly under Spanish control. They are believed to have come originally from the Guianas and Venezuela where Arawak Indians are still to be found, and to have arrived in Jamaica about the year A.D. 1000. They were ignorant of the art of writing and, therefore, left no written record of their way of life; but the information about them, available mainly from the accounts given by Columbus himself and the writings of the early Spanish visitors to the area, has been significantly increased in recent years as a result of the rich store of evidence that has come to light from the

extensive archaeological work carried out at a former Arawak village site called 'White Marl' on the outskirts of Kingston. The human skeletons that have been found here, indiscriminately intermingled with debris, would tend to add weight to the belief that the end of this settlement came about as a result of attack, violence and slaughter. History records that these first Jamaicans, who were essentially farmers, fishermen and hunters, lived in tribes ruled over by chiefs called 'caciques'. Apart from a belief in the existence of two supreme gods, one a male and the other a female, and the mystical presence of a number of spirits and images called 'Zemes', they did believe in the endowment of man with a soul which at death moved on to a "kind of heaven called Coyaba--a place of ease and rest where there were no droughts, hurricanes or sickness and where the time was passed in feasting and dancing" (Black, 1965:22).

The accounts of the wicked treatment and brutality by the Spaniards, as recorded by the writers of the period, make sad and gruesome reading. In a little under fifty years these first Jamaicans, estimated at some 60,000 at the arrival of Columbus in 1494, were all exterminated. As Black (1965:32) puts it, "a terrible blot on the period of Spanish rule in Jamaica (as elsewhere in the West Indies) was the extermination of the aboriginal inhabitants, the Arawak Indians".

Jamaica Becomes an English Colony, May 1655

On May 10th, 1655, the English fleet, consisting of thirty-eight (38) ships and some 8,000 men, sailed into Kingston harbour under the joint command of Admiral William Penn and General Robert Venables with a plan to capture Jamaica after their dismal failure to take Hispaniola from Spain. They met with little resistance from the Spanish population numbered at no more than 1,500. It will be remembered that at this time there was no King in England, Charles I having been executed during the Civil War which broke out between the King and Parliament in 1642. With the trial and execution of the King and the subsequent proclamation of England as a Commonwealth, Oliver Cromwell became Lord Protector from 1653 until his death in 1658. Realizing the economic potential which Jamaica possessed as the largest English West Indian island, Cromwell gave serious attention to its development as a sugar island. Every inducement was offered to colonists from other islands to settle, and by royal proclamation in 1661, with the appointment of Lord Windsor as Governor of Jamaica, new settlers were guaranteed their rights and privileges as 'free-born subjects of England'. A start had been made and, in the words of Augier, Gordon, Hall and Reckord (1960:50), "the planters had taken the first steps to becoming the really influential people that they were to be in the eighteenth century."

In order to obtain cheap labour for the sugar estates, the planters imported the first African slaves into the Caribbean. With the development of the sugar plantations and the corresponding need for a cheap and intensive labour force, an organized trade in slaves between Africa and the West Indies was established and the increasing flow of African slaves across the Atlantic continued until Emancipation in 1838. This importation of slaves into the island, however, had begun before the British occupation. As Bell (1964:4) pointed out, although the need did not arise for more than comparatively few slaves during the Spanish period, yet by 1611 an estimated 44 per cent of the population were of African origin. With the English conquest of Jamaica in 1655, the Spaniards made good their escape to Cuba, but not without giving freedom to their slaves whom they left behind in the mountains to engage in guerrila warfare against the English; for they still continued to entertain hopes for a re-conquest of the island. These freed slaves were later to become famous as the Maroons and are still to be found in Jamaica today.

Growth of Population

It is estimated that in the years from the conquest of Jamaica in 1655 to 1808, the number of slaves brought into Jamaica in addition to those exported ranged between 736,000 and 759,000. Of the 17,200 people reckoned to be in Jamaica by 1673, over 50 per cent fell in the category of

black and coloured persons, and in a little more than two decades later these groups represented more than 80 per cent of a population of nearly 50,000. Alarmed at this imbalance in the racial groupings, the Jamaican Assembly enacted a series of acts up to 1749 calculated to encourage and stimulate the inflow of white immigrants into the island. But none of these attempts were really successful and it does not seem that the number of white indentured labourers imported into Jamaica hardly exceeded 4,000. As Bell (1964: 6) so succinctly described the situation:

> Later, in addition to English, Irish and others, the population of Jamaica gained Welsh, Scottish, French, Portuguese, German, East Indian, Chinese and Lebanese immigrants. But the total numbers of all these groups were small compared to the number of slaves brought to Jamaica across the Atlantic from Africa.

The following table, taken from Bell (1964:8) gives an interesting and valuable breakdown of the racial components for the years 1673-1960.

Some of the major implications of this comparison between the percentage distributions of the population by race are relevant and, therefore, worthy of note. There was a sharp decline in the percentage of white or European groups from 1673, but there was some recovery in numbers before the abolition of slavery. And then in the post-Emancipation period a steady and significant decline in the numbers and importance of this group is recorded with a movement in percentage from 4.2 in 1844 to a new low of 0.9 in 1960.

At the same time the Black and Coloured groups have

Table 6

Percentage Distribution of the Population of Jamaica by Race: 1673-1960*

Year	Black and Colored	White	Chinese+	East Indian+	Others	Total No. (in 000's)
1673	55	45	-	-	-	17.2
1696	84	21	-	-	-	(47.4)++
1736	85	8	-	-	-	(94.2)
1775	95	6	-	-	-	(209.6)
1788	88	6	-	-	-	(291.4)
1793	90	10	-	-	-	291.4
	Black / Colored					
1844	77.7 / 18.1	4.2	-	-	-	377.4
1861	78.5 / 18.4	3.1	-	-	-0.1	441.3
1871	77.6 / 19.8	2.6	-	-	-	506.2
1881	76.5 / 18.9	2.4	-0.1	1.9	0.2	580.8
1891	76.4 / 19.1	2.3	0.1	1.6	0.6	639.5
1911	75.8 / 19.6	1.9	0.3	2.1	0.3	831.4
1921	77.0 / 18.3	1.7	0.4	2.2	0.4	858.1
1943	78.1 / 17.5	1.1	1.0	2.1	0.2	1,237.1
1960	76.8 / 14.6	0.9	1.2	3.4	3.1	1,609.8

* The percentages given from 1673 through 1793 are from data compiled by Leonard Broom. "The Social Differentiation of Jamaica," American Sociological Review, 19 (April, 1954), p. 116; those given from 1844 through 1943 are from George W. Roberts, The Population of Jamaica, Cambridge: University Press, 1957, p. 65; those given for 1960 are from West Indies Population Census, 1960 (provisional), Bulletin No. 20 (Jamaica), Kingston, Jamaica, W.I.: Department of Statistics, 1962, p. 1.

\+ In 1943 and 1960 the Afro-Chinese and the Afro-East Indians, who might have been earlier included among the Colored are counted among the Chinese and East Indian respectively

++ Numbers in parentheses are census estimates which do not equal the sum of the racial components.

maintained their stability in terms of their highest percentage rating of the population, while the continued mixing of the races has seen an increase in the percentage of the groups called the Afro-Chinese and the Afro-East Indians.

It is this continued mixing of the races which Francis (1963:3-4) maintains will tend to contribute an increasing measure of demographic importance to that unidentifiable group classified in general terms as "others".

Social Groups and Social Classes Within Groups

The nature and structure of the plantation system was such that it produced a rigid stratification of the slave societies and engendered an artificial hierarchy based on social class and colour, so that the estate population was not just simply one of division into masters and slaves. Among the masters, a resident estate owner or attorney was on a higher social rung of the ladder than the overseer who, in his turn was a step above the book-keepers; and they regarded the white tradesmen and other white estate employees as their social inferiors.

In the same way, there were social groupings among the slaves based on a number of criteria ranging from his place of birth, colour, "for not all slaves were black", the social status of the slave's owner to the type of occupation in which the slave was engaged. The slave with some type of skill enjoyed some status and deference among his fellow

slaves while the domestic slave, by virtue of his association with his master, accrued to himself a measure of social prestige. The field slave was confined to the lowest social level unless he could prove his worth in some skill or in such fields as necromancy or faith-healing.

Dividing Lines

The direct outcome of the plantation economy was initially the establishment of three main social strata. The boundaries between the white upper and middle strata were by no means permanently drawn nor indeed were they always clear-cut, for there was some scope for social mobility between the two. Bearing in mind this qualification, the pattern of class stratification may be described in general terms as follows: the proprietors with their managerial and technical cadres represented by the attorneys and overseers formed the privileged plantocracy, while the intermediate class were the white employees--the so-called "book-keepers"--whose role was supervisory and whose social aspirations made them upward mobile. Because of their low socio-economic position and marginality of status in the society they mated and inter-married with the black women and thereby laid the foundation of another social class in Jamaican society--the coloured. As Richard Hart pointed out in the Daily Gleaner of August 15, 1972, p. 3, in commenting on this intermediate class of whites:

They were usually too poor to marry and customarily

> mated with slave women . . . Thereby were the foundations laid of the future coloured middle classes. But the book-keepers were not the only contributors to this process. In 1673 the ratio of men to women among the whites in Jamaica was two to one. By the mid-eighteenth century the corresponding ratio was three to two. And quite apart from this disproportion of the sexes any black woman who attempted to refuse the attentions of a member of the white supervisory staff did so at her peril.

A minority of skilled tradesmen and the white indentured servants completed the composition of the intermediate class. The black slaves were settled solidly at the bottom of the social scale.

It is against this general background of the social, demographic and historical perspectives of the island that it is proposed to look in overview at the development of education in general and to discuss the early development of Secondary Education in Jamaica, since this has particular relevance to the problem faced in the period on which this study concentrates.

Before doing so, however, some discussion of the social economic and political developments in the pre-Independence and post-Independence periods will be helpful.

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Pre-Independence Era

The year 1938 stands out as a landmark in the history of modern Jamaica. In this year, a hundred years after Emancipation, Jamaica, like the rest of the British Caribbean, witnessed a series of social and economic upheavals that were

to have far-reaching effects on the nature and tempo of the developments towards the attainment of full independence. The riots and island-wide disturbances of 1938 were the result of long-standing dissatisfaction with the appalling working conditions and the depressed economic status of the workers which was aggravated by the economic depression of the 1930's. Emerging as the labour leader in the protests and riots was Alexander Bustamante (now Sir Alexander Bustamante), whose charismatic leadership became the rallying point for the grievances of the oppressed against the social and economic inequalities of the time, associated as they were with all the undesirable features of British Colonial administration. Arising out of the social and economic chaos of 1938, however, was the formation of trade unions and political parties by Sir Alexander Bustamante and the late Norman Manley, his cousin, who was a distinguished West Indian Attorney-at-Law. And so in this respect, the outcome augured well for the social, economic and political advancement of the country. The authors of the Five Year Independence Plan-1963-1968: A Long-Term Development Programme for Jamaica, commented on this situation thus:

> The riots released pent-up energies, but these energies found creative rather than destructive outlets. The most significant aspect of these turbulent years was the spontaneity with which the people came together to organize themselves into political and industrial bodies. Trade unions and political parties under the leadership of Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley were formed of such strength and seriousness of purpose that the old system of government became unworkable (p. 4).

From the point of view of the British Government the disturbances were of such magnitude and significance, particularly in view of the critical global situation at the time, that they necessitated the urgent despatch towards the end of the same year of a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Moyne to investigate conditions not only in Jamaica but in the other British Caribbean territories as a whole. The publication of the full text of the Commission's Report was not released until June 1945 lest, in the words of the Information Department Memoranda (May, 1956: 4), "it should provide enemy countries with propaganda material". Nevertheless, many of the recommendations were made known as early as the beginning of 1939, and it is interesting to note that although the Commission's terms of reference were concerned primarily with social and economic reforms, several recommendations of a constitutional nature were put forward. They saw that economic and social problems can only be solved with an increasing participation of the local people in the political process. Two of the most important of these recommendations were: (a) a greater measure of popular political participation in the government and administration of their country and, (b) the extension of the franchise. The Commission was very searching in its diagnosis of the social ills which beset the Caribbean colonies and was no less pointed and clear in recording the reasons for this state of affairs. For example, in drawing attention to the neglect of colonial

administration in regard to the welfare of the African slaves when they were imported into the West Indies, the Report (Cmd. 6607, 1945: 7) reads in part:

> . . . no attempt was made to substitute any kind of social organization or moral standard for the somewhat elaborate tribal codes of the areas whence they were brought. The benefits of education and the institution of marriage were alike discouraged, and on Emancipation a large number of persons were left to shift for themselves without the support of traditions of self-help or mutual cooperation . . . The work of the religious bodies during this period served to win for the churches and religion a special place in the hearts and lives of the people. In developing education in particular the religious bodies have played a noteworthy part. But they were unable to exert more than a limited influence on either the moral standards or the social conditions of the community.

Prior to the Second World War, it was an essential part of British Colonial policy that the colonies should operate on the basis of economic self-sufficiency although the ultimate responsibility for meeting the deficit of any colonial budget rested with the Imperial Government. This took the form of grants-in-aid of administration and occasional special grants such as those made available for emergency relief after hurricanes. But it was not until the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 that the formulation of a policy of social and economic development planned specifically to promote the interests of the colonies was first given legal expression with the acceptance by the British Government of a positive role in such development. And it is true to say that the West India Royal Commission proved an important stimulus in the development of this new

policy. A direct result of the Act was the setting up of the Colonial Development and Welfare (C.D. & W.) Organization in the West Indies in order to:

(a) assist West Indian governments with the preparation of development projects;

(b) provide technical expertise, and

(c) prepare periodic reports on the economic and social progress of the region.

This C.D. & W. Organization was to become in the years ahead an important machinery for regional dialogue and cooperation. The Act of 1940 was superseded by a number of other Development and Welfare Acts in 1945, 1949, 1950 and 1955, with provision for greater expenditure of funds to aid colonial development. And so, whereas in 1940 the total allocation of aid to the British West Indies was £5.3 million, by the end of March, 1955 the allocation earmarked for their benefit was no less than £25 3/4 million. It is recorded (Information Department Memoranda: The British Caribbean, op. cit.) that "in Jamaica C.D. & W. funds represented about one third of the finance available" (p. 9).

The Structure of the Economy and Basic Economic Problems

The lack of a sense of security with its attendant restlessness and frustration may be attributed to two major factors, namely, the over-population of the island in relation to its limited resources, and the dependence on external

economic forces over which none of the territories in the area has any control. Poor resources impose a serious constraint on the scope for employment opportunities, and although it is true that there is an abundant supply of labour reserves with relatively low wages to attract the inflow of foreign capital for investment projects, the critical shortage of skilled labour and low productivity per man-hour have tended to inflate labour costs disproportionately with resultant reduction to some extent in the accrued advantages to the economy. British colonial policy was to aid extractive industries--agriculture, etc., not the development of manufacturing, since the colonies got their manufactured goods from Great Britain. In common with other British Caribbean colonies Jamaica depends heavily on imports for a wide range of goods including food and other necessities, while in the past her exports could be measured almost completely in terms of a few staple commodities. Relatively high levels of production costs coupled with the fact that the island's share of world output has not been sufficiently large to make an impact on global prices has meant a delicate vulnerability to any fall in world prices, not only for sugar but for other crops such as citrus and bananas. As the Five Year Independence Plan (op. cit.) puts it:

> The island is subject to the influence of overseas conditions, particularly in the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States of America, which are the main trading partners, the main sources of overseas capital

> and of tourists, and the areas to which Jamaicans emigrate (p. 11).

During the 1950's, however, the Jamaican economy received a tremendous boost which subsequently transformed its nature. The principal reason for this was the discovery of bauxite with the attendant rapid increase in industrial development and the corresponding measure of increased activity in the building industry. This substantial increase of activity in the productive sectors had a stimulating effect on the other sectors of the economy resulting in an overall high-level rate of development. There is evidence for this in the increase in the Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P.) from £70.1 million in 1950 to £252.5 million in 1962 at current prices, i.e., an increase of 261 per cent. The period from 1953 to 1957 saw the economy expanded with maximum growth rates not previously achieved. The year 1958 recorded only a very modest increase in the G.D.P. over the previous year and subsequent rates of growth never reached the levels registered in the mid-1950's.

Table 7 shows a comparison of the growth rate between the G.N.P. and the G.D.P. from which it may be seen that the former moved at a slower rate than the G.D.P. up to 1957 but it gathered a slightly quicker momentum after that date with the exception of 1960.

Table 8 sets out the per sector contribution to the G.D.P. over the period 1950-1962, and indicates what sectors of the economy were generating the demand for skilled labour.

Table 7

Gross Domestic Product at Factor Cost at Current Prices and Gross National Product at Current Prices: 1953-1962

Year	G.D.P. at Current Prices		G.N.P. at Current Prices	
	£m.	Annual % Increase	£m.	Annual % Increase
1953	106.7	-	114.6	-
1954	119.7	12.2	127.7	11.4
1955	136.4	14.0	145.3	13.8
1956	158.5	16.2	166.7	14.7
1957	191.9	21.1	199.6	19.7
1958	198.7	3.5	206.9	3.7
1959	212.1	6.7	221.8	7.2
1960	230.8	8.8	240.2	8.3
1961	244.3	5.8	254.6	6.0
1962	252.5	3.4	260.0	2.1

Source: Five Year Independence Plan: 1963-1968, p. 12.
A long term development programme for Jamaica.

Table 8

A Comparison of the Contribution of Key Sectors of the Economy to the GDP: 1950-1962

Sector	1950	1962
Agriculture and Forestry	30%	12%
Bauxite and Aluminum	-	8%
Manufacturing, Construction and Installation	18%	24%
Services:		
Distribution		
Government		
Transportation		
Communication	40%	43%

Source: Five Year Independence Plan: 1963-1968, p. 12.

Of interest, too, is the changing structure of the economy with a downward trend in the contribution of agriculture from 30 per cent in 1950 to 12 per cent in 1962, while at the same time the manufacturing and construction sector moved from 18 per cent to a contribution of 24 per cent over the same period, indicating that it was in these areas requiring a higher level of skills that the demand tended to increase. This is one of the main reasons why the number and quality of the secondary school products at the Second Cycle level seemed to assume greater importance.

Post-Independence Period

In 1962 and for the greater part of 1963 the records show that the Jamaican economy was affected by a recession. The reasons were many and varied, but in the main it was due to a combination of the following major factors. In the first place, Jamaica's withdrawal from the Federation of the West Indies following the Referendum on September 19, 1961 and the consequent collapse of the entire Federation as a political unit was associated with a lack of confidence in the stability of the region as perceived by some sections of the Jamaican society.

The collapse of this Federal political system was followed in a matter of months by Jamaica's attainment of Independence with all the uncertainties and forebodings about its likely success. It seemed, therefore, that a lapse of time was necessary for the turn of events to

demonstrate the restoration of confidence in the political stability and economy of the island. Finally, the economy suffered a recession commonly attributed to a retroactive wage increase for construction workers. A consequence was a slowing-down of activity in the construction sector.

The rather anomalous situation that has therefore arisen is that, whereas on the one hand the island was faced with a reduction in the inflow of foreign capital, on the other hand the level of imports continued to rise. While exports increased from $129 million to $285.8 million at current prices during the ten-year period, i.e., approximately 121 per cent, imports increased from $159.2 million to $458.7 or approximately 181 per cent. However, when an analysis is attempted in line with a global view of the post-independence period, it is discovered that between 1962 and 1971, the Gross Domestic Product of the country moved from $505 million to $1,032.2 million at current prices, or an increase of about 100 per cent. Likewise for the same period, per capita income showed a 70 per cent increase with the 1971 figure standing at $463 over $273 in the base year, i.e., 1962. It will be seen that, on an average, Jamaica's Gross Domestic Product increased by over 8 per cent per year between 1962 and 1971. Although the rising cost of living is not taken into account in these figures which would mean that in real terms the growth rate will be much less, perhaps in the region of nearly 7 per cent annually, nevertheless, "for a

developing country, or for any country, this is a very high level of economic growth" (The Daily Gleaner, August 8, 1972).

After a remarkable recovery in economic growth in the ensuing years, the trend has repeated itself and it would appear that in the middle of 1972 the economy was precariously poised in the middle of another economic recession. The Editorial in the issue of the Daily Gleaner (Ibid.) described it in this way:

> Today, we seem to be in the middle of another economic slump which started last year due to a rapid decrease of investment in bauxite and alumina; the international monetary situation and the forthcoming general elections. The pre- and post-election periods have created a great deal of hesitation on the part of businessmen and investors, both local and foreign (p. 8).

And the article went on to underscore the gravity of the situation by drawing attention to the fact that simultaneous with the increase in levels of income there have been increases in consumption resulting in the considerable rise in the importation of consumer goods.

A look at the following figures set out in Table form as indicated below is very revealing. Table 9 compares Jamaica's average per capita income with the developed countries of the U.S.A., Canada and the U.K. From this it will be seen that in this respect Jamaica's position is very favourable. Table 10 sets out the comparative standing of these countries in terms of Gross National Product for a similar ten-year period as covered in Table 9, i.e., 1960/61-

Table 9

A Comparison of Average Income Per Capita--Current Prices: 1960/61-1970/71

Countries	Years From 1960	From 1961	From 1962	To 1970	To 1971	Total Increase %	Annual Increase %
U.S.A.	US $2.219			$4.880		119.9	11.9
Canada		C $2,142		$4,169		94.6	9.4
U.K.			£480		£863	79.7	7.9
Jamaica	J $235.8			$429.8		83.2	8.3

Source: The Daily Gleaner. The Gleaner Co., Kingston, Jamaica, May 22, 1972, P. 31. Quoted from the measures used by developing countries U.N. Trade and Development Conference in Chile, 1971.

Table 10

Gross National Product-Constant Prices: 1960/61-1970/71

Countries	Years From 1960	1961	1966	to 1970	1971	Total Increase %	Annual Increase %
U.S.A.	$504 bil.			$790 bil.		56.7	5.6
Canada		C $39 bil.			C $66.6	70.7	7.0
U.K.	£22,816 mil.		£33,111 mil. (6 years only prior to devaluation)			45.1	7.5
Jamaica	J $431.8 Mil.			$737.7 mil.		70.8	7.0

Source: The Daily Gleaner. The Gleaner Co., Kingston, Jamaica, May 22, 1972, p. 31. Quoted from the measures used by developing countries U.N. Trade and Development Conference in Chile, 1971.

1970/71. Here again, Jamaica's growth rate has moved in a comparably satisfactory position as the three developed countries used in the comparison.

In terms of population increases, however, Jamaica is in a very much less favourable position than either the U.S. or the United Kingdom, particularly, as is made clear in Table 11. Whereas Jamaica's population increased by 18.7 per cent as compared with a 17 per cent increase in Canada for the period 1962-1971, there was an 8 per cent increase over the 10.7 per cent recorded for the U.S.A. and a considerably greater increase of 13.64 per cent over that of the U.K. The important point that emerges is that Jamaica's population increased much faster than any of the countries listed in Table 11.

Table 11

Increase in Population: 1962-1971

Countries	Per cent Increase
U.S.A.	10.7
Canada	17.0
U.K.	5.06
Jamaica	18.7

Source: The Daily Gleaner. The Gleaner Co., Kingston, Jamaica, May 22, 1972, p. 31. Quoted from the measures used by Developing Countries, U.N. Trade and Development Conference in Chile, 1971.

Despite Jamaica's impressive record of the

> . . . fantastic growth of the economy and the introduction of more sophistication, we find ourselves pretty much in the same position today, after ten years as we did at Independence (The Daily Gleaner, August 8, 1972, p. 8).

There are many reasons for this conclusion, but one of the most important is the unemployment situation which remains at a high level today. In fact, it is still one of the major social problems despite the spectacular economic growth rate over the period.

Unemployment

The importance of this problem is such as to warrant a closer look at some of the available figures relating to it. In a Report on the unemployment situation published by the Department of Statistics on the labour force for 1968 and 1969 and analyzed succinctly in the Daily Gleaner of July 28, 1972, p. 12, the reality of the situation emerges clear. To begin with, whereas in April, 1960 when a survey was done, the labour force was estimated at 648,000; in April 1969 the figure stood at 743,900, showing an absolute increase of 95,900 over the nine-year period. Of this labour force of 743,900 which included persons of 14 years and over who were either working or had no jobs but were actively looking for work, only 610,000 were employed. This gives an unemployment figure of about 22 per cent. What this means in effect is that while there was an increase of approximately 15 per cent in the labour force, the number of persons

recorded as being unemployed increased by about 8 per cent. It may be deduced from these employment statistics that the number of new jobs--in the region of 5,000--which were created annually was in no way in line with the vastly disproportionate increase in the labour force reckoned at about 10,000 yearly. No information was available on the matter of under-employment but the view, perhaps a somewhat exaggerated one, was expressed that this "could be as high as the employed labour force" (The Daily Gleaner, op. cit., p. 12). Further, according to the 1960 Census Report there were 15,189 males in the under-20 age group, or 77.8 per cent of the 19,533 in the category of persons seeking their first job, and 17,550 females or 62.1 per cent in the same age group out of a total of 28,226 persons who were seeking a job for the first time. The dilemma is that while there were vacancies unfilled the shortages existed in the fields requiring higher levels of education.

The Political and Constitutional Development of Modern Jamaica

The social and economic upheavals of 1938 created the conditions which made the political and constitutional advance along the road to nationhood imperative and inevitable. Government in Jamaica was Government on the Parliamentary model at Westminster. The Governor was the representative of the Sovereign and his nominated Council from the ranks of the plantocracy occupied a position synonymous

with the House of Lords. A House of Assembly corresponded to the House of Commons and was elected from among the people of property and influence and of the particular religious persuasion--the Church of England. History records the acrimonious and belligerent relationship that existed between successive Governors and their Assemblies right down to Emancipation.

In 1944 adult suffrage was granted to the people of Jamaica. Under the Constitution introduced in this year, a two-party Lower House, now known as the House of Representatives, was elected and consisted of 32 members, all of whom were elected by universal adult suffrage. The Legislative Council or the Upper House was entirely nominated by the Governor and its functions remained unchanged. The Governor presided over an Executive Council consisting of five nominated and ex-officio members and five members from the elected House of Representatives. Although these members were given the title of Ministers they had no executive responsibility. The Jamaica Labour Party, founded by (now Sir) Alexander Bustamante, as an offshoot of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union, just before the 1944 Constitution came into force, held the majority (22) of the 32 seats in the House. In the 1949 General Elections, the Jamaica Labour Party again controlled the House, this time with a total of 17 seats.

In 1953 changes in the Constitution provided for the

appointment of a Chief Minister and seven other Ministers drawn from the House of Representatives. The number of elected members in the Executive Council was thereby increased from five to eight, thus giving them majority over the official and nominated members with full ministerial status in the exercise of executive functions and responsibility. The Colonial Secretary, however, still remained responsible for such matters as defence and public security. In the 1955 General Elections, the third under adult suffrage held on January 12, the People's National Party formed by Norman Manley (now the late the Rt. Excellent), was returned to office with a total of 18 seats as against 14 for the J.L.P. Further constitutional advancement came in 1957 with the withdrawal of all official members from the Executive Council, thereafter known as the Council of Ministers, presided over by the Chief Minister.

On the 23rd of February, 1958, Jamaica became a member of the Federation of the West Indies. By the Jamaica (Constitution) Order in Council, 1959, which came into effect on July 4, 1959, Jamaica achieved full internal Self-Government with the British Government retaining responsibility for Defence and Foreign Affairs. The Council of Ministers was now renamed the Cabinet and the Chief Minister was redesignated Premier. In this same year there was another General Election and the People's National Party, under Norman Manley as Premier, retained control of the Government,

gaining 29 of the newly enlarged 45-seat House of Representatives.

On September 19, 1961 Premier Manley called a Referendum to determine the issue of Jamaica's continued participation in the political Federation of the West Indies. With a 54.1 per cent of the votes against continued membership, Jamaica withdrew from the Federation to seek independence alone in 1962. The two political giants, Manley and Bustamante, campaigned hard for the General Elections in April 1962 and the People's National Party lost to the Jamaica Labour Party by 19 seats to 26. And thus it was that Alexander Bustamante led the Government into Independence and became the first Prime Minister of Independent Jamaica on August 6, 1962. For the first ten years of Independence the Jamaica Labour Party remained the Government of Jamaica by the democratic process and the rule of law until their defeat at the polls by the People's National Party, led by Michael Manley, son of the late Premier, Founder and National Hero, on February 29, 1972.

The Constitution of Jamaica today, contained in the Jamaica (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962, provides for a Governor-General appointed by Her Majesty the Queen, and for a bi-cameral Legislature. The Prime Minister in turn is appointed by the Governor-General who also appoints the Leader of the Opposition. The Cabinet consisting of the Prime Minister and no less than eleven other Ministers is

the executive instrument of Government. Twenty-one Senators are appointed to the Senate in the ratio of 13 to 8. The House of Representatives consists of 53 elected members. Figure 3 sets out the organization chart of the Government of Jamaica.

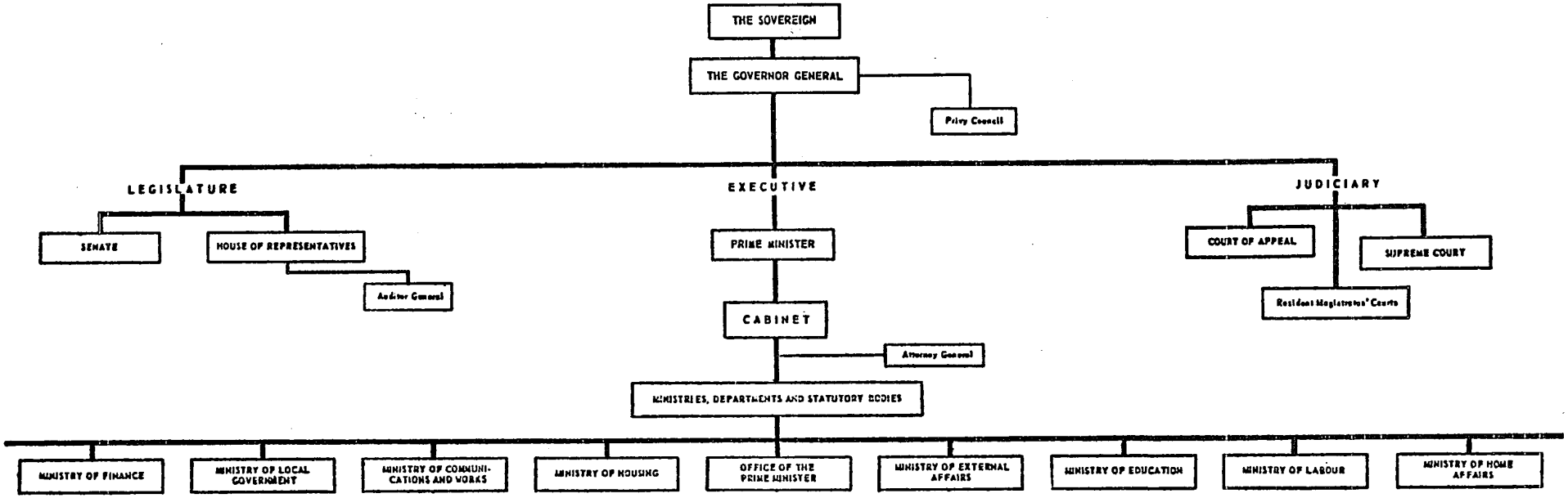


Figure 3

Organization of the Government of Jamaica

CHAPTER III

GENERAL BACKGROUND OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

An Overview

Jamaica's status as a British Colony lasted for 307 years and as a result its educational system was based on the metropolitan model. In addition, it reflected the peculiar class and colour stratification of Jamaican society. It was divided into two separate and parallel sections--elementary education for the masses and secondary education for the ruling classes.

Elementary education which was free was associated with the tradition of cheapness that was characteristic of English elementary education designed for the working classes to fit them in manners, morals and skill for "that sphere of life into which it has pleased God to call them" (Agricultural Reporter, January 1892, Gordon, 1963:135). For the children of the ex-slaves the intention was primarily to provide them with some facility in the reading of the Bible in preparation for salvation. The quality and provision for this type of education have always left much to be desired and even in recent times the reported criticisms of the system have increased considerably. One instance of these quoted from the Daily Gleaner (mid-island weekly) for June 15, 1972, will suffice:

> Primary schools were built to fit the children of the slaves for their position in life. The secondary schools were for the better class and this trend had continued . . . There is need for reform to correct the injustices established in the past and make the primary school the school for all (p. 15).

Since the whole concept of education and the implementation of its policies and programmes have their roots in the past, it may be useful to look briefly at some of the relevant historical evidence.

Frank Candall (1911:1) noted that the first official reference to education in the history of Jamaica was on February 23, 1663, on which date a bill bearing the King's signature empowered:

> . . . the treasurer of the Exchequer to pay the sum of £500 yearly to Thomas Povey to be by him transmitted and equally distributed to five ministers serving in Jamaica or to four ministers and one schoolmaster as shall seem fit to the Governor.
>
> Jamaica then apparently preferred preaching to teaching--there being at the time obviously few children of the teachable age--for there is no further reference to the schoolmaster.

In 1671, among the list of enquiries directed to Sir Thomas Modyford, Governor of Jamaica, by the Imperial Government was: "What provision for instructing the people in the Christian religion and for paying the Ministry?" No mention was made of secular education. It is characteristic of the social philosophy of the time that ignorance should remain an essential ingredient of the condition of slavery. As Gordon (1963:9) puts it: "The occasional advocates of education for slaves meant instruction in the Christian religion."

With Emancipation, the first real opportunity presented itself for the provision of education for the people at large. In fact, the concept of a public system of universal education was enunciated in the Emancipation Act of 1833 with the provision of a grant of money known as the Negro Education Grant to promote the education of the ex-slaves. The amount of money offered was £30,000 for five years on an annual basis; but there was an annual decrease in the grant by the Imperial Government until it ended in 1845. The number of emancipated slaves in Jamaica according to the Colonial Office Memorandum of December 8, 1835 (Gordon, 1963:26) was 311,692--the largest of all the West Indian territories--and the first allocation was £7,500. The local legislature was entrusted with the legal responsibility to enforce compulsory education. With the decision of the British Government to entrust the administration of the grant to the religious bodies, they embarked upon a plan of school expansion and the formulation of ambitious education programmes. During the period of the grant the funds were augmented with the proceeds from various bequests and charities, the Mico Charity making the greatest contribution. Thus it was that the stage was set for a system of popular education.

Secondary Education

In the early days secondary education was the preserve of the plantocracy--the ruling classes of planters and

merchants connected with the sugar trade. Property and capital were the sine qua non for membership of these elites. For them secondary education meant the type of education offered at the "public" schools in England with the emphasis on training for leadership positions in the Church, the Government, the learned professions and the Army; and it was to England that their children were sent to get a secondary education. Cundall (1911:2), quoting from Leslie (1740), "New History of Jamaica," puts it like this: "The Gentlemen whose Fortunes can allow it, send their children to Great Britain, where they have the Advantage of a polite, generous Education." For the local whites who could not afford to do so, their children received their education in the locally established secondary schools.

In the development of secondary education, the governments and religious bodies, sometimes in co-operation, followed an English example by re-deploying the funds accruing from bequests left particularly by wealthy planters and merchants in the 18th Century to found schools for the sons of white settlers, for whom the expense of an education in England was out of reach. Several new secondary schools were established in this way. The foundation of four of the oldest High Schools--Munro, Rusea's, Titchfield and Manning's --may be cited as examples of the exclusive nature of secondary education at the time, with its metropolitan orientation. All the inputs into the system--teachers, curriculum, books,

ideas and values--were directly imported from England. But one of the implications of this type of education was that it served to permeate the system with, and perpetuate, the discriminating values in a society that was marked and marred by a social code of dominance-subservience relationships. As Shirley Gordon (1963:224) pointed out:

> For West Indians, secondary education was a means of emulating and competing with English colonial administrators and professional people. In most cases they welcomed a pale replica of English secondary or public school education as a means of showing that they could qualify in the same way as Englishmen for posts that Englishmen filled in the West Indies.

Side by side with this elitist brand of secondary education were the private and secondary schools, day or boarding, that sprang up exclusively for the children of planters and expatriates resident in Jamaica or in the neighbouring West Indian territories. The concept that secondary education could be, and did in fact become, at least for the privileged minority who could afford it, a powerful economic instrument in the achievement of upward social mobility, gained ground and spread rapidly. Confident in the knowledge that their sons would be assured of a position of social respectability in the community if they secured "white collar" jobs, the vast majority of parents saw in secondary education the means for the fulfilment of their expectations and there was an increasing demand for it. But, in fact, the number of children who were able to get it in proportion to the number seeking it and those who

could benefit from the type that was then being offered was very small. This was one of the points made in the West India Royal Commission Report when they looked, inter alia, into the system of education in Jamaica as late as 1939, following the social upheavals and riots of the previous year. The Report which was only published in June, 1945, stated that:

> Secondary schools exist in the West Indies many of which provide an excellent classical education, but they provide for only a small proportion even of the children who pass through the primary schools. As it is, unemployment is rife among the products of secondary education owing to the lack of suitable "white collar" jobs and the disinclination of the pupils to take employment in agriculture as at present organized (p. 99).

This "disinclination" is not hard to explain. As D.R. Manley (1963:51) suggested:

> The individual frequently sees education as a major, if not the main avanue of social mobility, and in the West Indies, in particular, with its highly stratified and relatively rigid class system, education provides one of the few important channels through which the lower social groups can climb into the relatively privileged ranks of the middle classes.

And he went on to point out that it is secondary or high school education which "ensures the greatest employment opportunities for the future, and which carries the greatest prestige" (p. 51).

Added to this, as the whole range of government activities expanded, creating new types of jobs in the civil service, mainly of a sub-technical and clerical nature, "such as the paying out of funds, the administration of

buildings and services and a vast increase in government correspondence and accounts" (Augier, Gordon, Hall and Reckord, 1960:241), the qualification required for employment was a level of education comparable to that provided in the secondary schools. It is not surprising, therefore, that there has always been competition for the limited number of scholarship places available in these schools.

With the introduction of universal adult suffrage into the island by the 1944 Constitution--"the most advanced at the time in the British West Indies" (Black, 1965:213), the political pace quickened under competent leadership with rapid advances towards Self-Government on July 4, 1959, in preparation for Independence on August 6, 1962. All these changes in the political system were to have their effects on the society as a whole and on the educational system in particular. A great expansion in secondary education was one of the results. Aubrey Phillips (Unpublished Paper, University of the West Indies, February, 1967) provides evidence for this by showing that "an enrolment of 3,000 pupils in secondary schools in 1948 grew to 8,000 by 1956 and some 22,000 today". Vernon (1961), in a study which he conducted entitled, "Selection for Secondary Education in Jamaica", provides additional weight for the existence of this trend in the increase in secondary school enrolment by comparing the situation in 1940 with that in 1960, which showed an increase of over 14,000 pupils for the period (p. 9).

Up until 1957, admission to secondary schools was largely determined by the schools themselves with the provision made for a small number of scholarships to be allocated to the children of poor parents; and we are told that in 1954 (Manley, 1963:51) the number of places available in the high schools was in the region of 8,000. What this meant in effect was that the most of these places would go to the children of those parents who could afford to pay for their education. An annual government award of 25 scholarships, called Code and Unprovided Area Scholarships, augmented by 100 scholarships awarded by the schools themselves was made until 1956 when the Government took over the responsibility for all scholarship awards which were increased to the annual figure of 485. The actual numbers of scholarships which were provided for the four years commencing in 1956 and providing full fees and grant-in-aid are given by Vernon (1961:10) as follows:

1956 (i.e. starting school year in January, 1957)	650
1957 (i.e. starting school year in January, 1958)	1,582
1958 (i.e. starting school year in January, 1959)	1,933
1959 (i.e. starting school year in January, 1960)	1,915

With the announcement of the Government's new educational programme in 1957 there was a very substantial increase in the number of scholarships and free places tenable at the Secondary High Schools, and these were awarded to children between the ages of 10 years 5 months and 12 years 11 months on the strength of their performance in a Common Entrance

Examination which was introduced for the first time in 1957. It was officially estimated that approximately 25 per cent of the children falling within the specified age range did in fact sit the examination. The following figures quoted from a study done by Douglas Manley (1963:53) indicate the trend in the substantial increase in the number of free and fee-paying places open to children wishing to enter a High School. The figures are presented in table form as follows:

Table 12

Results of Common Entrance Examination: 1957-1961

Year	No. of Examinees	Awarded Free Places or Gov't. Scholarships		Eligible for Grant-in-Aid Places	
		Number	Percentage of Entry	Number	Percentage of Entry
1957	14,955	1,582	10.5	No data available	
1958	17,383	1,933	11.1	2,165	15.04
1959	17,522	1,915	10.9	2,599	14.8
1960	16,316	1,803	11.1	2,334	14.3
1961	18,159	2,134	11.7	1,815	10.0

Further changes in regard to the selection for entry to the High Schools have taken place over the years in consequence of the shift in emphasis from the elitist concept of education to one of civic right. The first major step in this direction was taken by the Government that came into office shortly before Independence on August 6, 1962. One of

the early acts of the administration was to carry out an analysis of the 1961 Common Entrance Examination results on the basis of the number of entrants from the different types of schools and it was established (Ministry Paper, No. 31, 1962, p. 2) that of the total number of Scholarships and Free Place Awards, the percentage per type of school was as follows:

Preparatory Schools	-	32 per cent
High Schools	-	33 per cent
Primary Schools	-	6 per cent

Approximately 84,000 children were recorded as being enrolled in Primary schools and 4,000 in other schools. The Paper reads in part:

> It is therefore proposed that as from 1962-63, 70% of the available free places based on the Common Entrance Examination will be awarded to pupils from Primary Schools and 30% to pupils from other schools.

In justifying this policy the former Minister of Education, speaking in the Jamaican Parliament in the 1962-63 Session, put it this way:

> When it is considered that in 1961 there were 84,000 Primary School children eligible to sit and that they received a total of only 978 free places (including those awarded to teachers' children) while of 4,262 non-Primary children as many as 1,555 were awarded free places, this Government feels that injustice of this kind might result in making the poorer classes bitter and resentful (Jamaica Hansard, Session 1962-63, No. 1, p. 137).

And in developing the theme of the proposed changes in secondary education in line with the concept of the democratization of education at this level, the former Minister went on to elaborate on some of the policies that were being

considered, namely, the establishment of a system of Comprehensive Schools, in order to put secondary education within the reach of a very large number of children whose parents were unable to meet the expenses involved for the type of education offered at the traditional High Schools. Declaring that his original intention was to provide for the establishment of as many of these schools as possible throughout the island, it was later conceded that financial constraints would make such a scheme unworkable in the face of other urgently competing priorities such as the provision of school-places. Giving his Budget speech in Parliament during the 1963-64 Session, the former Minister said:

> I had hopes that it would be possible to make every Senior School in Jamaica into a Comprehensive Secondary School. Later, I discovered that that could not be done now, and I cut down the Programme and hope to have two, at least, one at Frankfield and another in Kingston (Jamaica Hansard, Session 1963-64, p. 73).

In fact these two schools of the Comprehensive type were built in the areas indicated and went into operation at the beginning of 1964. Further changes in terms of the diversification of Secondary Education took place in the next two years with the implementation of new policies and programmes contained in Ministry Paper No. 73, December, 1966, entitled "New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica". In this document an £8,000,000 development programme for education over the next three years was set out in detail and of this amount, borrowed largely from the World Bank and other lending agencies, £7 million were earmarked primarily for the

construction of 50 new Junior Secondary Schools by September, 1969 to accommodate 37,530 pupils. A diversified secondary education programme was introduced into the structure of these new types of secondary schools described by the then Minister himself as constituting "a new concept and organization within the Jamaican Education System" (A Teacher's Guide to Jamaica: Ministry of Education Publication, Kingston, Jamaica, 1971:29).

Unlike the traditional Secondary Grammar Schools where admissions are based almost completely on performance in a competitive Common Entrance Examination, the Junior Secondary schools were conceived to accommodate all children from the Primary Schools on a non-selective basis once they attain the age of 12 years, and to provide a type of free secondary education for the 12 to 15 age cohorts, for the most of whom the education at this level would be terminal.

The objectives of this programme as perceived by the Government of the day and set out in the "New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica" read in part as follows:

> The new philosophy is that opportunity for the best education that the country can afford must be open to every child, because all children are equally important. Lack of wealth should not therefore, frustrate or handicap the education of any child . . .

Drawing particular attention to the fact that whereas,

> . . . under the old Colonial philosophy, secondary and university education was the monopoly of the ruling classes, and was intended for only the elite, . . .

the author of Ministry Paper (No. 73) sounded a clear note of confidence in the realization of its objectives by declaring

that:

> From now on Education will be a unifying and not a stratifying force in our society. While equality of opportunity may still remain an elusive Utopian ideal, the poverty or low social status of parents will no longer be a barrier to a sound education nor will it determine the social, economic or civic future of any child. As a result of this Educational Revolution no Jamaican child will be debarred by the circumstances of his birth, or by his poverty from qualifying for any position in this country (p. 1).

THE STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND PROBLEMS OF ILLITERACY

The Structure of the Educational System

Educational facilities in Jamaica are provided in public and private institutions. Formal education may begin at four years of age, but this type of education, termed pre-primary or early childhood education, is usually offered only in private schools--though recently, the Jamaican Government, aided by the Van Leer Foundation of Holland, has been providing this pre-primary education for a large section of the Jamaican public.

Primary education begins at the age of 6 and continues through 11+, i.e., it covers Grades 1-6. The great majority of institutions offering this type of education are public primary schools although there are quite a number of private primary schools which children of the more well-to-do parents attend. Some secondary schools still have private schools, often referred to as preparatory schools, attached directly or indirectly to them as a legacy of the past, since most middle class parents did not want their children

attending the public primary schools.

At 11+ a selection based on the performance of the total number of children from the primary schools (public and private), all-age schools and preparatory schools who sit the Government Common Entrance Examination determines the admission of some 4,500 children to the Grammar Schools as Free Place and Grant-Aided pupils. In 1972, for example, the terminal year of this study, 27,000 candidates sat for the Common Entrance Examination (Vide Chapter IV, p. 96). Individual Secondary High Schools may also admit approximately 2 per cent of their annual intake as full fee-paying pupils (i.e., the tuition fees plus the Government subsidy, usually an additional amount roughly equivalent to the tuition fees) provided there is the accommodation and the Principal of the school is satisfied that these pupils are of the required standard of entry.

The vast majority of these pupils who did not qualify for entry to the Grammar Schools, together with all the other children of 12 years of age who are enrolled in the Primary Schools would go automatically on a non-selective basis to:

a. The Junior Secondary Schools;
b. The Senior Department of All-Age Schools; and
c. The Comprehensive Schools in those areas in which these are located.

The education of these children which begins at the age of 12 is called First Cycle Secondary Education and continues until

the age of 15, i.e., Grades 7-9.

As regards the Secondary Technical High Schools the minimum age of entry is 13 years and admission is determined by the performance of 13-15 year olds from the Senior Departments of the Primary Schools in a separate Entrance Examination set by the Government for this purpose.

At the end of Grade 9, pupils in the Junior Secondary Schools and Comprehensive Schools who do not pass the Grade 9 Achievement Test for entry to Grammar Schools and Technical Schools may get further training in Vocational Schools or Trade Training Centres, but the majority come on to the labour market.

Second Cycle education is offered in: (a) Grammar Schools (Grades 7-13) for most of the children who come in at age 12, and Grades 9-13 for those from the Junior Secondary Schools who come in at age 15 (of this group only a very small number reach Grade 13); (b) Technical High Schools, Grades 8-11; (c) Comprehensive Schools, Grades 7-11, and (d) Vocational Schools, Grades 10-11. At the end of Grade 11 the General Certificate of Educatien Examination of Cambridge or London (chiefly the former) is taken, as well as the Jamaica School Certificate; but the G.C.E. Examinations are the most popular because of the guarantee of "white collar" jobs and social mobility offered by the possession of these Certificates. At the end of Grade 13 (6th Form) pupils sit the G.C.E. at the Advanced Level for entry to the University of the West Indies or higher education elsewhere.

Post-Secondary Education

This is offered at:

a. The Jamaica School of Agriculture;

b. Teachers' Colleges;

c. The College of Arts, Science and Technology;

d. The University of the West Indies at:

(i) The Mona Campus--Jamaica;

(ii) The St. Augustine Campus--Trinidad, and

(iii) The Cave Hill Campus--Barbados.

Grade 13 with 2-3 passes at the "A" level is the normal entry requirement to the U.W.I. and Grade 11 qualifies students for courses at the Jamaica School of Agriculture, the six Teachers' Colleges and the College of Arts, Science and Technology.

The University of the West Indies is a regional university with the main campus located at Mona in Jamaica. The student enrolment at Mona in the 1969-70 academic year was approximately 4,000 with a 1969 graduating class of 570 (The National Atlas of Jamaica. Kingston: Town Planning Department, Ministry of Finance, November 1971, p. 64).

The Jamaica School of Agriculture offers a post-Secondary non-university course in agriculture. In 1968-69 there were 253 students on roll.

The College of Arts, Science and Technology is a technical training post-secondary institution with a total college population in 1970 of 1,450 students consisting of:

400 full-time students;

600 part-time day students, and

450 part-time evening students.

The United Theological College is responsible for the training of persons of the Protestant faith for the Ministry (priests and deaconesses). There were 78 students enrolled in 1971. Figure 4 presents a detailed chart of the Educational System of Jamaica, while Figure 5 gives a clear picture of the system as it stood in 1970.

Basic Schools

In the early 1950's it became the policy of Government to give recognition or a measure of subsidy to those privately-run basic schools which were accommodated in safe community-owned buildings (e.g., church halls, community centres, etc.), and which met the approved satisfactory standards of: (a) literacy on the part of the teachers and, (b) physical facilities including proper sanitary conveniences. Table 13 shows the increase in the number of schools recognized up to March, 1970.

Infant Schools and Infant Departments

These differ from Basic Schools in that they are already an integral part of the primary school system. The salaries of the teachers in these Infant Schools and departments are paid by the Government in accordance with the approved salary scales. The teachers are normally college-trained and in some instances have specialist qualifications

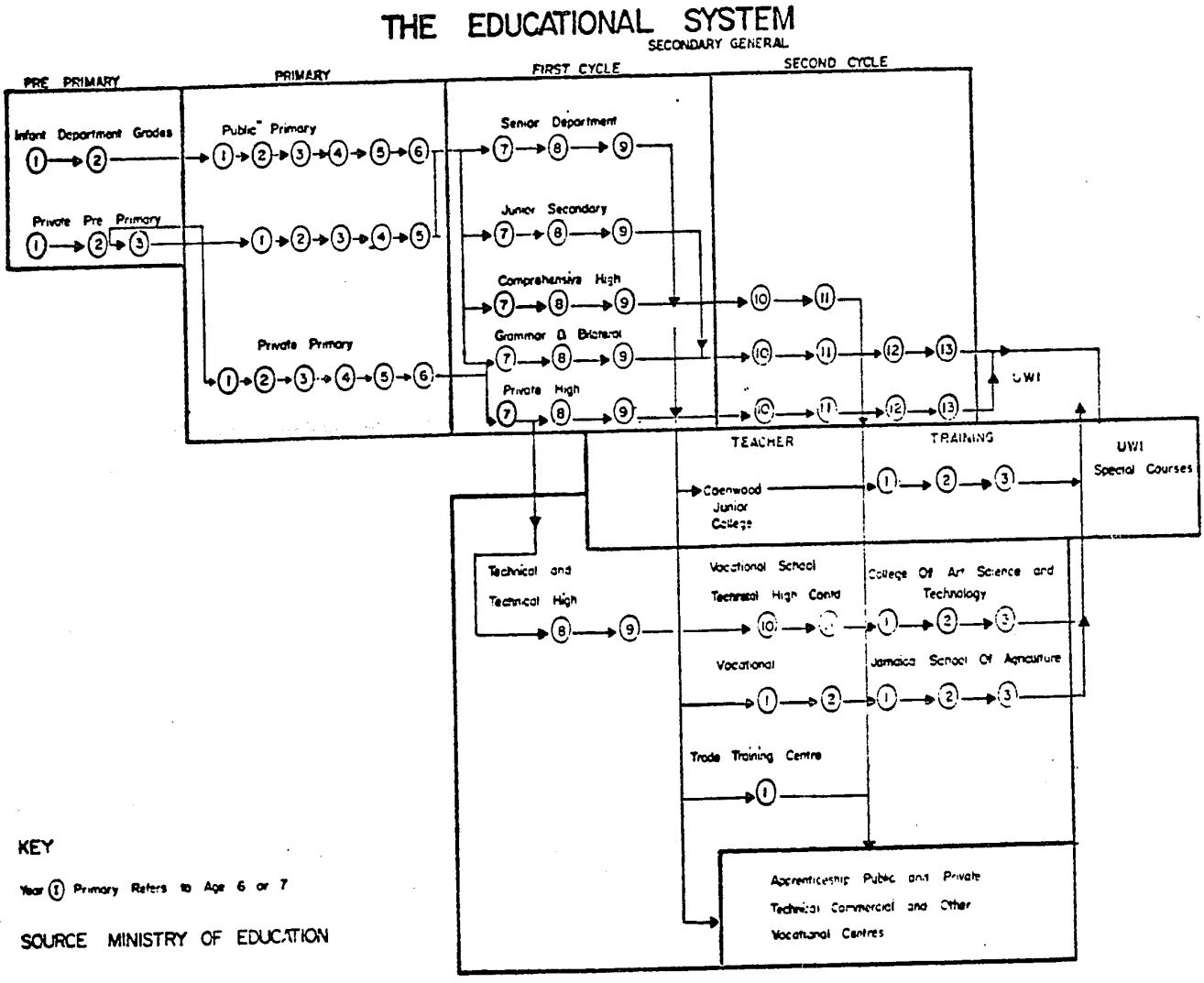


Figure 4

The Educational System of Jamaica

Structure	Age-Group	Equivalent Grades	Institutions
University and other further education			University of the West Indies, College of Arts, Science and Technology, Jamaica School of Agriculture, Teachers' Training Colleges.
Second-Cycle Secondary Education	18-19 17-18 16-17 15-16	13 12 11 10	Secondary High Schools Technical High Schools High School (Comprehensive) Vocational School.
Junior Secondary Education	14-15 13-14 12-13	9 8 7	Junior Secondary Schools and Lower Forms of High Schools.
Primary Education	11-12 10-11 9-10 8-9 7-8 6-7	6 5 4 3 2 1	Primary and/or Preparatory Schools.
	5-6		Infant and Basic School
Early Childhood	3-4 2-3		Nursery School-Day Nurseries or Day-Care Centres

Figure 5

The Education System: 1970

Table 13

Increase in Number of Basic Schools Recognized by Government

Year	Number of Recognized Schools
March, 1953	161
March, 1968	518
March, 1970	556

Source: Ministry of Education

in Infant Education.

Educational Administration

Formal education in Jamaica is directly under the control of the Ministry of Education which is the central authority. The Minister of Education who is a member of the Government, is the political head of the Ministry, and he is assisted by a Parliamentary Secretary and a Minister of State.

Appointments to the staff of the Ministry are Civil Service appointments and are in principle not determined by political considerations. The Permanent Secretary who is a senior Civil Servant is the executive head of the Ministry which is organized into different administrative sections as follows:

a. Primary Education

b. Post-Primary Education

c. Technical and Vocational Education

d. Examinations

e. Establishments (Ministry Staff and Teachers)

f. Project Implementation

g. Finance and Accounts

h. Planning and Educational Materials and Aids

There is a Chief Education Officer with responsibility for the overall machinery dealing with the supervision of schools. A Chief Architect heads the Building Section.

All public educational institutions are supported financially by the Ministry either fully or by grants-in-aid. Its functions and responsibilities are many and varied, ranging from the provision of programmes for school broadcasts, correspondence courses, the setting of minimum standards of educational provision to the control of the training and recruitment of teachers, the setting of principles governing the registration and employment of teachers and the fixing of salary scales.

The role of the Education Officers is that of liaison between educational institutions and the Ministry. Their responsibilities include:

a. School visits and supervision, reviewing and reporting on the content and value of the education provided in schools;

b. Acting as advisers to individual teachers;

c. Conducting school examinations;

d. Supplying the Ministry with professional service;

e. Supervising trained teachers undergoing internship, and

f. Conducting in-service training courses as well as special courses.

Figure 6 shows the hierarchical structure of the Ministry of Education.

The Problems of Illiteracy

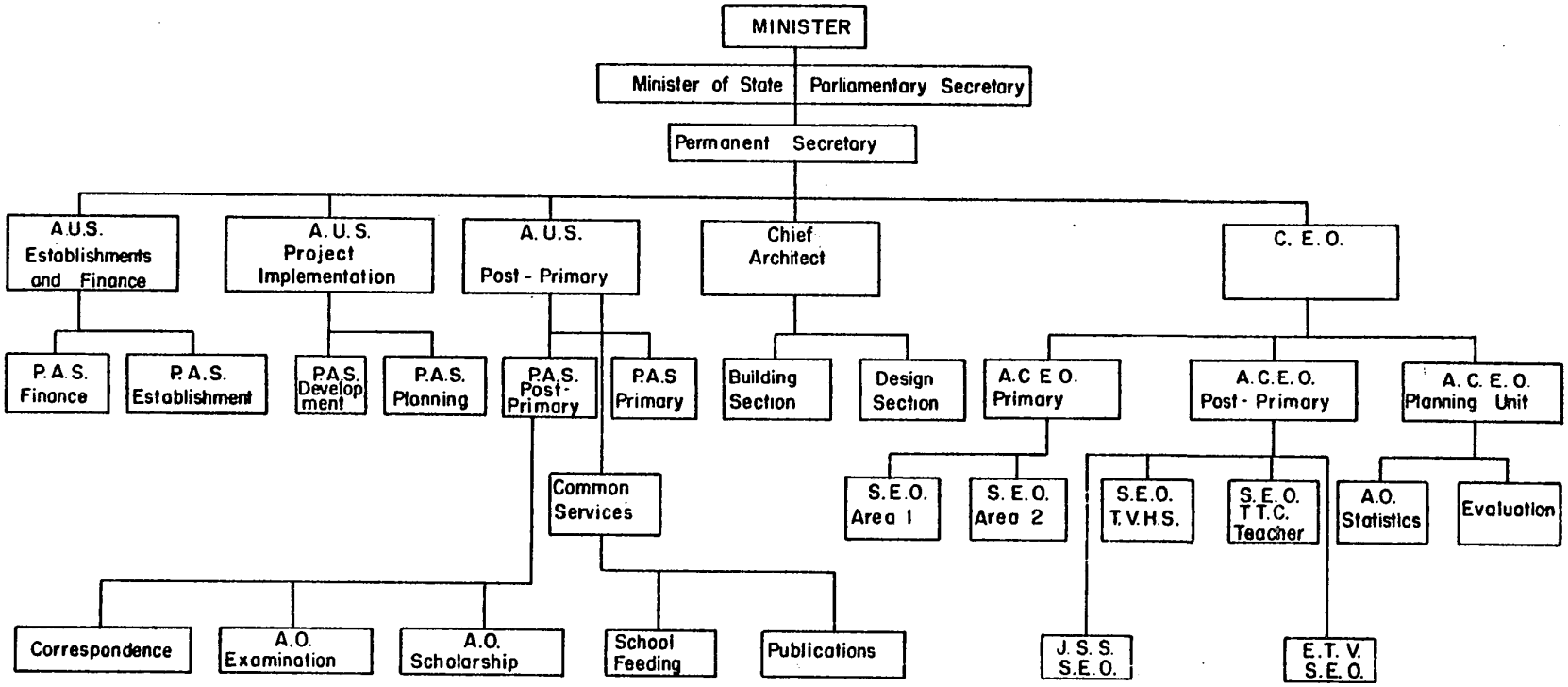
Dealing with the subject of education broadly under the chapter heading of "Problems of Social Development and Integration", the Government document entitled Five Year Independence Plan: 1963-1968 begins with these words:

> In spite of considerable effort on the part of the Government over the years to provide adequate educational facilities for Jamaica, large gaps still remain. The country's limited resources and rapid population growth have made the task very difficult (p. 44).

The same note of the urgency and magnitude of the task facing the educational policy-makers of the time was expressed in the statement contained in the Information Department Memoranda: The British Caribbean, May, 1956. It reads as follows:

> It is true that in recent decades there has been some progress under difficult conditions and that illiteracy rates on the whole are falling steadily. Nevertheless, much remains to be done, particularly as the child population is outstripping the number of new school places (p. 14).

For the year 1961, the attendance of the 7-14 age group in the Primary schools was only 62 per cent of the enrolment while, as was pointed out in Chapter II (p. 30),



C.E.O = Chief Education Officer
A.C.E.O = Assistant Chief Education Officer
S.E.O. = Senior Education Officer
A.U.S. = Assistant Under Secretary
P.A.S. = Principal Assistant Secretary

A.O. = Administrative Officer
J.S.S. = Junior Secondary Schools
T.V.H.S. = Technical and Vocational High Schools
E.T.V. = Educational Television
T.T.C. = Teacher Training Colleges

Figure 6

Organization of the Ministry of Education

the percentage of the 5-14 age group who were not in attendance at school in 1960 was given as 16.4 per cent (Francis: op. cit., 3-5). In 1963 it was stated (Five Year Independence Plan 1963-1968:44) that although there were only about 220,000 places available in Primary schools, the estimated school age population in the 7-14 age group was 339,000. The acute inadequacy of school accommodation is readily apparent. There is no doubt that this factor had a direct bearing on the overall standard of education of persons seeking a job for the first time, which, as Francis pointed out, was "relatively low" (p. 8). The breakdown by formal levels of education for this category of persons seeking their first job (males: 77.8 per cent and females 62.1 per cent in the under-20 age group) would seem to confirm this view. Of the 19,533 males, 2,424 of them or 12.4 per cent are recorded as never having attended school. Table 14 sets out the position.

Side by side with the inadequacy of accommodation which applied to virtually all levels of the educational system, there was a major problem of illiteracy. The 1943 census put the illiteracy rate for the under-20 age group at 15.8 per cent and the average for the whole population at 25.6 per cent. In this respect Jamaica does not bear favourable comparison with the other two West Indian islands of Trinidad and Barbados. Their census surveys, which were carried out in 1946, reported Trinidad as having 16.7 per

Table 14

Persons Seeking a Job for the First Time by Sex and Educational Level: 1960

	Total Number	Never Attended School	Received 4-8 Years of Primary Education	Had Some Secondary Education	Had a School Certificate
Males	19,533	2,424 (12.4%)	14,905 (76.3%) (i)	425 (2.2%) (iii)	132 (0.7%) (iv)
Females	28,226	1,933 (6.8%)	23,336 (82.7%) (ii)	830 (2.9%) (iii)	226 (0.8%) (iv)

Source: Francis, O.C., 1963:8-8. The People of Jamaica Department of Statistics, Kingston Jamaica.

Note: (i) 0.7% passed the 2nd or 3rd Jamaica Local Examinations

(ii) 1.6% passed the 2nd or 3rd Jamaica Local Examinations

(iii) Did not pass a recognized School Certificate Examination

(iv) School Certificate referred to the Certificate awarded by the Overseas Examining bodies of Cambridge or London and was normally taken by Secondary School pupils, private candidates and a few others from other types of schools.

cent illiteracy among the under-20 age group while the population average was given as 22.5 per cent. The position in regard to Barbados is unique for, apart from the national average of 7.2 per cent illiteracy, there was the remarkable achievement of a mere 1.6 per cent illiteracy among persons in the under-20 age category in the population. Subsequent trends do not appear to indicate any encouraging improvement in regard to this matter in Jamaica. In fact, current opinion is suggestive of the view that the situation seems to have deteriorated.

Writing in the Daily Gleaner of December 5, 1965, the Secretary of the Jamaica Teachers' Association drew attention to Jamaica's unfavourable standing educationally vis-a-vis her Caribbean neighbours, pointing out that whereas in 1962 Government expenditure on education represented 15 per cent of the national budget, the year 1965 saw a reduction of this figure to something in the region of 12 per cent. The Secretary compared the percentage of G.N.P. spent by some other countries on education with that spent by Jamaica. His breakdown follows:

U.S.S.R. - 7 per cent of G.N.P. on Education
U.S.A. - 5 per cent of G.N.P. on Education
U.K. - 4.2 per cent of G.N.P. on Education
Costa Rica - 4 per cent of G.N.P. on Education
Jamaica - 2.3 per cent of G.N.P. on Education

He ended by saying that "this is our estimate of the value of

education" (The Daily Gleaner: op. cit.).

Returning briefly, in summary, to the problem of illiteracy, the present Government that took office in March, 1972 launched a massive literacy campaign involving 20,000 volunteers aimed at eliminating illiteracy in Jamaica in four years. This urgent positive action was taken following the disturbing disclosure that nearly 500,000 adults or approximately 25 per cent of the population are illiterate. This is a matter of profound gravity worthy of the planned national effort to mobilize all the resources of the country to achieve the desired results. The gravity of the situation is confirmed by the note of urgency that is conveyed in the pictorial advertisements that appeared in the national newspaper, The Daily Gleaner (Appendix 1, Figure 7, p.214).

CHAPTER IV

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

Prior to 1962 the education that was provided in the existing High Schools of the island was a replica of the metropolitan model of Grammar school education. Accordingly, it was heavily classical in content and academic in orientation. However, over time, while the academic orientation continued, the curriculum of these schools became progressively modified with the introduction of the sciences--Physics, Chemistry, Biology--though in most of them the Arts Subjects--History, English Literature, etc.,--were still heavily emphasized. The Grammar schools catered for only a small section of the population who were likely to fill elite positions in the society. As was indicated in the previous chapter, this type of education was not free, and admission to these schools was determined almost completely by the ability of parents to pay fees, which meant in effect that the social selection mechanism for these schools operated in such a way that it favoured the entry of children from the upper and middle classes only.

With the attainment of Independence and the coming into office of a new Government, the principle of democratization in education was actively pursued, and bold policies consistent with this principle were initiated. One

of the first indications of change in the existing structure of secondary education came as early as 1962 when the then Minister of Education declared in Parliament that the

> Government has already accepted the principle of comprehensive schools, and something for sure will be done about that during 1963; but a lot of things are yet under study . . . and Government is not yet ready to put a Ministry Paper on the table of this Honourable House (Hansard: Session 1962-63, No. 1, p. 43).

In fact the policy decision to set up two Comprehensive Schools, one in Kingston and the other in the rural areas, was contained in Ministry Paper No. 15 of 1963 in which a Comprehensive School was described as:

> . . . one which seeks to provide for all or nearly all of the children in a given locality a secondary education suited to their diverse interests, abilities and aptitudes without organization into three distinct sides (p. 1).

Even before he came into office in 1962, the Minister of Education had made public his conviction that because of the undesirable inegalitarian features of the existing secondary education system in Jamaica, the Comprehensive School represented the major solution to the island's educational problem at this level since it provided an immediate possibility for: (a) democratizing secondary education, and (b) increasing the relevance of secondary education to the needs of the enlarged secondary school population. Writing in the Daily Gleaner of May 21, 1961, the Minister stated:

> The choice for the majority of poor children lies between getting Secondary Education in Comprehensive Schools and getting no secondary education at all, since it is agreed that the country does not now possess the resources to provide Grammar Schools for all children

> who need that type of education. With our present resources we can easily and immediately quadruple the number of poor children getting Secondary education (p. 5).

It would appear that an important point arises from the Minister's perception of the situation as it is expressed here. Since the inadequacy of resources was given as the main reason for the inability of the country to provide Grammar school education for "all the children who need that type of education", then it seems reasonable to infer that this was an early admission that the secondary education to be offered in the Comprehensive Schools might not be the equivalent of that being offered in the Secondary Grammar Schools. There is in fact some evidence for this view in the Five Year Independence Plan, 1963-68 (July, 1963) where it is stated that:

> . . . it is already clear that these schools may be so organized and administered that they will cost little more than a good Senior School and certainly will cost less than separate High Schools or Technical High Schools (p. 161).

And it could be argued further that if only limited resources were available, as perceived by the Minister, to "quadruple the number of poor children getting Secondary Education" (Daily Gleaner, Op. cit.), then the conclusion must be that this could only be achieved by a reduction in the expenditure per pupil. Two Comprehensive Schools were started in accordance with the policy decision contained in Ministry Paper No. 15 of 1963.

While all the plans were being laid for a large-scale

venture into this new experiment in Secondary Education, it soon became clear, however, that the financial constraints were of such magnitude as to render the implementation of a major building programme of Comprehensive Schools impossible. In fact, in the early stages of this secondary experiment some doubt was entertained as to whether the establishment of the two schools decided on would be a reality. In the debate in the House the Minister explained it in this way:

> It became necessary for Government to make the provision of school places the number one priority in education. At that stage it became doubtful whether we could have two Comprehensive Schools (Hansard, Session 1963-64, April 8, 1963-August 1, 1963, p. 73).

However, there was no cooling of the ardour for the planned educational change envisaged by the policy-makers--in fact by the Minister of Education who was the major proponent of the change--and this was matched by a corresponding vigour in clashes of perceptions and expectations in all segments of the society. Despite rumblings of disagreement and disquiet generally and differences of opinion between the Minister and the professional teachers' organization, the Jamaica Teachers' Association, with respect to the policies and programmes being pursued, the next few years saw another major innovation in Secondary Education--the Junior Secondary education programme. This was fully outlined in a document known as the "New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica", Ministry Paper No. 73, December, 1966. The importance of this policy not only in terms of its significance for secondary education generally, but also with respect to

its implications for Grammar school education is such that it will be given separate and more specific attention later on.

Secondary High School Enrolment Trends

The discussion now concerns itself with a consideration of the related problems that were investigated. First of all, it was thought necessary to look at the increases in the number of children enrolled in these schools which took place from 1957--the five year period prior to the base year of Independence, i.e., 1962. The pattern that evolved is extremely revealing as the following figures will show:

Table 15

Grammar School Enrolment Increase: 1958-1971

Period	Enrolment From	Increase To	Increase	Av. Annual Increase in Enrol.	% Inc.	Av. Annual Inc. %
1958-1962	12,824	18,211	5,387	1,077	42	8.4
1963-1967	20,153	21,470	1,317	263	6.5	1.3
1968-1971	22,034	23,450	1,416	354	6.4	1.6

It will be seen that in the pre-Independence five-year period between 1958 and 1962 there was an increase in Grammar School enrolment of 5,387. Although Independence was ushered in by a new Government that came into office in

April 1962, it was not until the following year that the impact of the policy of this Administration in regard to grammar school education began to be felt. Over the five-year period 1963 to 1967 there was an increase of 1,317 students in Jamaican grammar schools as compared with an increase of 5,387 in the five-year period immediately prior to Independence. The average annual increase dropped from 8.4% to 1.3%. No new secondary grammar schools were built during the period nor was the enrolment capacity of existing schools appreciably increased. The minimal increase of 1.6% in the average annual increase for the period from 1968 to 1971 will indicate this. In the financial year 1962-63, for example, the nature of the expansion was such that only four (4) schools--two (2) in Kingston and two (2) in the rural areas benefited from improvements including the provision of class-rooms and science laboratories, fixtures and equipment.

The year 1963-64 saw some new thinking in the Ministry of Education in regard to secondary education generally and the enunciation of a change of policy whereby it was decided that no more new high schools, i.e., Secondary Grammar Schools and Secondary Technical Schools, were to be built. The emphasis was to be shifted to what was called "comprehensive and bilateral secondary education". As the Annual Report of the Ministry of Education (1963-64) puts it:

> The decision was taken neither to build any new high schools nor to establish new technical schools, but to expand and enrich high schools and technical schools in furtherance of the Ministry's new policy of

comprehensive and bilaterial education (p. 16).

Accordingly, the first two comprehensive High Schools were built, one at Trench Town in Kingston, which opened with an enrolment of approximately 900 students in January 1964 and the other at Frankfield in the Parish of Clarendon, the Minister's own constituency. Here the initial enrolment was 400 students.

One of the major indicators that Secondary Grammar School education was being de-emphasized was the relatively low increase in the accommodation and enrolment of these schools as compared with the new Junior Secondary and Comprehensive Schools. A Ministry paper, No. 24 of 1965, commenting on the fairly static enrolment picture of the Grammar schools observed:

> The stability of these figures is largely due to the fact that we have reached the stage of levelling off of the schools which offer mainly a grammar school type of education and they should be considered in relationship to the expansion taking place in all aspects of technical education and also the establishment and development of two Comprehensive Schools (p. 1).

Bearing in mind the official policy decision in 1963-64 that no additional Grammar Schools would be built and that no new technical schools were to be established, it is interesting to look at the direction in which the expansion was moving. Using the figures for the five-year period from 1965 to 1970 the following table makes the position clear. So whereas the number of Grammar schools remained static over the period covered by this study, the Junior Secondary schools which became fully operational from 1965 rapidly increased to such

Table 16

Types of Secondary Schools Built in the Period: 1965-1970

Type of Institutions	No. of Institutions in Existence 1965-1966	1966-1967	1967-1968	1968-1969	1969-1970
Junior Secondary Schools	14	16	16	16	40
Secondary Grammar Schools	40	40	40	40	40
Comprehensive Schools	2	2	2	2	2

Source: Department of Statistics, Kingston, Jamaica

an extent that not only were there as many of them in 1969 as the traditional Grammar Schools, but today they have far surpassed them numerically. A look at the comparative enrolment figures for the corresponding period, as will be seen from Table 15, is also enlightening. The stabilization policy with regard to the enrolment in the Grammar schools was started as soon as the new Government took office in 1962. While the enrolment in these schools increased by 10 per cent in 1962, from 1963 a trend in the very small rate of increase began to be seen. Between 1963 and 1965 the average annual increase in the Grammar school population was only .37 per cent.

Further, from 1966 to 1970 the enrolment moved from 21,167 to only 23,321, an average annual increase of just 2 per cent, while the figures for the Junior Secondary Schools for the same period climbed from 13,062 to 30,635, i.e., an

annual average increase of 26.8 per cent. And when the enrolment figures for the two comprehensive schools, as set out in Table 17, are set against those for the other two categories of secondary schools, the pattern in regard to the substantial increase in the Junior Secondary School development becomes quite marked.

Table 17

Secondary School Enrolment in Jamaica by Type of Secondary School: 1958-1970

Year	Secondary Grammar	Comprehensive	Junior Secondary School
1958	12,824	-	-
1959	13,007	-	-
1960	16,259	-	-
1961	17,175	-	-
1962	18,211	-	-
1963	20,153	-	-
1964	20,339	-	-
1965	20,303	-	-
1966	21,167	1,945	13,062
1967	21,470	1,922	13,344
1968	22,034	2,273	14,263
1969	22,724	2,611	15,306
1970	23,321	2,702	30,635

Source: Department of Statistics, Kingston, Jamaica

One of the important questions that arises would seem to focus directly on the extent, if any, to which the policy of de-emphasis of Grammar school education was influenced by the popular demand for the Junior Secondary type of education. The importance of this question assumes greater significance bearing in mind, inter alia, the reply of the

then Minister of Education to a question directed to him during the 1967-68 Session of the Houses of Parliament. He said:

> In the Junior Secondary Schools children will get the same education, at the same level, as they would at a High School (Hansard, Session 1967-1968, Vol. 1, No. 1, March 15, 1967-August 17, 1967, p. 78).

If this was the case, it seems reasonable to suggest that from 1965 when a number of Junior Secondary Schools were in operation offering a new type of secondary education free to the 12-15 age group, there should have been a steady decline or, at least, no marked increase in the number of the 11-13 age cohort sitting the Common Entrance Examination which determines admissions to the Secondary Grammar schools. The following figures obtained from the Department of Statistics are very revealing on this point:

1965	-	16,487 entries
1966	-	18,974 entries
1967	-	20,083 entries
1968	-	20,457 entries
1969	-	21,208 entries
1970	-	22,495 entries
1971	-	24,156* entries
1972	-	27,000* entries

*Source: Ministry of education: Performance Report 1971-72, p. 1.

It will be seen that in 1966 there were some 2,487 more candidates sitting the Common Entrance Examination than in the previous year, representing an increase of 14.4 per cent. Although there was only a 3.67 per cent increase in the total number of entries in 1969 as against the 1968 figure, it is significant that in 1971 when there were more than 40 Junior

Secondary Schools operating, the entries in the examination recorded an increase of 1,661 above the number of entrants in 1970, i.e., an increase of approximately 7.4 per cent. And for the terminal year 1972 there were 2,844 more candidates or an increase of approximately 12 per cent over the number sitting the examination in 1971. These figures would seem to indicate that instead there was an increase of popular demand for the type of education offered at the secondary Grammar schools. It is in these schools, principally, that the vast majority, if not all the children who gain admission, are likely to find the fulfilment of their ambition to sit for the General Certificate of Education Examination set by the University of Cambridge or London in England. The possession of a certificate in this Examination, called the G.C.E., is, particularly for the pupil from a low socio-economic background, a passport for social mobility. Here again there was an upward trend in the number of candidates sitting for this examination, indicating that this continued to be an important educational goal for Jamaican students of secondary school age. The following figures for the years 1966-71, representing the number of these candidates at the Cambridge Ordinary Level and given by the present Minister of Education, as reported in the Daily Gleaner of July 22, 1972, p. 19, seem to give the nature and extent of this trend. The entries for 1963 and 1964 are given by Roberts (1965:17), unpublished paper):

1963 - 3,150 entries
1964 - 3,981 entries
1966 - 3,310 entries
1968 - 3,480 entries
1969 - N/A
1970 - 3,800 entries
1971 - 4,170 entries

The number of school candidates who were entered by the Grammar schools in the pre-Independence years for the Cambridge School Certificate Examination before the change over to the G.C.E. in 1964 may also be given to support the suggestion that there was a continuing demand for this type of education in the Secondary Grammar schools leading to these examinations. These figures were taken from the Annual Reports for the years 1957-1962 which were published by the Cambridge Syndicate:

1957 - 1,523 entries
1958 - 1,787 entries
1959 - 2,186 entries
1960 - 2,205 entries
1961 - 2,448 entries
1962 - 2,812 entries

Additional evidence in support of the increasing demand for Grammar school education may be adduced from the various references made to it in the local Press by representatives of different levels in the society. One of the clear instances of popular disapproval of the former Minister's reforms in favour of Comprehensive education was reported in the Daily Gleaner of May 25, 1970, p. 2, when in announcing his plans for the conversion of the particular Grammar School at which a meeting was held, he was met with raucous protests from sections of his audience. "A comprehensive

school can work almost miracles" he is reported to have said, and in the face of these unfavourable reactions to the proposed changes, the official plans were nonetheless set in motion for the changes to be carried out. Again in the Daily Gleaner (mid-island weekly) of June 8, 1972, p. 1 there appeared under the bold caption--"Hundreds refused admission for next school year"--an account of the dilemma of the parents of those children who through lack of accommodation could not gain admission to one of the Secondary Grammar schools in a particular area where there were two Junior Secondary schools in close proximity to it. This was not a unique situation for there were reports from other parts of the island where the demand was just as great, and strong representation was made to the new Minister of Education on the matter.

The new Minister of Education who assumed office only in March, 1972, under a new Government, was quick to respond to the aspirations of the people in their demand for this type of education and held consultations with the principals of Grammar Schools to work out a formula for temporary measures to be adopted to alleviate the situation. Ad hoc arrangements were made for the provision of additional places at eighteen (18) of the High Schools where the need was greatest. An official statement by the Minister appearing in the Daily Gleaner of September 5, 1972, p. 8 established at Governmental level recognition of this need and, in assuming

responsibility for necessary steps to be taken to improve the situation, made the position clear in these words:

> Many parents whose children's names appeared in the published list of students eligible for entry into Secondary High Schools arising out of the Common Entrance Examination had not up to Saturday last been able to find high schools for them. The same may be true of many successful ninth graders of the Junior Secondary Schools.
>
> The purpose of these additional places is to try to fill the need created by the demand arising out of the circumstances explained above.

It was reported that on the basis of a manpower survey that was conducted some time ago it would become necessary to increase to 22 per cent the currently estimated 11 per cent of the 12-18 age group receiving high school education in the Government-assisted and unassisted high schools, if the professional, technical, administrative and clerical needs of the expanding economy of the island are to be fully and effectively met (The Daily Gleaner, August 13, 1972, p. 10). Making reference to the fact that whereas in 1957 when the number of children in the 11-year-old age group was given as 45,000, it was decided to put 4,500 or 10 per cent of them into high schools for at least five years, the report pointed out that with the increase in this age group to a figure now in the region of 52,000, high school education in the Government-aided institutions is reserved for the same number of 4,500 pupils. On his basis then there is a drop to approximately 8 per cent of these children receiving this type of education. Supporting the advocacy of

expanded high school education contained in the report (The Daily Gleaner, op. cit.), Dr. Errol Miller, a leading educator in active service in the system, drew a comparison between Jamaica and Trinidad, with a population roughly one-half that of Jamaica, where about 25 per cent of their 12-18 age group receive education in their high schools and as a result 50 per cent of their graduates obtain entry requirements for the University of the West Indies or in other institutions for further education (The Daily Gleaner, August 27, 1972, p. 12).

Giving the keynote address to the conference of the Jamaica Teachers' Association on April 22, 1970, the Director of the Institute of Education at the University of the West Indies sounded a note of urgency for a "massive improvement of quality" in education if the manpower requirements at all levels of the Jamaican economy were to be met, indicating that to satisfy these needs, the annual output of the High Schools should be approximately 3,000 rather than the present figure of somewhat less than 800 graduates with 5 passes at the Ordinary Level of the G.C.E. And he made the important point that, "the tragedy and the promise is that there are enough pupils in the 'pipeline' to give us this 3,000 with many to spare, if only we could destroy the bug-bear of poor quality" (Mimeographed copy of address, April 22, 1970, p. 19). He drew a comparison between the unit cost of primary education and grammar school education with the former

standing at $27.20 as against $159.6 for the latter--a figure which he maintained was by no means adequate.

Expenditure on Secondary Education

It is now necessary to look at the expenditure on secondary education over the period under study in order to get some indication of the direction in which the development of secondary education appeared to have moved between the years 1962 and 1972. In this connection, the Government Estimates were the main sources consulted and the actual expenditures were used whenever these were available. Perhaps consideration may first be given to the capital expenditure on the Secondary Grammar schools beginning with the 1959-60 financial year. In terms of expansion and improvement to these schools the actual expenditure recorded for the year was £207,867 ($414,734) with an additional £80,434 ($160,868) spent on the construction of new secondary schools. The expenditures for subsequent two-year time series are given in Table 18. In the financial year 1961-62 there was a reduction of $348,664 in the capital expenditure on Grammar schools as compared with a total of $575,602 spent in the financial year 1959-60. The succeeding years since Independence saw a steady decrease in expenditure for this purpose. This appeared to reflect the official policy to de-emphasize the type of education offered in these schools. More specifically, between 1962 and 1970 the actual increase in capital expenditure amounted to only $15,824, i.e., 6.9

Table 18

Actual Capital Expenditure on Grammar Schools: 1959/60-1969/70

Year	Expenditure
1959-1960	$414,734 160,868 $575,602
1961-1962	$226,938
1963-1964	$216,150
1965-1966	$198,526
1967-1968	N/A
1969-1970	$242,762

per cent over this period.

But it is when this situation is viewed against the pattern of expenditure in other areas of secondary education, that a more meaningful picture emerges. The Jamaica Estimates record that in the financial year 1965-66, the actual amount spent on the development of Junior Secondary Departments in All-Age Schools, i.e., senior departments of Primary Schools, was $3,132. In 1966-67 the construction programme for Junior Secondary Schools was estimated at a cost of $240,000 (Revised Estimates), a sharp rise in capital expenditure over the previous year. Then, for the 1969-70 financial year for which the actual expenditure figures are available, the increase was very great. In this year alone,

the sum of $5,599,218 was spent on the construction of Junior Secondary schools, in addition to another $10,461 representing expansion and improvements to existing Junior Secondary schools. When these amounts are set against the $242,762 that was spent in this same year, 1969-70, on the Grammar schools, the conclusion seems clear that there was a de-emphasis in the official policy of providing Grammar school education and that a marked switch was being effected in the direction of Junior Secondary education. But since the Comprehensive School and, later, the Junior Secondary school concept were so predominant in all the former Minister's pronouncements, programmes and policy changes for Secondary Education, it will be helpful to look at the capital expenditure for these schools. The figures are represented in table form with corresponding recurrent costs for purposes of comparison as follows:

Table 19

Actual Expenditure on Comprehensive Schools: 1964/65-1969/70

Year	Capital	Recurrent
1964-1965	$110,690	$105,214
1965-1966	82,586	141,636
1969-1970	2,942	245,156

It will be observed that in the 1969-70 financial year there was an actual capital expenditure of less than $3,000 on these schools, but this was more than offset by a particularly high Recurrent cost of $245,156. The decrease in capital expenditure for the period 1965-70 must be seen against the background of $6.6 million spent on Junior Secondary education and not as an indication that the policy of Comprehensive School education that was previously pursued was now being changed. In fact, documentary evidence suggests that once the Junior Secondary Schools were all firmly established, the objective was to embark on a programme of further expansion in this direction by converting certain selected Junior Secondary Schools, Grammar Schools, and Technical High Schools into Comprehensive Schools. In fact provision was made in the 1971-72 Budget for a capital sum of $1,001,300 to be applied as follows:

a. Building additional Comprehensive Schools, and
b. Converting Junior Secondary Schools and High Schools (Grammar and Technical) into Comprehensive Schools.

It is tempting to suggest that the introduction of the Junior Secondary programme as a major innovation was a method by which the known ministerial commitment to Comprehensive education could best be realized. Some support for this observation appears to be implied in an open letter by the former Minister himself to the Editor of the Daily Gleaner on September 3, 1972, p. 10. It reads in part:

> The J.L.P. believes that recruitment to secondary schools should be automatic and non-selective . . . It is in implementation of this policy that the J.L.P. Government introduced comprehensive schools, and junior secondary schools which are, in fact, junior comprehensive schools.

And so it would appear that in this new concept of secondary education, the type of education that was offered in Comprehensive schools was what is meant here, and that the Junior Secondary School was apparently intended to be the first stage along the route to the Comprehensive schools that were built or to those existing High Schools that were re-classified. It appeared, also, that many more Junior Secondary Schools were to be converted into Comprehensive Schools for in the Economic Survey Supplement for 1971, Social Situation, it was pointed out that "by 1975 it is hoped that there will be about 35 Comprehensive Schools" (p. 10).

Table 20 sets out the recurrent cost of secondary education between the years 1965 and 1970 in comparison with the expenditure at other levels of the system for the same period.

Staff and Teacher-Pupil Ratios for Secondary Schools

Consideration will now be given to a discussion of the staffing situation and the teacher-pupil ratio in respect to the different types of schools at this level, to see if the same policy of de-emphasizing Grammar School education was reflected in this area also. It must be said that one of the major factors that operated against the efficient

Table 20

A Breakdown of Recurrent Expenditure on Education by Type of School: 1965/66-1969/70

Year	Primary	Secondary	Further	Higher
1965-1966	$7,067,742	$4,002,196	$437,720	$1,841,734
1966-1967	7,275,354	3,894,186	470,704	2,603,850
1967-1968	8,309,596	5,235,830	458,774	3,042,410
1968-1969	10,030,679	5,711,052	532,995	3,470,495
1969-1970	10,754,330	6,830,596	564,455	3,747,324

Source: Ministry of Education

operation of the secondary school system was that of the unavailability of an adequate supply of competent and qualified teachers to man the secondary schools. This situation became steadily worse during the period under study. Over the past few years the problem assumed such proportions that the Government had to send recruiting missions overseas to try and recruit suitably qualified graduates to fill positions in the Secondary Schools that could not be filled locally (See Appendix 2, Figure 8, p.217). Commenting on the outcome of the efforts of the mission on their return from England and North America earlier this year, the

Minister of Education was reported in the Daily Gleaner of July 1, 1972, p. 28 as saying that:

> The country still could not find twelve (12) teachers for General Science, thirty-seven (37) for Mathematics, twenty-seven (27) for Industrial Arts, twelve (12) for Spanish and ten (10) for Physics.

One of the reasons, perhaps the main reason, is clearly economic. Teachers' salary scales, and graduate salary scales particularly, by comparison with other comparable levels of skills in the private sector of the economy and in proportion to the high cost of living, are inadequate, and such minimal improvement as was made in recent years in this respect was achieved only after much pressure and a corresponding measure of frustration associated with several bargaining encounters with the Government. But it is not only by reason of the wide differential between the Graduate salary structure in the teaching profession and the remunerative scales for corresponding competencies in industry and commerce that the exodus from the profession has increased; the economic pull in terms of the handsome salaries paid by the highly developed and affluent societies in North America has contributed considerably to the "brain drain" from the area. Bacchus explained the problem in this way:

> The proximity of the West Indies to high income countries like the U.S.A. and Canada makes it relatively easy for qualified West Indians to secure jobs in these countries at much higher salaries than they can receive in their own territory. Even more important, because of the disparity in pay between the West Indian and North American countries, it becomes very difficult to attract back home West Indians who have studied in North America. And this group represents a substantial

proportion of the high-level West Indian manpower in training (Teacher Education: May 1967, Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 41).

A picture of the staffing situation as it obtained in different types of Secondary schools is reflected in the accompanying Table 22 showing the distribution and breakdown of staff in respect of graduates and non-graduates over corresponding periods of time. Looking first at the Grammar Schools, the ten-year period from 1962-1971 showed a gradual improvement in terms of the overall graduate per cent, but in fact it must be borne in mind that particularly in the rural areas the position in regard to Graduates is far from satisfactory. In addition, the graduate teaching force in Jamaica is very heavily dependent on expatriate staff. The number of volunteer teachers recruited into the island for the academic years between 1968/69 and 1970/71 will help to illustrate this point:

1968-1969 - 227

1969-1970 - 186

1970-1971 - 201

Source: Ministry of Education

As far as the Comprehensive Schools were concerned, the percentage of teaching staff with one or more university degrees was 11.5 in 1965/66 and 20.2 per cent by 1967/68. However, this proportion fell to 15.4 per cent by the end of the 1970 school year.

Although there were no data available for the number

of Graduates in the Junior Secondary Schools, there is no reason to believe that the situation there was appreciably better. The large numbers of trained teachers, usually non-graduates, as shown in Table 22, would tend to support this view. In addition, an examination of the distribution of teachers under the Overseas Technical Assistance scheme during 1970, as recorded by the Ministry of Education, reveals that there was a real problem of obtaining the service of Graduate teachers for these schools.

Table 21

Distribution of Overseas Teachers by Type of Secondary Schools: 1970

Junior Secondary School	46
Secondary Grammar	22
Secondary Technical	19
Comprehensive	10
Total	97

It will be seen that out of a total of 97 Graduates, 46 or 47.4 per cent of them were allocated to the Junior Secondary Schools as against 22 or 22.6 per cent who were placed in the Grammar Schools. Since the Junior Secondary Schools are Government-owned and therefore completely Government-controlled, whereas the traditional Grammar Schools enjoy a

Table 22

Distribution of Staff by Type of Secondary School: Secondary High Schools (Grammar), 1962-71

Year	Graduates	Non-Graduates	Total Staff	Graduate Staff %
1962	582	390	972	59.8
1963	655	392	1,047	62.5
1964	725	415	1,140	63.5
1965	N/A	N/A	1,201*	N/A
1966	N/A	N/A	1,101*	N/A
1967	707	453	1,160	60.9
1968	745	434	1,179	60.0
1969	805	436	1,241	64.8
1970	750	446	1,196	62.7
1971	955	485	1,440	66.3

Source: Figures obtained by the writer from the Ministry of Education, July, 1972.

*Annual Abstract of Statistics for 1965 and 1966.

Table 22 (continued)

Comprehensive Schools: 1965-66 and 1969-70

Year	Graduates	Non-Graduates	Total	% Graduates
1965-66	9	69	78	11.5
1966-67	12	61	73	16.4
1967-68	16	63	79	20.2
1968-69	17	84	101	16.8
1969-70	15	82	97	15.4

Junior Secondary Schools: 1965-66 and 1969-70

Year	Graduates	Trained Teachers	Pre-Trained Teachers	Total Staff
1965-66	N/A	318	19	337
1966-67	N/A	394	25	419
1967-68	N/A	385	50	435
1968-69	N/A	426	71	497
1969-70	N/A	844	44	888

Source: Ministry of Education, Kingston, Jamaica.

certain measure of autonomy, largely because of their religious foundation, the matter of the placing of as many of these recruits as they thought fit in this type of school was part of the normal policy of the Ministry of Education. However, the allocation of the largest percentage of these graduates to the Junior Secondary Schools may be interpreted as another indication of the de-emphasis of other types of secondary education and grammar school education in particular.

Staff-Pupil Ratio

Table 23 sets out the staff-pupil ratio by type of Secondary Schools. It can be seen that in regard to the Grammar Schools, between 1964 and 1969 the staff-pupil ratio remained stable at 1:19; in 1970 there was a slight increase to a ratio of 1:20. This could well reflect continued demand for Grammar school education and corresponding crowding in the face of the non-expansion of these schools. Many High School Principals, harassed by parental and community pressures, were placed in the impossible position of having to act against their better judgment by taking into the schools additional children over and above the normal physical capacity of the institutions, with undesirable educational consequences. The required additional staff was unavailable and the effect on "quality teaching" was made more difficult in overcrowded classes.

As far as the Junior Secondary Schools were concerned

Table 23

Staff-Pupil Ratio By Type of Secondary School: 1962-1970

Year	Type of Secondary	Enrolment--End of School Year	Staff-Pupil Ratio
1962	Secondary Grammar	18,211	N/A
1964	Secondary Grammar	20,339	1:18
1966	Secondary Grammar	21,167	1:19
1966	Junior Secondary	13,062	1:38
1966	Comprehensive	1,945	1:24
1967	Grammar	21,465	1:19
1967	Junior Secondary	13,344	1:32
1967	Comprehensive	1,922	1:25
1968	Grammar	22,034	1:19
1968	Junior Secondary	14,263	1:33
1968	Comprehensive	2,273	1:29
1969	Grammar	22,724	1:19
1969	Junior Secondary	15,306	1:31
1969	Comprehensive	2,611	1:26
1970	Grammar	23,321	1:20
1970	Junior Secondary	30,635	1:34
1970	Comprehensive	2,702	1:28

Source: Department of Statistics, Kingston, Jamaica

the staff-pupil ratios for the years 1966 to 1970 presented a rather uneven picture. Standing at 1:38 in 1966 this ratio fell to 1:31 in 1969 and then made an upward turn to 1:34 in 1970. On the whole, however, it would appear that the overall trend was in the direction of decreasing the staff-pupil ratio as much as possible.

In the case of the Comprehensive Schools the same trend may also be observed and, as in the case of the other types of Secondary Schools, an increase in the staff-pupil ratio was recorded in 1970.

CHAPTER V

POST-INDEPENDENCE INNOVATIONS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION: THE COMPREHENSIVE AND JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

In the previous chapter it was seen that it was the policy of the government during the ten-year period under study to de-emphasize Secondary Grammar Schools first in favour of the Comprehensive School and later, and more markedly so, in favour of the Junior Secondary School. In addition, consideration was given to some of the reasons for the decision to shift emphasis from the Grammar Schools to these new types of Secondary Schools.

In is the purpose of this chapter to look in some detail at: (a) the educational concepts underlying the decision to establish these schools; (b) some of their main features particularly with respect to how they were designed to function alongside the traditional schools of secondary education; (c) their stated goals and objectives; and, finally, (d) their introduction. The latter (d) will take the form of a critical appraisal. Since the Comprehensive School was the earliest experiment in the diversification of secondary education, attention will first be given to a discussion of this type of school.

The Comprehensive School Concept

The concept of comprehensive education embodies one

of the essential features of the social philosophy of egalitarianism propounded by the Government that led Jamaica into Independence on August 6, 1962. Already in 1962 the former Minister of Education had advised the Parliament:

> We have launched a campaign to give the country some information about a few organizations in education such as Comprehensive Schools (Jamaica Hansard, 1962-1963, August 29, 1962-March 20, 1963, p. 42).

In the Ministry Paper No. 15 of 1963 the cardinal claim was made that this concept of comprehensive education is a sine qua non for the proper functioning and development of the democratic way of life. In observing that the comprehensive school was one that offered a secondary education to children of varying abilities, aptitudes and interests on one common campus, so to speak, the Paper emphasized the egalitarian aspect of the function of such schools by noting that:

> It is not only the natural way for a democracy to order the post-primary schooling of a given area, but also is essential for the development of a truly democratic society.

Part I of this Paper went on to set out a number of advantages of a Comprehensive School as perceived by the then Minister who was the main change agent of these educational reforms. The importance of these stated advantages, as will be seen, lay in the fact that they contained in essence the main elements of the three major concepts in the official educational philosophy; namely, (a) the democratization of education as part of the wider social philosophy of egalitarianism. This point was manifest in all the former

Minister's official pronouncements and public speeches; (b) the diversification of the content of secondary education consistent with the needs of all pupils and relevant to an Independent country, and (c) the avoidance of selection and the provision of opportunities for children who are late developers to receive a secondary education.

The perceived advantages of the Comprehensive School as stated in the Ministry Paper, (op. cit.), are listed as follows:

1. It overcomes numerous difficulties associated with early selection;
2. Facilitates transfer from one to another more appropriate course of study;
3. Helps to solve the problems of disparity of esteem for the different kinds of secondary education;
4. Ensures equality of educational opportunity for all children;
5. Provides a wide variety of courses resulting in more adequate adjustment of education to the children's needs, increased purpose in schooling and longer attendance at school for those who can profit from it;
6. Avoids the harmful effects of social segregation;
7. Promotes cultural unity and an enhancement of the community's general cultural standing;

8. Broadens the vision and improves the teaching techniques of the staff.

It will be observed that many of these advantages--in fact, numbers 3, 4, 6 and 7 may be regarded as falling in the category of what is referred to in the paper as "the social benefits inherent in comprehensive organization".

But apart from the egalitarian dimension which seemed to dominate the principles underlying the introduction of these experiments with comprehensive schools, there was the recognition of the educational value that was also an essential part of the specified benefits of this type of education. In general terms, this educational value may be regarded as directly related to the opportunities that are available to meet the educational needs and requirements of children with varying interests, aptitudes and abilities. As the Ministry Paper (op. cit., p. 2) puts it: "The school will be organized as an integrated institution catering to all classes and ranges of ability and aptitudes". The listed educational advantages number 1, 2 and 5, particularly, would seem to fit into the objectives set out for the Comprehensive Schools and referred to above. It is appropriate to mention here the official intention of the author of the Paper to provide for the Comprehensive Schools a type of organizational structure that would be different from that which prevailed under the existing traditional secondary school system. It was expressed in the Paper (ibid.) in

this way:

> Unlike what we are doing in the tripartite organization of secondary education with England as our prototype, our comprehensive schools will strike out along novel and original lines to suit our particular needs and circumstances.

It was stated in the same source also that:

> In the Comprehensive School, organization will allow for pupils at any level to select courses from any section, and a pupil may offer even one or two subjects at G.C.E. "O" or J.C.E. standard. The Comprehensive School is a 'mode of Organization, not a Theory of Education'. It is not another type of Secondary School, it is the whole of Secondary Education organized in one school community.

The Main Features and Function of These Schools

Attention may now be given to some of the main features of these schools and the way in which they were operated. First of all, it will be helpful to note how the former Minister described them during the debate in Parliament (Jamaica Hansard, 1963-1964 Session, April 8, 1963-August 1, 1963). In his words, this type of school "carries a senior school programme plus a technical school programme plus a grammar school programme" (p. 76). The children were to be recruited on a non-selective basis at the age of 12 years from the feeder primary schools in the surrounding areas to begin their education in Grade 7, and the enrolment was to be augmented by the entry of a certain number of children in other age groups who would be appropriately placed in different grades in the school.

Stated Goals and Objectives

In regard to those children of the age of 15 years who proved unable to cope with the academic or technical programme, their education would be terminal and the Ministry Paper (op. cit.) stated that this would apply to about 80 per cent of the children. As regards the proportionately smaller number of those capable of pursuing a technical or grammar school course, they would continue to the age of 17 when their educational standard would be at least that of the Jamaica Certificate of Education, and, in some instances, at the Ordinary Level of the General Certificate of Education of the University of Cambridge or London in one or more subjects.

The attempt at Sixth Form work, i.e., Grades 12-13, was not contemplated, at least in the initial stages, and where there were G.C.E. "O" Level pupils with the particular subject rating requirements to make them eligible for advanced work, they would be transferred on a free tuition basis to the Sixth Forms of the existing High Schools, the College of Arts, Science and Technology or to a proposed Central Sixth Form Institute which the Government claimed might be set up "to serve small High Schools which cannot afford Sixth Forms" (Ministry Paper No. 15, 1963, p. 3).

Attention may now be given to a consideration of the main features of the two comprehensive schools in terms of their function within the context of the national educational

system.

Frankfield Comprehensive School

This was the rural comprehensive school to which reference has already been made. In discussing the establishment of this school the Minister of Education stated:

> The experiment at Frankfield will be very largely an experiment in total education. There will be about 10 Senior Schools and it is from those schools that pupils will be drawn (Jamaica Hansard, Session 1963-1964: April 8, 1963-August 1, 1963, p. 76).

The relevant Ministry Paper described the school's enrolment as consisting of all the 12-plus pupils from Frankfield and its environs of approximately 500, together with an annual intake of 100 pupils drawn from those successful candidates who sat the Common Entrance Examination from 'some 13 feeder schools'. Agriculture was to be given particular emphasis with the establishment of a 3- to 5-acre farm lot for the teaching of Agricultural Science. The general aim was to integrate the school with the community through the farming programme in collaboration with community development and welfare agencies. Declaring that the importance of manual skills would also be another area of emphasis by these Comprehensive Schools, the former Minister expressed the view (Jamaica Hansard: op. cit.) that if this experiment were a success it could be the means whereby educationists from all over the world would be attracted to Frankfield to see what was being done. This is how he explained it in Parliament:

> I believe educationists in all parts of the world

> would be interested to see what were the weaknesses, what were the failures and the success and what really was learned from this experiment (Jamaica Hansard, op. cit., p. 77).

It does not appear that to date the hopes for the success of this experiment have progressed any nearer the realization of the objective, although it was maintained that the agricultural programme of the school was an excellent one and was deserving of far more publicity than it has so far been given (view expressed to the writer during his interview with the Minister, June 4, 1972). In more precise terms, however, there is no information available as to what proportion of the student body who were exposed to this agricultural programme have in fact, on this account, been influenced to any great extent in their vocational aspirations. There is support for the view that the influence in this respect could very well be anything but substantial. Foster (C.A. Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman, 1965:149) adduced empirical evidence that "would tend to throw some doubt on programmes whose efficacy depends on the notion that the schools exercise a decisive influence upon vocational aspirations of students". Further support for this view is suggested in a report appearing in the Daily Gleaner of May 20, 1972 where it was stated that:

> About 25 per cent of students in the last pre-semester term at the Jamaica School of Agriculture could not qualify to study at that institution because they failed to understand clearly the requirements of agriculture, including the use of their hands and that work of any kind, provided it is honest, is dignified (p. 36).

Trench Town Comprehensive School

As far as Trench Town Comprehensive School was concerned, its organization was to be based on a similar pattern as that prescribed for Frankfield, except that being located in a densely-populated area the emphasis on agriculture could not apply to the same extent. However, the school was to have the same type of effect on its community which the Minister had envisaged for Frankfield. "This school", he said in a Ministry Paper (p. 5), "will give a lift to a depressed area". But on a rather less optimistic note it was pointed out that in the early stages of its operations financial constraints would impose some restriction on the scope of the curriculum which Trench Town Comprehensive School would offer. As in the case of Frankfield, it was expected that only about 20 per cent of the students enrolled would be presented for the G.C.E. at "O" Level and the Jamaica Certificate of Education. It may be noted here that the brightest group went off to Grammar School on the basis of the Common Entrance Examination. For the vast majority their formal education would end at 15. It will be recalled that these schools were essentially non-selective and drew their students from the feeder primary schools in the area. Therefore, while 20 per cent of them were being given an opportunity of taking examinations which would qualify them for some form of "white-collar" employment, the vast majority were in fact to receive an upgraded version of the education they

would normally have received in the senior departments of the All-Age Schools. It is difficult to see how with the projected student enrolment for the period 1963-1968, as set out in Table 24, and a teaching personnel comprising a Principal, a Deputy who did not necessarily have to be a graduate, three graduate staff and about 28 college-trained teachers and specialists (Ministry Paper op. cit., p. 6) many of whom it would be fair to say were not experienced teachers, the anticipated satisfactory educational level of the school was likely to be achieved. In addition, a few other observations may be made in regard to Table 24.

In the first instance, it appears that the intake of pupils from the feeder schools was to be carried out after selection of the more academically able pupils for admission to the Grammar Schools. Secondly, on the basis of the annual constant figure of 100 pupils who, it was proposed, would be retained to pursue the more academic programme leading to the G.C.E. and the local examinations, it may be argued that since there is the tendency for the success of any secondary school to be judged on the basis of its performance in examinations, the popular assessment of the school seemed likely to be adversely affected on this account.

Perceived Empirical Evidence for Likely Success of the Comprehensive School

In an attempt to demonstrate the feasibility of the proposed experiments in comprehensive type education, an

Table 24

Trench Town Comprehensive School

Proposed Schedule of In-Coming and Out-Going Pupils for 5-Year Period: 1963-1968

School Year	From Trench Town Junior School	From Other Schools	Total During School Year	Actual Leavers at End of School Year	Retained for High School and J.C.E.	Total Remaining To Begin New School Year
1963/64	750	50	800	150 i.e., (1/3 of 750) -100 to be retained	100	650
1964/65	300	50	1000	150	100	850
1965/66	300	50	1200	150+100 retained at end of 1963/64	100	950
1966/67	300	50	1300	200+100 retained at end of 1964/65	100	1000
1967/68	300	50	1350-1400*	200+100 retained at end of 1965/66	100	1050

* Maximum size of school at any given period

Source: Ministry Paper No. 15 of 1963, APPENDIX I

experimental programme in secondary education was launched in some selected primary schools that seemed suitable to the Ministry of Education for this purpose.

The stated aim of these experiments was to discover what measure of success, if any, could be achieved by some of the most competent primary school teachers in teaching secondary school subjects to senior pupils of promise in these selected schools. The experiments were carried out in 1954 at the direction of the former Minister of Education at four (4) Primary Schools in Kingston and one (1) in the rural areas--in fact, this primary school was in the capital town of the rural parish in which the Minister resided.

At that time the Overseas School Certificate Examination which was set by the University of Cambridge and taken by the Grammar School pupils was a group examination. This meant that a candidate, according to the regulations, had to take a certain minimum of subjects--in this case six--and could take a maximum of eight subjects. English Language was compulsory and the subjects chosen had to be selected from at least three of the groups II, III, IV, V, VI and VII. No certificate was awarded unless the candidate had passed English Language and:

(a) reached a satisfactory general standard as judged by their performance in their best <u>six</u> subjects, <u>and</u>

<u>either</u> (b) passed in at least <u>six</u> subjects (including English Language, with <u>credit</u> in at least one of them),

<u>or</u> (c) passed in <u>five</u> subjects (including English

> Language), with credits in at least two of them (School Certificate Regulations of the University of Cambridge, Local Examinations Syndicate, 1961:5).

The classification of subjects in groups which is taken from the Regulations quoted above (ibid.) is given as follows:

GROUP I — English Language (compulsory subject for entry for the School Certificate).

GROUP II — General Subjects: English Literature, Bible Knowledge, History, Geography.

GROUP III — Languages: Latin, Greek, French, German, Spanish, other approved languages.

GROUP IV — Mathematical Subjects: Mathematics, Additional Mathematics.

GROUP V — Science Subjects: General Science, Agricultural Science, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Physics-with-Chemistry, Botany.

GROUP VI — Arts and Crafts: Art, Music, Woodwork, Metalwork, Needlework and Dressmaking, Cookery, General Housecraft.

GROUP VII — Technical and Commercial Subjects: Mechanics, Engineering Science, Surveying, Technical Drawing, Commercial Studies, Commerce, Principles of Accounts, Health Science.

On the basis of the performance of the Primary School candidates in this examination, as compared with the Secondary Grammar Schools for the years 1958-1960 and 1962 (see Table 25), it was concluded that the programmes in the two Comprehensive Schools to be established could be effectively carried out by primary school teachers of proven competence supported by a few graduates. The Ministry Paper No. 15 of 1963 stated the conclusion in this way:

> These statistics indicate that a Comprehensive School

Table 25

School Certificate Results: 1958-1960; 1962

Selected Primary School Entries (Experimental Classes) vs Grammar Schools

	Entries	Passes		Div. I		Div. II		Div. III	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Aggregate for Experiment in Primary Schools 1958-60	90	69	77	10	11	21	23	38	40
Aggregate for all Secondary Grammar Schools 1958-60	5363	3360	62	431	8	1082	20	1847	34
Total for all Grammar Schools 1962	2317	1271	55	116	5	405	17	750	32

> staffed by carefully selected Primary School teachers, strengthened by a few graduates can successfully undertake the programmes outlined for Frankfield and Trench Town.

The figures which formed the basis for this conclusion and which are taken from Appendix II of the Ministry Paper (Ibid. p. 3) are presented in table form as shown in Table 25.

One general comment that may be made at this point is that these experimental classes in the Primary schools, involving a selected minority of pupils set apart for special coaching by the comparatively more efficient teachers on the staffs of these schools, may have been conducted at the educational expense of the vast majority of the other children in the schools. Success, then, was being defined by the ability of students to pass the academic examination--a criterion that could apply to only a very small group in the Comprehensive School. Again, the subjects offered to these pupils in the secondary classes in the primary schools would not have included any from the Science Group V. Absence of the required laboratory facilities and the appropriately qualified staff to teach these subjects provide evidence for this observation. The implication of all this is that in the area of the sciences where there was, and in fact still is, a great need for these types of scientific and technical skills, the experimental classes would not have contributed to any improvement in this particular situation.

Assessment and Criticism

The stage has now been reached when an attempt can be made at a critical appraisal of the whole concept of comprehensive education as it relates to the experiments in secondary education that were introduced into the Jamaican educational system.

Since the theme of egalitarianism was central to the official policy which prescribed this type of secondary experiment, it seemed appropriate to focus attention on this aspect of the concept in the first instance. The comment may be made at this point that while in no way denying that a number of real advantages are to be derived from the type of education offered in a well-organized and efficiently-run Comprehensive school, one wonders whether in fact some of the more lofty claims to social integration are capable of being realized to any great extent within the formal and more limited context of an educational institution, especially in a society like Jamaica where in economic terms there was a growing gap between the "haves" and the "havenots". Although, as Olive Banks (1955) pointed out, "The doctrine of tripartitism depends upon psychological and sociological assumptions of doubtful validity" (p. 242), nevertheless she was at pains to make it clear that the findings of her study--Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education--would refute the claim that a "common schooling" for the 11-16 age group will bridge the gap between the social and occupational groupings in adult life. Her conclusion was expressed in these words:

The most that can be claimed for the common school

> is that it will spread a greater measure of understanding between different social strata. There is no evidence that it will necessarily diminish either the differential prestige accorded to the various social and occupational levels or the antagonism which derives from opposing interests or divergent functions (p. 245).

Writing in the same vein, Julienne Ford (1969) in her study entitled Social Class and the Comprehensive School, adduced evidence based on the findings of research into three London Comprehensive schools in support of her conclusions that, "There is, in short, no evidence that comprehensive education contributes to the breaking down of the barriers of social class which still divide adults and children alike" (p. 130). In her view, since schools are merely a reflection of the social structure and culture of the larger society within which it operates, it is unrealistic to argue that social structures can be changed by educational reform. On this basis then she maintained that:

> In order to minimize the effects of social class in the schools we would somehow have to diminish the salience of social class in the world outside school rather than the other way around. It is therefore not surprising that comprehensivization does not seem to be bringing the classless society any nearer (p. 132).

Although for some 80 per cent of the children in the Comprehensive schools their education would be terminal, the Ministry Paper (op. cit.) was silent on the matter of any specific recommendations, provisions or proposals for the further training of these comparatively large numbers of young people. For them their formal education at this level would end at the age of 15 years. This meant that in the main they would be lacking in the specific skills and

competencies that would be required for gainful employment. Further reading of the debates in Parliament during the 1962-63 Session on the whole question of comprehensive education tended to convey the impression that, somehow, having been exposed to a programme of diversified course offerings for three years, i.e., age 12-15 in the Comprehensive school, this comparatively large cohort of young school leavers would be able to step with confidence into a world of work with vacant positions appropriate to their respective levels of skills waiting to be filled. And what appears to be rather puzzling in these ministerial debates is the seemingly hierarchical conceptual model of Comprehensive school organization that emerged as the frame of reference. It was noted that in the presentation of the form in which the comprehensive programme would be operationalized, the former Minister spoke of grades or classes for Comprehensive schools in three categories--A, B, C. This is how he explained it in the House:

> Now we would have three different grades or classes or types for comprehensive schools. The school would be regarded as comprehensive when it does work on three sides at a certain standard. Senior school standard or type; the G.C.E. academic and the G.C.E. in other fields like technical or agricultural work or something like that . . .
>
> . . . now you can call the lowest type "C" and the type that carries one side to G.C.E. could be called "B" type. Now one that carries two sides to G.C.E. standard would be the "A" type. (Jamaica Hansard, Session 1962-63 No. 1, August 29, 1962-March 20, 1963, p. 45).

The point that emerges here, which is somewhat

puzzling, is that the "grades" or "classes" referred to are in fact organized on the basis of types of examinations--the one, the G.C.E., the long-established and more prestigious external examination, and the other, the J.C.E., the more recently instituted local examination of a lower academic standard. This organization on the basis of academic and non-academic grades would seem to be tantamount to the traditional method of streaming, and could give rise to the question whether in fact this arrangement would not help to perpetuate rather than eliminate the undesirable features of social stratification historically associated with the Grammar schools. The enigma lies in reconciling this apparent inconsistency with the then Minister's views on egalitarianism.

But there is another observation that is perhaps more important, which is, as Julienne Ford (1969) pointed out, that:

> The occupational structure remains the foundation of the stratification system and sooner or later the children grow up to realize that they are all evaluating one another in terms of the work they do . . . Whatever kind of schools they go to, children soon learn something of the occupational structure and its attendant hierarchy (p. 66).

And so, although the Jamaica Certificate of Education was designed to facilitate entry to the Teachers' Colleges, the nursing profession, and as the minimum qualification for employment in junior clerical posts, the parents like the children themselves have come to realize that where the level

of employment requires academic qualifications, they are decidedly at a disadvantage vis-a-vis their counterparts from other schools who are in possession of G.C.E. certificates. In fact, as Olive Banks (1955) observed, "in its efforts for social equality the comprehensive school may only serve to strengthen educational privilege" (p. 148).

It was noted that financial constraints precluded the construction of more than the two comprehensive schools that were established and that it was the declared intention of the former Minister of Education to work towards the large-scale introduction of Comprehensive Schools as the perceived effective instrument for the achievement of his policy of the democratization of secondary education in Jamaica. In his own words:

> The Comprehensive schools represent part of the fundamental educational changes that started since Independence and under the second World Bank Programme a larger number of schools, if this present Government carries out the programme, ought to become Comprehensive (Personal interview with the former Minister, June 4, 1972).

It is clear that if the necessary financial resources were available in the amount commensurate with the vast expenditure required for the implementation of the major scheme of comprehensive education that was envisaged, then there might very well not have been the introduction of another innovation--the Junior Secondary School. But the idea of the Junior Secondary School as proposed for Jamaica, like its comprehensive counterpart, represented the educational

expression and extension of the broad concept of egalitarianism which was enunciated as the basis of the political philosophy of the period. It was therefore a relatively simple matter to move with the same vigour and determination from the Comprehensive school to the creation of the Junior Secondary School, both of which are synonymous in concept and complementary in levels of development. The former Minister described the Junior Secondary School as "a Junior Comprehensive school: the comprehensive idea and the Junior Secondary school idea are almost identical but for the age group" (Personal interview with the former Minister: June 4, 1972, Frankfield, Clarendon, Jamaica).

The Objectives of the Junior Secondary School

We may now look at the aims and objectives of the Junior Secondary schools as these were stated in the official documents. These are taken from the Master Plan: Junior Secondary School Program, Ministry of Education, Jamaica, December 1967 and are listed (p. 3) as follows:

1. To provide a form of education that will acquaint students with various occupational skills, so that they may discover their vocational interest and increase their desire to pursue further educational avenues in those disciplines;

2. To raise the level of students entering second-cycle secondary schools in order that the level of these outputs may in turn be raised;

3. To equip children in the age group 12 to 14 with a minimum degree of skill to be better able to service man-power needs, and in this regard

to expand the employment horizons of persons entering the labour force at the age of 15 and to make that education immediately functional on entering the labour force.

4. To challenge the abilities and attract the interest of students;

5. To establish a more balanced education program which would integrate man-power needs with skills offered through the educational facilities, and to correct the imbalances in the educational facilities offered through the existing educational institutions.

The plan was that these schools would provide secondary education on a non-selective basis for all children from the Primary schools who have reached the age of 12 years. Their secondary education at this level was to be free and was to last for at least three years, i.e., until the age of 15. At this stage, assessments of aptitude and ability would determine what proportion of the 15-16 age cohort would continue to receive further secondary education in what was termed the "second-cycle" schools. This was the type of education given in the particular secondary schools offering technical, vocational or grammar type education. It is important to note, however, that for the most of these children their formal education at age 15 would be terminal.

Another major aim of the programme which was planned on a three-phase basis--i.e., 1966-1970; 1971-1975; 1976-1980--was that by 1980 all children between the ages of 12 and 15 would be provided with free secondary education. By that time it was expected that the Senior schools, now catering to children between the ages of 12 and 15, would be

upgraded and re-classified as Junior Secondary Schools, and that the senior departments of All-Age Schools, i.e., Primary Schools accommodating children of all ages from 6 to 15 years inclusive, would be converted into Junior Secondary departments. It appeared that the approaches to the proposed changes and programmes, coupled with the fact that the whole project was an innovation previously unknown to the Jamaican educational system, were contributing factors to the early speculation about the novel and distinguishing features of the programme. The Junior Secondary School formed the essential part of the post-Independence development programme for education in Jamaica, which was scheduled to cost £8 million (approximately US $20 million) to be financed by loans from the World Bank and other international lending agencies. Of this amount, £7 million (approximately US $16.8 million) were specifically earmarked for the construction of fifty (50) new Junior Secondary Schools "which would form a nucleus around which the educational system would develop" (New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica, 1966, p. 2).

Curriculum

The curriculum comprised the following subjects:

(a) English Language and Literature

(b) Mathematics

(c) Bible Knowledge

(d) General Science

(e) Social Studies

(f) Physical Education

(g) Spanish

(h) Industrial Arts

(i) Home Economics

(j) Arts and Crafts

(k) Agricultural Science

(l) Music

The Industrial Arts programme included:

(a) General Woodwork

(b) General Metals

(c) General Electricity

(d) Leathercraft

(e) Technical Drafting

(f) Home Economics

The teachers for these subjects were drawn from the Teachers' Colleges after a two-year period of training followed by a one-year internship in a Junior Secondary school, where for practical purposes they were full-time members of the teaching staff. The normal teaching load for teachers was 35 periods per week of 45 minutes each out of a total of 40 teaching periods. Twenty (20) per cent of the total teaching periods was allocated to the teaching of English Language while Mathematics occupied 16 per cent and General Science 10 per cent of the timetable. Despite the de-emphasis of Grammar-type education, as was noted in the previous chapter, the demand for this type of education

continued, but it was the hope of the Ministry of Education (Five Year Plan 1968-73: Proposals by the Ministry of Education) that:

> . . . people will be more accustomed to the new structure and that the Junior Secondary Schools will have proved themselves by the end of the Five Year Period. It will, therefore, be possible to effect a more rapid reorganization (p. 3).

It was recognized in the words of the UNESCO Planning Mission of Jamaica, September-November 1964 (UNESCO Report: September-November 1964 (UNESCO Report: Paris, January 1965) that:

> . . . the effort towards achieving the fundamental goal of social development involves the substitution of new and more relevant and acceptable values to replace those inherent in a colonial society in which privilege and status were entrenched behind social and economic barriers (p. 13).

It was within the context of this new thinking that the UNESCO Educational Planning Mission, which came to Jamaica at the request of the Jamaican Government, recommended the establishment of Junior Secondary schools for the age group 12 to 15 on a scale that necessitated the implementation of a major building programme. The mission gave many reasons for this major recommendation, reasons that were not only educational but financial and practical. Some of these reasons were:

1. The separation of children soon to become adolescents from the younger age groups facilitates the particular attention dictated by their special needs;

2. The ultimate elimination of the 11+ Common Entrance Examination with the undesirable consequences of early selection, with the overemphasis on Examinations in particular;
3. The establishment of Junior Secondary Schools on a planned national basis will provide Secondary School facilities for at least a three-year course, thereby resulting in a reduction of Government and personal expenditures for residential schooling;
4. The possibility of the expansion of the facilities in these schools to cater to the full Secondary programme, a five-year course, as the necessity arises;
5. The wider opportunities provided in these schools for continuing and adult education and as centres for community development.

It is this UNESCO Report that formed the basis for the formulation of the Government's new educational policies and programmes contained in the official document entitled "New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica" (December, 1966) which was approved by Parliament in January, 1967.

The Programme

The "New Deal for Education" sets out both the long-term objectives for education in Jamaica to 1980 and a short-term expansion programme to 1970, with the period 1971-1975

representing the intermediate phase. The overall plan called for a completely integrated system of education on a four-tier basis, as follows:

Primary education

First Cycle Secondary (Junior Secondary)

Second Cycle Secondary

Post Secondary

In the restructuring of the system all public primary and secondary education was to be divided into grades with no rigid adherence to a strict policy of age grouping. Substantial changes in this direction have been made during the first phase ending in 1970. At the Primary level the Grades are 1-6, i.e., in the age group 6 to 12. At this stage all children would move into the Junior Secondary Schools on a non-selective basis for a three-year course (Grades 7-9) which means that at age 15 tests of evaluation would select the minority whose education would continue in second cycle secondary schools--Grammar, Technical or Vocational. In these schools the terms "Forms" was to be replaced by "Grades" so that at the Grammar school level, for example, Forms 1 to 5 would be renamed Grades 7 to 11 and the 6th Forms, Grades 12 and 13. Among the long-term goals are: (a) compulsory education throughout the island for all children aged 6-15 and, (b) free secondary education to age 15 by 1980.

The opening paragraph of this document reads in

part:

> Government hereby announces an £8 million development programme for education over the next three years. £7 million is to build Junior Secondary Schools, to expand facilities for Teacher Training, expand college of Arts, Science and Technology and the Jamaica School of Agriculture; £1 million is to build primary schools and teachers' cottages. The £7 million programme will be financed by a loan of £3.4 million from the World Bank, a US/AID grant of $.464 million technical aid for Teacher Training and Jamaica's contribution of school sites, together with 47 per cent of the cost of buildings and equipment, other technical services and a minimum number of teachers' cottages for the Junior Secondary Schools.

Table 26, taken from the "New Deal for Education" (p. 10), gives an analysis of the proposed long-term programme with estimates of the required school places based on demographic projections of the school age population (6-19) at different levels in the system.

Table 27 and Table 28 give the respective breakdown of the projected secondary school places for the five-year period up to 1970 and the percentage by type of enrolment of the estimated number of children in each age group. It may be observed from Table 27 that by far the greatest provision for the 12-15 age cohort in 1970 was at the level of the Junior Secondary school with 79,000 places out of an estimated population of 165,000 as compared with only 20,358 of the total in the same age group placed in the existing types of Grammar, Technical and Vocational schools. And of the 186,200 population estimated for the number of children in the Second Cycle age group (i.e., 15-19), a comparatively small proportion or 14.3 per cent, as indicated in Table 28,

Table 26

Proposed Long-Term Educational Programme 1966-1980

Physical Programme of Additional Places Required

1 Level of Education and Age-Group	2 Estimated Population 1965*	3 Estimated Population 1980*	4 Available Places 1965 (estimated)	5 Replacement of Existing Places Over Period	6 No. of Places Required for Maximum Enrolment Over Period	7 Additional Places to be Provided Over Period	8 No. of Places to be Provided Over Period
Primary and All-Age Schools (6-12)	322,000	432,000	220,000	70,000	389,000	169,000	239,000
Secondary							
First Cycle (12-15)	131,500	195,000	14,000		176,000	162,000	162,000
Second Cycle (15 to17-19)	151,800	248,800					
(i) Secondary General			(b) 24,000	8,000	40,000	16,000	24,000
(ii) Secondary Technical and Vocational			(b) 3,000	500	16,000	13,000	13,500
Total	605,200	875,800	261,000	78,500	621,000	360,000	438,500

*Compiled from projections by G. W. Roberts, Professor of Demography in the Department of Sociology, U.W.I.

(a) Column 7 plus 5

(b) 27,000 includes 15,358 in age-group 12-15 and 11,642 in age-groups 15-19

Column 4: The available places given here relate to the capacity available in the opinion of the UNESCO Mission. Therefore, in most instances, the figure given is greater than present enrolment. This is particularly so for the High Schools (Second Cycle Secondary General).

Column 6: In 1980 it is estimated by the UNESCO Mission that maximum enrolment in the system will be:
90% of the Primary School Population (6 to 12 years)
90% of the First Cycle Secondary (12 to 15 years)

Table 27

Short Term Programme for Expansion: 1966-1970

Level of Education	Estimated Population 1970	1965 existing places average	Replacement of existing places	New places	No. of places to be constructed over period	No. of places in 1970
Primary 6-12	367,700	220,000	18,050	36,400	54,050	256,400
Secondary						
First Cycle 12-15 J.S.S.	165,000	14,000	--	65,000	65,000	79,000
High School 12-15	--	14,222	--	3,785		
Technical and Vocational	--	1,136	--	1,215	5,000	20,358
Second Cycle 15 to 16-19	186,200	--	--	--	--	--
Secondary general	--	9,778	3,000	9,000		
Technical and Vocational	--	1,864	--	6,000	18,000	26,642
Total	718,900	261,000	21,050	121,400	142,050	382,400

The salient points of the programme are:

(1) To have available by 1970, 256,400 primary school places;
(2) 79,000 junior secondary school places;
(3) 20,358 junior places in high, vocational and technical schools;
(4) 26,642 in second cycle secondary schools;
(5) 9,000 places will be required as soon as the feeds from J.S.S. are available. These places will be provided within the time schedule to the extent that the J.S.S. programme can provide the required inputs to the Second Cycle Secondary Schools.

Source: New Deal for Education: Ministry of Education, Kingston, Jamaica, p. 11

Table 28

Percentage of Places/Total Population in Age-Group for the Years 1965-1970

School Types	1965	1970	1965		1970	
Primary 6-15 age-group	50%	60% (a)	220,000	162,000 (6-11) 58,000 (12-15)	256,000	221,000 (6-11) 35,000 (11-15)
Secondary						
First Cycle Secondary 12-15 age-group	11%	47.9%	14,000 (b)		79,000	
High School Grammar	11.7%	12.3%	14,222			
Technical & Vocational			1,136		20,358	
Second Cycle Secondary 15-19 age-group						
Grammar Technical and Vocational	7.6%	14.3%	9,778 1,864		26,642	

(a) No. of places in 'All-age Schools'
(b) Existing Junior Secondary School places

Source: New Deal for Education: Ministry of Education, Kingston, Jamaica, p. 13

was to be enrolled in the separate types of existing secondary schools, i.e., Grammar, Technical and Vocational. It can clearly be seen also from Table 28 where the emphasis on Secondary education was placed, i.e., at the Junior Secondary level, with an enrolment increase to 47.9 per cent in 1970 from 11 per cent in 1965, and for the same period a mere .6 per cent increase in the enrolment figure of 11.7 per cent for the same age group in the Grammar and other separate types of secondary schools.

General Criticism of the Junior Secondary Schools

In an article in the Torch, Journal of the Ministry of Education, Jamaica, Vol. 19, No. 2, Summer 1969, under the heading "Junior Secondary Schools", reference was made to the findings of a manpower survey carried out in 1960 which are revealing. In this year, i.e. 1960, it was reckoned that although there were 65,900 persons who had received a secondary education, the number of skilled and trained people who were required in this same year for a wide variety of jobs from the professional, business and executive level to the category of technicians and craftsmen, was 227,000. This meant that there was a critical shortage of trained personnel to be extent of 161,000 persons. When it is considered, as the article pointed out, that approximately 4,000 graduates with secondary training were produced each year, the nature of the problem assumes greater proportions.

It is particularly in the role of seeking to generate and augment the supply of manpower skills as quickly as possible that the Junior Secondary Schools were, according to the official publication, introduced. The Journal expressed it in this way:

> It is against this background that the junior secondary school idea was conceived with the definite intention of bridging the gap as quickly as possible between the number of jobs available and the number of persons trained to fill these jobs. If the junior secondary schools are given maximum support they shall prove to be the pivot of an education structure which will meet our needs for the future (p. 1).

A further examination of the programme analysis reflected in Table 28 at the Second Cycle level of secondary education puts the 15-19 age group receiving Grammar type and Technical education at rather less than 14.3 per cent. This does not seem to coincide completely with the claim that particularly at the higher levels of professional, technical and managerial skills there were enough of the Junior Secondary pupils of the required standard flowing into the Second Cycle Grammar and Technical schools to produce the graduates in the variety of skills and in the numbers required. Further evidence that the cause for optimism in this respect could be more than a trifle offset by an element of illusion, may be adduced from a statement made by the present Minister of Education and reported in the Daily Gleaner of August 18, 1972, p. 2. Making reference to the overall disappointing performance in the different types of Examinations taken by the different types of schools in the island, the Minister

said:

> In a meaning-of-words tests carried out in a Junior Secondary school, only 25 per cent of the students gained 50 per cent marks. Given the word "foliage" and suggested meanings of "flowers", "leaves" and "folding", students selected "folding", similarly, given "remember" and suggested meanings of "remain", "recall" and "repeat", students selected "repeat".
>
> Setting aside whether these are relevant studies or examinations for the development needs of the country, the shortfall on achievement is clearly critical.

One of the major criticisms of the Junior Secondary Schools was that far too many of the children who entered them from the Primary Schools were functionally illiterate. Writing in the Daily Gleaner of March 26, 1972 (p. 10), a former Speaker of the House of Representatives stated that:

> . . . the chief failure of the Junior Secondary School is that 50 per cent of its pupils at the point of entry can neither read nor write. Amazing but true. Therefore, the failure of the Junior Secondary Schools is due to the breakdown of the Primary school and its failure to produce at the age of 12 pupils fit for secondary training.

There is support for this "amazing" situation in the findings of a study done in the Department of Education, at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica and quoted in the Daily Gleaner of December 3, 1967, p. 5. The study was concerned with the reading achievement of about 400 students in the 7th Grade of the Junior Secondary School: "The researchers found that slightly more than 60 per cent of 7th Graders were reading below the level required of them". In the same issue of the national newspaper in which the former Speaker of the House made his observation in regard to the illiteracy

of the Grade 7 entrants to the Junior Secondary School (Daily Gleaner, March 26, 1972), there appeared an article by the former Minister of Education in which he refuted the claims of his critics that primary education was neglected. Under the bold caption, "Achievements in Primary School Education 1962-1972", the former Minister catalogued a series of improvements to substantiate his counter claim that:

> . . . this argument about failing to give pride of place to primary education as well as all insinuations about the neglect of primary education, is ridiculously untenable.

On the basis of an examination of the available evidence, however, the indications seem to be that in far too many of the primary schools the physical conditions as well as the lack of proper educational facilities and equipment do not appear to justify any other conclusion than that the situation leaves much to be desired. In fact, the evidence is suggestive of much neglect.

Another criticism that seems justifiable is the heightened sense of expectation leading to frustration and a sense of failure that were associated with the Junior Secondary schools. This heightened sense of expectation of achievements that were for the most part unrealizable can spell social disaster. Much was done by the way in which the Junior Secondary schools appeared to have been used in some instances to create and promote this heightened sense of expectation which ended in frustration and failure for some

80 per cent of the 15+ age group for whom their education in these schools was terminal. Such announcements, for example, as were reported to have been carried by the radio station from 1967 to the effect that "your child can become a lawyer or a doctor in the Junior Secondary School" (The Daily Gleaner, March 26, 1972) have contributed to the undesirable effects referred to. Perhaps all these strategies were perceived to be necessary in the face of the reality that because the Junior Secondary system had to operate side by side with a selective prestigious type of High School, the status of educational inferiority would tend by comparison to become more easily apparent, since in the perception of the general public the Junior Secondary Schools were regarded as synonymous with the existing High Schools in terms of the traditional educational structure.

To what extent, if any, there will be any changes with respect to the ultimate role of these Junior Secondary Schools in the educational system of the Island is as yet too early to tell. But from various official pronouncements in the local Press, it would appear that some modification in policy, at least for the time being, was being contemplated.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF A DECADE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT IN JAMAICA

We may now attempt to make a general analysis of the direction of developments in the field of secondary education which took place in Jamaica over the decade with which this study was concerned, i.e., beginning with the achievement of Independence on August 6, 1962.

Before doing so, however, it may be helpful to note briefly that from a global perspective the 1960's witnessed the formulation and implementation of educational policies that were influenced in the main by the two major considerations of equity and efficiency. As the OECD Report (1971:34) puts it:

> Broadly speaking we may say that two viewpoints on the overall objectives of educational growth dominated the scene in the 1960's:
>
> (i) that education should be provided for everybody to the highest level he demands, and for which he is qualified, and
>
> (ii) that a rapid expansion of the educational system was justified to provide the necessary manpower for expanding economies.

In regard to the concept of equity, the authors of the Report made the point that educational growth over the period was determined to a greater extent by "the goal of equality of opportunity" (p. 34). But a note of disappointment was indicated later on in the statement that educational systems

have fallen short of the achievement of this goal. It was expressed in this way:

> The relative failure of educational systems in achieving equality of opportunity is leading to recognition that equality is dependent on the quality of the system and in particular on its ability to provide equality of achievement (p. 35).

In terms of efficiency, the demand for skills to service the economy remained a major factor in the expansion of educational facilities.

The Jamaican Situation

Prior to the 1960's, the situation in regard to the provision of secondary education in Jamaica corresponded very closely to the elitist model of British origin. As was noted earlier in this study, the educational system was operated in such a way that the opportunities for secondary education via the existing traditional Grammar Schools were reserved, to a very large extent, for the children of those parents who were able to bear the full cost of their children's education. For the vast majority of children from working class homes, their education began and ended in the Primary Schools. However, rapid political and constitutional advance in the 1950's, leading to the attainment of Self-Government in 1959, contributed to the promotion of a greater awareness of, and responsiveness to, the necessity to introduce changes into the system which would ensure a more equitable distribution of educational opportunities to all sectors of the Jamaican population.

A good start was made in this direction with the introduction in 1957 of the Government Common Entrance Examination which was a replica of the English "11-plus" Examination, and on the basis of which admission to the Grammar Schools was determined. The ability to pay for a secondary education was, therefore, gradually being replaced by the ability to pass the Common Entrance Examination. It was discovered, however, that of the vast number of children from the Primary Schools who sat the examination, and who in fact came from the "culturally-disadvantaged" homes associated with low socio-economic status, only a very small number, by comparison with their more socially-privileged counterparts, were able to do sufficiently well to earn free place awards to the Secondary High Schools. With a new Government that came into office shortly before Independence in August 1962, a new education manifesto, inspired by the political philosophy of egalitarianism, declared that 70 per cent of all the free places allocated to the Grammar Schools must go to pupils from the Primary Schools. The remaining 30 per cent went to children from other schools. This was given legislative sanction during the Debate in Parliament when the then Minister of Education announced:

> . . . therefore, we arbitrarily decreed that approximately 70 per cent should go to Primary Schools and the other 30 per cent to other schools. (Jamaica Hansard, April 8, 1963, August 1, 1963, p. 73).

Although the principle of selectivity still existed in terms of entry to Secondary Grammar Schools based on

performance in the Common Entrance Examination, nonetheless, the balance appeared to be redressed by the application of "70/30" formula which has become a controversial issue. But, in the words of the former Minister, "the '70/30' was a move towards social justice and democratization" (Personal interview with the former Minister at Frankfield, Clarendon, Jamaica, June 4, 1972). There is evidence for the support of this "move" in a study done by D. R. Manley (1963), under the auspices of the University of the West Indies. The findings of this study indicated:

> . . . that children drawn from certain social classes show a decided superiority in the examination over other groups. These children probably start with certain advantages of early environment and to this initial advantage is further added the advantage that they tend to be congregated in urban areas; possibly, attendance at private schools is yet another advantage (Social and Economic Studies. Vol. 12, No. 1, 1963:51-71).

It can be seen from Table 29 that the free places awarded on the results of the Common Entrance Examination in 1959, were jointly monopolized by the children of parents in the categories of clerical, skilled and semi-skilled workers, while there was an over-representation of the professional and managerial group. By contrast, the situation in regard to the percentage of the children of the unskilled gaining free places is one of clearly marked under-representation.

Similarly, Table 30, as set out below, further demonstrates the fact that the privileged groups in the society were benefiting most from the free place awards.

The tremendous differences in success based on social

Table 29

Social Differences in Size of Entry and Success in the Examination (1959)

	Group	Percentage of Entry	Percentage of Free Places
1.	Professional and Managerial	5.1	20.5
2.	Teachers	4.9	7.3
3.	Clerical	21.8	36.3
4.	Skilled and semi-skilled	29.4	24.2
5.	Farmers	26.3	6.8
6.	Unskilled	12.5	4.7

Source: D. R. Manley. "Mental Ability in Jamaica", Social Economic Studies, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1963, p. 65.

Table 30

Percentage from each Social Class which Obtained Free Places (1959)

	Group	Percentage
1.	Professional and Managerial	45.8
2.	Teachers	16.4
3.	Clerical	18.5
4.	Skilled and semi-skilled	9.2
5.	Farmers	2.8
6.	Unskilled Workers	4.2

Source: D. R. Manley, op. cit., ibid.

class which these figures show may be regarded as directly related to some of the perceived attitudes about the Common Entrance Examination. For example, as Manley (1963:65-66) pointed out:

> . . . in the upper and upper middle classes free place winning has virtually become a norm, and parents are seriously disturbed if their children are not successful, whereas in many rural peasant communities the free place winner seems an object of wonder.

Developing the theme of social justice in the interview referred to (p. 155), the former Minister went on to explain that "this democratization was followed up by the introduction of the policy of Secondary Education for all". It may be said at this point that all the documentary evidence indicates, and the practical implementation of the stated policy would seem to confirm, that the innovations in secondary education were based on the equity model. The early experiments in Comprehensive type education and the later development of the Junior Secondary Schools which have previously been discussed, are clear examples of the way in which it appears that attempts were made to use this model to promote the changes in the secondary education system of the island.

It seems clear, too, that in these planned changes the main focus was directed to the provision of facilities aimed at developing to the maximum the potential of all children of varying abilities, aptitudes and interests. In other words, it was the individual rather than the economic needs that appeared to have been given the central place in

the planning and organization of the programmes. Whenever reference was made in the official reports or documents dealing with the Junior Secondary School, for example, invariably the emphasis was placed on the child. The following excerpt from the relevant Ministry Paper will serve to illustrate this point:

> A Junior Secondary School is a part of the secondary education system. It is not a school where elementary education ends: it is a school where secondary education begins. The bright child at a Junior Secondary School must compare very favourably with the bright child of the same age at the best high school. The average and slow child in a Junior Secondary School should be much better off than his counterpart at a high school or technical high school (Ministry Paper No. 73. "New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica", December 1966, p. 24).

In terms of the large number of Junior Secondary School places that were provided over the period, it must be said that a real effort was made by the Government of the day to offer a more diversified type of secondary education at a certain level to a greater number of children from the lower classes of the society who perhaps might not otherwise have benefited in this way. In an article appearing in the Daily Gleaner of October 8, 1972, on the perceived advantages of these types of programmes, it was stated that:

> . . . the establishment of these schools has been the best thing that happened to Jamaica in the field of education in this century up to now (p. 10).

There is corroboration for this view in a statement made by the former Minister in Parliament on May 22, 1969. The statement reads in part as follows:

> I say that the junior secondary school at that level is the sanest and wisest thing that could have been done in the education of this country or any other country in a similar plight. And developing countries elsewhere are taking note of this (Jamaica Hansard. Session 1968-1969 Vol. 1 No. 2. November 26, 1968-August 6, 1969, p. 761)

As far as absolute numbers are concerned, it will be seen from the projections quoted in Table 27 (p. 145) of the study, that out of an estimated population of 165,000 children in the age group of 12-15 years, i.e., at the Junior Secondary level, provision was made for 65,000 additional places in 1970. Although the enrolment figures for September 1970 as given in Hansard (op. cit., p. 758), were put in the region of 53,000--representing in fact an appreciable shortfall in the projection--they do, in effect, indicate the extent to which efforts were made to give meaningful application to the concept of equity which appeared to have influenced in the main the educational innovations.

Economic Efficiency

The discussion now concerns itself with an analysis of the factors associated with the extent to which the development of secondary education over the period seemed to have been influenced by considerations of economic efficiency. Perhaps it should be pointed out at this stage that from the statements and pronouncements appearing in the various official documents, it would appear that the policy-makers at the national level had a deep awareness of the necessity to create the conditions likely to promote and maintain the

economic efficiency of the society. Writing in the New Clarion, the official organ of the Jamaica Teachers' Association, the former Leader of the Parliamentary Opposition, and now the Prime Minister of Jamaica, summed up the position in this way:

> For more than three hundred years our educational needs were determined by our function as a supplier of raw materials to the metropolitan economy and our basic attitudes were inevitably based on the assumption that all wisdom came from outside and that there was little in Jamaica to be proud of. Our educational system is the one instrument by which we can transform our society by raising its levels of skills and changing its attitudes (The New Clarion. The Jamaica Teachers' Association, Kingston, Jamaica. Nov.-Dec. 1971, Vol. 7, No. 5, p. 8).

Various debates in Parliament over the period, as recorded in the Hansard Reports, indicated the concerns of members of both sides of the House for the necessity to improve and increase the manpower skills in the interest of the economic development of the country. For example, the former Minister of Finance in his Budget speech in Parliament in 1969, made the point that:

> . . . in respect of training and education and identifiable factor--an identifiable cause of problems in that particular area, was the need to increase skilled manpower (Jamaica Hansard. Session 1968-1969, Vol. 1, No. 2, November 27, 1968-August 6, 1969, p. 652).

And in the same speech the former Minister drew attention to the specific areas in which there was a shortage of manpower as well as the estimated number of skilled and semi-skilled persons who were required to fill vacant positions in various sectors of the economy. Quoting from the

findings of a manpower survey that was carried out in 1967, he stated that:

> . . . the results of the survey in 1967 indicate a shortage of some 1,800 professional, skilled and semi-skilled persons required to fill key positions at that level in the country's employment. But by 1972 these figures will rise substantially, according to the projection in the Manpower Survey, and will be something of the order of three to four thousand persons of that category who will be required. This reference is in relation to semi-professional and professional categories of manpower (Jamaica Hansard. Op. cit., p. 651).

It is interesting to note that in line with the manpower projections for 1972, the situation seems to have developed substantially to the extent to which the identifiable trends in 1967 appeared to have indicated. There is evidence for this in the content of a report appearing in the Daily Gleaner of October 16, 1972 and attributed to the new Minister of Education who assumed office in March 1972. Making reference to the lack of an adequate supply of skilled Jamaican personnel to man the services in the Government and private sectors of the economy, the Minister was quoted as saying that:

> . . . as of June this year there were some 4,506 vacancies in the Government's Services. These ranged from clerical to professional occupations. There were some 280 stenotypist jobs among them (p. 10).

It will be observed that in accordance with the reported professional and semi-professional vacancies referred to for the years 1967 and 1972, i.e., 1967: 1,800 and 1972: 4,506, there was approximately 150 per cent increase in the number of positions in the society for which Jamaicans with the

appropriate levels of skills were not available. And when one examines the situation in this connection as it existed at Independence, i.e., in 1962, one finds from the evidence that the trends were already clear from that time. The then Minister of Finance declared in his Budget Speech that there were 626 vacancies ranging from the administrative to the technical areas. He described the situation in these terms:

> We have some 626 vacancies stretching from the administrative to the technical staff at the moment . . . in the four fields of architects, land surveyors, quantity surveyors, and engineers, who are necessary to carry on the operations of Government, we find that there are 24 vacancies and that in these same fields an amount was spent in 1960/61 to the extent of £65,000 and in 1961/62 a further sum of £72,000 to employ outside personnel because there was a lack of staff due to conditions of pay and conditions of service (Jamaica Hansard. Session 1962-1963, No. 1, May 8, 1962-July 26, 1962, pp. 8-9).

Another index of the severe shortage of specialist and professional skills is the annual Government-sponsored mission over the past few years to Britain and North America to recruit Graduate teachers to help in manning the Secondary High Schools.

In view of the preceding discussion, it would appear that there is the need for the educational system to provide a greater supply of manpower skills at the professional, technical and sub-professional levels to ensure the efficiency necessary for the economic development of the country. In this regard the views of the Prime Minister of Jamaica as reported in the local Press are appropriate here. The report reads in part:

> . . . education must provide in a country the skills that are relevant to the economic possibilities of that country. . . . only when the skills that the people acquire at school are relevant to the country will they be capable of achieving an economic existence for themselves and of contributing something to the economic development of their environment (The Daily Gleaner. Kingston, Jamaica. November 3, 1972, p. 39).

As was indicated earlier in this chapter, it seemed clear that considerations of economic efficiency also played a major role in influencing the educational innovations that dominated the development of secondary education in Jamaica over the period covered by this study. The introduction of diversified programmes into the new schools that were built seemed to have been designed to assist also in the achievement of this objective. But the positions in the various employment sectors to be filled required, for the most part, an adequate supply of skills at those levels which did not appear to be forthcoming at the second cycle or upper secondary level via the Junior Secondary Schools. It will be remembered that approximately 20 per cent of the pupils of these schools are selected on their performance in the Grade Nine Achievement Test to enter the Grammar and Technical High Schools in September each year. The opinions that have been expressed by many administrators in the system together with the views conveyed in various letters and articles in the Press and elsewhere are suggestive of the fact that many of these Grade Nine entrants to the High Schools are slow to cope successfully with the upper school programmes at Grades 10 and 11. In an article in the Daily Gleaner of October 8,

1972, one gets a similar viewpoint. The relevant excerpt is enlightening:

> We know only too well the low attainment levels of most pupils who enter the school every September . . . some schools in very rural areas feel the burden of responsibility to bring these students who enter them up to near normalcy even more than schools in more enlightened areas (p. 10).

An important inference may be drawn from all these observations, namely, that while about 20 per cent of the Junior Secondary School population are selected for Second Cycle Secondary education in the High Schools, it does not appear that more than a small percentage of these pupils pass the G.C.E. Examination in five or more subjects. In regard to the remaining 80 per cent of the pupils of these schools whose education is terminal, the article sounded a disturbing note by stating that "the majority of school-leavers help to swell the ranks of the frustrated unemployed and unemployable" (op. cit., p. 10).

And so it would appear that although equity and efficiency undoubtedly influenced the policies and programmes related to the educational innovations in secondary education over the decade under study, nevertheless the evidence suggests that the equity model tended to make a greater impact at the expense of economic efficiency.

Perhaps, as the OECD Report (1971:37) puts it:

> Equity and economic efficiency can be realized only through general political decisions about the allocation of resources in relation to objectives, and the process for determining such goals is bound to be the normal political process. Even so, it must be

> recognized that neither can be successfully attained unless translated into the specifics of school practice and there is, in consequence, a major problem of involving teachers, parents and students as such in the definition of goals and their translation into action.

COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The stage has now been reached when perhaps it might be appropriate to make some comments which would seem to be relevant and, possibly, might help to throw light on some of the important aspects of the problem with which this study was concerned.

It will be recalled that in terms of the provision of secondary education for a larger number of children of the lower socio-economic groups in the society, the administration of the day vigorously pursued a policy of democratizing access to secondary education by introducing free Junior Secondary education for all children between the ages of 12 and 15 years. A vast building programme to implement this policy was successfully undertaken over the five-year period beginning in 1966 with the construction of some fifty Junior Secondary Schools.

It will be recalled, too, that not long after the Government of the day took office in April 1962, it decreed, in accordance with its political philosophy of egalitarianism, that 70 per cent of all Free Places to the Secondary Grammar Schools should go to the children from the Primary Schools. In addition, Government assistance was provided for as many of the needy Free Place winners as possible to

enable them to take the fullest advantage of their education in the existing Grammar Schools. The author of Ministry Paper No. 40, May 5, 1965 ("Assistance to Poor Parents") made the point that "it is Government's policy that no free place scholar should be deprived of schooling or suffer embarrassment only because his parents are poor" (p. 1). It is recorded that a total of 5,827 Free Place holders, representing 4,400 for Grammar Schools and 1,427 for Technical High Schools, received assistance in the academic year 1964/65. The Paper ended with the statement that "the sum of £227,550 (£195,000 for Grammar and £82,550 for Technical High Schools) has been provided for the continued operation of the scheme in 1965/66".

Paradoxically, the implementation of the "70/30" scheme meant that in January 1963 there was great pressure on the primary schools from parents who, in "the hunt for free places for their children began sending them in greater numbers in search of the unimproved number of places in the primary schools". (The Daily Gleaner, August 6, 1972, p. 47). The result was that thousands of children could not be accommodated and had to be turned away, a situation that posed a major problem for the administration to solve. This tremendous rush on the primary schools seems natural in view of the fact that, in the past, the elitist minority of the population virtually monopolized the vast majority of the places in the prestigious Grammar Schools. As Vernon (1961:

40) puts it:

> The middle classes in Jamaica patronise the preparatory and private, and a few favoured primary schools and thus still acquire the great majority of places in the high-prestige secondary schools.

Therefore, when the Government announced in 1966 its new policy of "free secondary education for all", in the minds of the people at large this meant education of the type which was traditionally available to the privileged groups in the society, i.e., Grammar School education. The present Minister of Education emphasized this point during a debate in the House in 1968 in his capacity then as the Opposition spokesman on education. He explained that:

> . . . the words 'secondary school' have a special connotation in the minds of the people for donkey's years. When you talk of secondary school, Mr. Speaker, people talk of Jamaica College, Wolmer's, Cornwall, that was the connotation in people's minds (Jamaica Hansard. Session, 1968-1969. Vol. 1. No. 2, November 26, 1968-August 6, 1969, p. 769).

What happened in effect, then, was that as far as secondary education was concerned, there was a heightened sense of expectation on the part of the masses in their perception of the situation that the "free secondary education" referred to was to be a model of the type of education offered in the existing Secondary Grammar Schools. After the Junior Secondary programme was fully implemented and it became clear that for most of the children their formal education was terminal at 15+, this heightened sense of expectation was turned into frustration and cynicism. This is one of the major considerations that seemed to support

the view that even if there was more public dialogue before the implementation of these educational changes, it appeared doubtful whether there would have been a greater measure of acceptability of the scheme by the public at large.

Again, since an innovation in education of such magnitude was not undertaken by any other West Indian nation before, and since no research was done into the strengths and weaknesses of this type of education in the Caribbean to ascertain the extent to which the anticipated measure of success could be expected, it seemed that a modified programme on an experimental basis, initially, might have provided useful information that could have aided the decision-making process at both the planning and policy levels. It may be said here that imported schemes and programmes from the advanced and technologically-developed societies into developing countries, however successful these might be in their metropolitan context, tend to have an unhappy fate in their new environment inconsistent with the best intentions of the importing authorities. Jamaica, no doubt, in common with other newly emergent nations, has been influenced by the type of thinking that has tended to look to an external source for its standards, organizational concepts and patterns.

This tendency was noted by the authors of the West India Royal Commission Reports (1945) and they threw out the challenge to the West Indian colonies of the day by recording

that:

> . . . constantly to look to other countries for their standards is to postpone indefinitely the emergence of a real sense of independence and self-respect (p. 120).

Edmund King (1962:105) presented a similar cosmology in his observations and cautioned in a somewhat less poignant manner that:

> Rapidly developing countries committed to 'mass education' may thus inadvertently find themselves presenting to their emergent populations discordant values and unreconciled institutions, particularly if they copy isolated features (such as technical colleges or a selection process); for these may be logically and lastingly incompatible with each other in the form in which they are imported . . .

More recently, John Figueroa, Professor of Education at the University of the West Indies, called for an end to the importation from other countries of whatever is needed to solve our domestic problems. He expressed it in this way:

> It is time to cure ourselves of the neurosis whereby everything must come from abroad, including advice on an education situation which is well known by many Jamaicans, and West Indians, and often only indirectly known by 'visiting teams' who swarm upon us, work actively for a few days or weeks or months and then fly off to other places, having fortunately for them, no obligation to live with the 'solutions' which they have left behind (The Daily Gleaner, Kingston, Jamaica. February 15, 1970, p. 5).

The reference to "an education situation" seems to apply to the introduction of the educational innovations in respect of the Junior Secondary Schools which were based on the North American model.

It would appear from all these observations that our policy-makers may well need to examine far more critically, in the light of our own peculiar circumstances, recommended

plans or projects of a foreign model before any commitment is made in regard to approval for implementation. The position taken here is that although innovations there must be, if the new challenges of our emergent society are to be met, these are best undertaken by the leaders themselves in co-operation with the widest possible circle of local expertise at all levels and in all sectors of the economy and after the most careful research into the proposed projects confirms the justification for their implementation. This is not to suggest, however, that Jamaica has reached the stage where there is no further need to learn or benefit from the advances or shortcomings of other societies. What it does mean, as Rex Nettleford has so clearly put it, is that "the inevitable influences from elsewhere will have to be more discriminatingly adopted than we have done in the past". (Rex Nettleford, News Analysis, Radio/Television. August 8, 1972, unpublished script, p. 1).

The question may now be asked: What are some of the recommendations that one perceives might be insightful and practicable in terms of possible improvements in the development of secondary education in Jamaica?

Recommendations

It seems clear that on the basis of all the available evidence the Secondary High Schools are not producing enough graduates of the required qualifications for training in the skills necessary to service the varying sectors of the

economy; and the numbers transferred from the Junior Secondary Schools at age 15 to the High Schools do not appear to have made any difference so far to the limited competent pool of secondary school graduate out-put. The first recommendation, therefore, that appears crucial is for the High Schools to be expanded to the extent where instead of the present intake of less than 10 per cent of the 12 to 18 age cohort (some sources put this figure at 8 per cent), the enrolment should be increased to something of the order of 20 per cent. Although there are reported serious deficiencies in the primary school system with a functional literacy and numeracy rate estimated at 50 to 55 per cent at the age of 12, enough children of the potential to cope with a high school education are immediately available to meet this proposed 20 per cent increase in enrolment. This whole question of supplying the manpower needs of the society in order to ensure economic efficiency is so important that the Minister of Education found it necessary in December 1972 to set up a Working Party to enquire into all aspects of post "O" Level education, i.e., all secondary education beyond Grade 11. The Minister described the urgency of the situation in these terms:

> There is no question about it that there is a crisis in the top manpower needs of our country, and we run the risk of not finding sufficient "A" Level candidates in variety to go to universities.
>
> There is equally a crisis in quality in middle manpower, secretaries, personnel, teachers and the like.

> There is equally another crisis in attitudes, because even the best educated are reluctant to enter the public service as professionals or administrators or to undertake technical and managerial functions (The Daily Gleaner, Kingston, Jamaica. December 9, 1972, p. 33).

Another recommendation has to do with the burning question of the teaching-learning process within the schools where, in the words of Figueroa (1971:107), "end products dominate over processes". Certainly, there is the pressing need for a great deal of improvement not only in the physical facilities of many of the High Schools, particularly those of more recent foundation, in terms of libraries, canteen, auditorium, gymnasium, etc., but also in the provision of more instructional materials and equipment such as, overhead and film strip projectors, video tapes, tape recorders, etc. Bearing in mind that the large majority of the children now in attendance at the High Schools are from homes that are marked by educational and cultural deficiencies, there is the need for a much greater use to be made than at present of different types of audio-visual equipment in order to generate and stimulate greater facility in the learning process. It is in this context that the role of the teacher is so crucial. But if we are to educate not only for manpower needs, to turn out "a certain kind and size of labour force" (Figueroa, op. cit., p. 89), but for the wider societal values of social cohesion, self-respect, mutual understanding and a sense of responsibility (and these are some of the prerequisites for national unity today), then

the training of our teachers needs to reflect the kind of emphasis required to create an awareness of this type of orientation in their on-going interaction with their students. In this connection, the point made by Figueroa (1971:93) may be noted here. He suggested that:

> What should be offered to the youth of newly developing countries is the opportunity of experiencing those values of society which are known to be good, along with the kind of intellectual and moral development which will enable the youth to examine these and other values of their own and of other societies.

Greater attention to the opportunities within the schools for more creativity, particularly in terms of the performing arts, such as music and drama, is suggested also; and these should be considered as part of the enrichment of the curriculum and scheduled for as such, rather than, as happens in most instances at the moment, being relegated to the category of extra-curricula activities.

When the Minister of Education called attention to "another crisis in attitudes" (The Daily Gleaner, ibid.), in regard to the reluctance of persons of skill to do certain types of jobs in the public service of the country, persons who, it may be assumed, were products of the educational system, it seems that the situation may be regarded as evidence suggestive of the necessity for a "re-examination of the aims of education mainly in terms of the needs of the society" (Bacchus, Teacher Education: 8:1, May, 1967:50). Although a good deal has already been done, and great efforts are still being made to effect changes in curriculum and

course content to bring these more in line with the needs of the society, for example, the teaching of local and West Indian History and Geography, tropical Botany and Biology, Civics, etc., nevertheless, it would appear that all this is rapidly being achieved without due regard for the inculcation of those socially desirable attitudes, such as, a sense of service, awareness and sensitivity associated with the wider concept of citizenship. It is true that a good teacher is not only a person with a certain level of professional expertise who succeeds in imparting a measure of intellectual skill and knowledge to his pupils but also, one who can articulate through the teaching of his subject certain attitudes of awareness, responsiveness and responsibility perceived to be reflected in, and essential for, effective role relationships in the larger society. In fact, as Bacchus (op. cit., p. 51) pointed out, "it is only when the teacher tries to do this that his work soars beyond the level of a skilled craftsman". Therefore, once a redefinition of the aims of education in relation to the changing needs of the Jamaican environment is specified, then more emphasis should be placed in the schools on the whole process of teaching and learning from this perspective.

Egalitarianism

In regard to the question of egalitarianism, we may now look at some of the directions in which some recommendations may be suggested in an attempt to provide some

guidelines that might be helpful in the formulation of some long-term measures based on this concept.

Clearly, the concept has its base in the traditional view that equality of educational opportunity presupposes not only the access of all groups in the society to some school; but also that the schools available should be roughly equal in terms of personnel, facilities and materials. "Thus, equal educational opportunity, on this view, deals with the distribution of inputs to the system and not with the distribution of outputs" (Green, 1971:27). On the more contemporary view, equality of educational opportunity is more closely associated with equality of achievement, that is, that "there must be a level of educational achievement that everyone attains and that level is not determined by the performance of the person of least abilities" (op. cit., p. 38).

While the Junior Secondary Schools have been providing a diversified form of secondary education at a certain level for a larger number of children than had previously benefited in this way, nonetheless, the selection of only a small percentage on the basis of an examination at the grade nine level to transfer to the existing High Schools, would tend to convey to the vast majority of children, for whom their formal education in these schools was terminal, the impression that they were unfit for, and, therefore, unequal to the challenge of coping satisfactorily with the next

stage of secondary education provided at the Second Cycle level. In the light of the observations made in this study, the continuance of this state of affairs seems undesirable. Provision for the majority of these children to remain on at school to pursue pre-vocational courses for another two years is recommended.

One related recommendation which arises from the suggested expansion of the High Schools to a 20 per cent intake, is to diversify and expand the curriculum in such a way that the Grammar Schools take on more of a composite character by virtue of the variety of their course offerings. Such a measure would no doubt promote the conditions necessary to enable the schools to cater to a wider range of abilities in the academic as well as the non-academic subjects. It is recognized that in a good many of these schools the trend is already well established in this direction, with the teaching of some of the technical, vocational and commercial subjects, such as, Technical Drawing, Home Economics, Shorthand, Typing, etc. However, the suggestion is that greater emphasis in these areas appears to be necessary not only on grounds of educational value; but particularly so in terms of choices for occupational roles.

It is recognized, too, that any recommendation in regard to High School expansion and the diversification of the secondary school programme is directly related to the availability of appropriately qualified staff; but the

suggestion is that this recommendation would form a part of an overall planning perspective which it is envisaged could be achieved in stages over time.

An important possible consequence of this proposal is the greater measure of equality of educational opportunity that it appears might be achieved in view of the larger number of working class children receiving within the walls of these schools, which traditionally were the preserve of an elitist minority in the society, a secondary education that would cater to their respective aptitudes, abilities and interests. But this implies a certain minimal educational level in the quality of output from the Primary Schools if the highest returns possible from the investment at the secondary level are to be realized in quantitative as well as qualitative terms. As the Editorial of the Daily Gleaner of June 11, 1962 pointed out:

> As we see it, the essence of the educational problem is that Jamaica's urgent and pressing need is for more persons of secondary education . . . money spent on improving the quality of Primary education increases the value of money spent on Secondary education: so that the real clash of interest is not between secondary and primary education, but between quality and quantity.

It appears that over the decade the "problem" referred to has not been solved and the "need for more persons of secondary education" seems at least as "urgent and pressing" in 1972 as it was reported to be in 1962. The Minister of Education made the pertinent observation that "Jamaica was not getting sufficiently good results for the large amount

of money being spent on education alone" (The Daily Gleaner, October 13, 1972, p. 13).

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This Chapter presents: (a) a summary of the major findings of the study; (b) some general conclusions, and (c) some implications and general comments.

SUMMARY

The main object of this research was to describe and analyse the major developments in the field of secondary education in Jamaica over the ten-year period commencing with the achievement of Independence, i.e., between August 6, 1962 and August 6, 1972. The study was directed to an examination of the main factors associated with the expansion of secondary school facilities and the diversification of the secondary education programme.

The major concern was with the Secondary High Schools, traditionally referred to as Grammar Schools, and the attempts to shift the emphasis from the type of education offered at this level to two other types of educational institutions: the Comprehensive School and the Junior Secondary School. This latter school was a major innovation introduced into the system in 1966 by the Government of the day.

The study was essentially a documentary one. The

data were collected in Jamaica over a four-month period between May and August 1972.

A general introductory background to the study was provided in Chapter I. This was followed by a discussion and overview of the different levels in the educational system. It was noted that the educational system in Jamaica was a replica of the British metropolitan model and was divided into two separate sections--free Elementary education for the masses and Secondary education for the ruling classes. As far as the age of the pupils was concerned there was some overlap between the two systems: Primary (elementary) education started at the age of 6 and, except for the fortunate few who received scholarships to the secondary schools at age 11, continued until pupils reached the age of 15. While secondary education started at the age of 11 and continued until 16 (18 for those who intended to go on to Universities), many secondary schools had preparatory departments which enrolled pupils from the age of 5 on a fee-paying basis. Because of this it could be said that the two systems were somewhat parallel, drawing their students from two different socio-economic groups in the society. However, with the introduction of adult suffrage in 1944 and steady political and constitutional advance towards self-government in 1959, a start was made in the direction of democratizing entry to the Grammar Schools by replacing, at least to some extent, ability to pay for a

secondary education with tests related to the potential of students to profit from a secondary education. This assessment was done by means of a Common Entrance Examination for entry into secondary schools--an examination which was introduced in 1957. A number of Government Scholarships and Free Places were awarded on the basis of the results of this examination, and there was a substantial increase in these awards over the next five years, during which time the number rose from 1,582 in 1957 to 2,134 in 1961 (Manley, 1963:53), an increase of about 35 per cent.

The structure of the educational system was then outlined with explanatory charts (Figures 4-6) and some of the problems of illiteracy were dealt with in the rest of Chapter III. It was pointed out that out of a total population of nearly 2,000,000 some 500,000 or nearly 25 per cent were estimated to be functionally illiterate.

Major Findings

It was pointed out that prior to August 6, 1962 when Jamaica achieved the status of political Independence, Grammar Schools were virtually the preserve of the privileged social groups who were a minority in the population, but who were likely to fill elite positions in the society. Several studies, including those by Vernon (1961) and Manley (1963) particularly, have provided strong evidence in support of this view. Manley, for example, found that on the basis of the Common Entrance Examination in 1959, 45.8 per cent of the

Government Free Places were won by children of the professional and managerial class. The clerical class came next with 18.5 per cent, while the farmers and unskilled workers obtained only 2.8 and 4.2 per cent, respectively, of the "free place" awards. He pointed out that although

> . . . it is not known to what extent these figures are representative of the total population, certainly it would appear that the farmers and unskilled workers are under-represented in the total entry (op. cit., p. 66).

There is some evidence for an estimate of this, however, in a study done by Bacchus (1968, Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 183). He found that on the basis of the occupational distribution of the active labour force in Jamaica in 1960: (a) 5.5 per cent consisted of persons in the professional, technical, administrative and supervisory categories; (b) clerical and skilled workers accounted for 33 per cent, and (c) the semi-skilled and unskilled represented 61 per cent. These findings suggest the extent to which the figures given by Manley may be regarded as "representative of the total population". From this it may be seen that whereas the children of the "elite" group seemed to have won approximately 45 per cent of the Government awards in 1959, this group represented only a small percentage of the population. By contrast, the children of the semi-skilled and unskilled who constituted about 61 per cent of the active labour force obtained only about 7 per cent of the places.

The new Government that took office in April 1962 and

led Jamaica into Independence on August 6 of that year, introduced the "70/30" formula as a compensatory mechanism to get more of the working class children into the Grammar Schools. By this formula 70 per cent of all "free places" were to be awarded to children attending the public primary schools--these were the children from the less affluent sections of the society--and the remainder went to those attending private and preparatory schools. This measure attempted to secure a more equitable distribution of educational opportunities among the under-privileged groups in the society. This was the first major step in the direction of democratizing the admission to secondary educational institutions. An analysis of the data indicates that this was a practical expression of the Government's policy with respect to egalitarianism. One of the unanticipated consequences of this step was that many of those who previously attended private primary schools now sought places in the Government primary schools. The result was increased pressure on the primary schools, already plagued by overcrowding. While some attempts were made at the primary level to cope with the increased over-crowding, at the secondary level, two experiments in Comprehensive type education on a non-selective basis were undertaken--one at Frankfield in Clarendon, a rural parish, and the other in Kingston, the capital city.

When financial constraints prevented the further development of the Comprehensive schools in accordance with the stated aim of the policy-makers, the Government, after

about two years, embarked upon its new policy of Junior Secondary education as outlined in the document known as the "New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica", published in 1966. It was noted that, in furtherance of its policy of democratization in education, these schools were designed to provide: (a) First Cycle Secondary Education, on a free non-selective basis for all children in the age group 12-15, and (b) a diversified programme of course offerings. A small percentage (about 20 per cent) of the Junior Secondary School pupils were to be transferred at age 15 via the Grade 9 Achievement Test to the Secondary High Schools (Grammar and Technical) to continue the Second Cycle of their secondary education. For the majority (about 80 per cent) of the children their education in the Junior Secondary Schools was, therefore, terminal.

Another important finding was that over the period under study, while there was a massive expansion of secondary education facilities at the First Cycle (Junior Secondary) level, the Second Cycle which included Grammar school education appeared to have been de-emphasized. In terms of enrolment, for example, it was found that between 1958 and 1971 there was not much increase in the number of pupils enrolled in the Grammar Schools mainly as a result of the shift of emphasis from this type of education to "the Ministry's new policy of comprehensive and bilateral education". (Ministry of Education, Annual Report: 1963-1964, p. 16). Reviewing

the educational developments over the decade, the Education Reporter observed that "the very intake into high schools as a result of the Common Entrance Examination has remained largely constant over the decade". (The Daily Gleaner: August 6, 1972, p. 47). To illustrate this point more clearly: whereas between 1958 and 1962 there was an average annual increase in enrolment of 8.4 per cent in Grammar School enrolment, during the years between 1968 and 1971 this figure had dropped to an annual average enrolment rate of 1.6 per cent. By way of actual numbers involved, it was noted also that for the period 1966-1970 Grammar School enrolment moved from 21,167 to only 23,321 at the same time that the figures for the Junior Secondary Schools rose from 13,062 to 30,635. Again, in terms of capital expenditure incurred, the Jamaica Estimates recorded a sum of $5,599,218 spent on the construction of Junior Secondary Schools as against an expenditure of $242,762 on the existing Grammar Schools.

As far as qualified staff was concerned, the investigation revealed a shortage of teachers with degrees (graduate staff) in the secondary high schools. This was borne out not only by the various official statements that appeared in the documents about this problem, but also by the decision of Government in recent years to sponsor recruiting missions to Britain and North America in an effort to procure the services of suitably qualified staff. Data on the staffing

situation indicated that there was no overall improvement in the local supply of graduate staff who mainly taught in the Grammar Schools. It was found that whereas in 1962 graduate staff represented 59.8 per cent of the teaching force in the high schools, by 1970 the number of graduate teachers on the staff of the forty (40) high schools amounted to only 62.7 per cent, with the heavier concentration of this number in the urban schools. This was so despite the fact that the output of graduates from the University of the West Indies increased considerably during these years. In the Comprehensive Schools in 1969-70 the situation with respect to the per cent of graduate staff (15.4 per cent) was deemed to leave much to be desired. Such data as were available for the Junior Secondary Schools revealed only the number of certificated teachers and non-graduate subject specialists. There were, however, indications that only a small percentage of the teachers in these schools had university degrees. In regard to the staff-pupil ratios for these types of schools, the findings indicated an over-all decreasing trend so that in 1970, for example, the ratio for Grammar Schools was 1:20, Junior Secondary Schools, 1:34 and Comprehensive Schools, 1:28.

The Comprehensive and Junior Secondary Schools.

The study suggested that the Government's lack of attention to Grammar School education over the period was directly related to the official policy of democratizing

access to secondary education by emphasizing, firstly, (a) Comprehensive type education and, secondly, (b) Junior Secondary education. This policy was in keeping with the social philosophy of egalitarianism which was propounded by the administration that took office in April 1962 and remained the Government of Jamaica until February 29, 1972.

The Comprehensive School was an early attempt at diversifying the secondary education programme, an attempt which was perceived by the then Minister of Education, the main proponent of the experiment, as

> . . . not only the natural way for a democracy to order the post-primary schooling of a given area, but also is essential for the development of a truly democratic society (Ministry Paper, No. 15, 1963).

Quite apart from the educational and practical benefits that were stated as some of the advantages of such an experiment, the egalitarian dimension dominated the considerations that determined the introduction of these educational experiments. The three main components of the concept of Comprehensive education in the sense in which it was understood by the policy makers was as follows:

1. The democratization of access to secondary schools;
2. The diversification of the content of secondary education, and
3. The elimination of selection in favour of automatic entry, with the provision of opportunities for children who are late developers to receive

> a secondary education appropriate to their aptitudes, abilities and interests.

The aim was that the Comprehensive Schools should accommodate children on a non-selective basis from the age of 12; but, since the brightest of this age-group would already have been selected for entry to the Grammar Schools on the basis of the Common Entrance Examination, only a relatively small number of the more academically able from this source would be enrolled to pursue grammar and technical school courses. They would continue at school until age 17, i.e., Grade 11, and have an achievement rating in most instances equivalent to the standard of the Jamaica Certificate of Education (now replaced by the Jamaica School Certificate Examination) and, in some instances, at the level of the G.C.E. at the Ordinary Level ("O" Level). For the most of the children, however, i.e., approximately 80 per cent, their formal education in these schools would be terminal at age 15.

The original intention as stated in the records was to proceed with the establishment of a number of these types of schools throughout the island. Trench Town Comprehensive, sited in the capital city of Kingston, and Frankfield Comprehensive in the rural parish of Clarendon in which the former Minister resides, were to be the first. The programmes in these schools were to have a specific emphasis on the importance of manual skills and agriculture.

Provision was made for the teaching of Agricultural Science at Frankfield with its appropriate rural setting. Official optimism for the success of the Comprehensive Schools was based on the performance of a group of senior pupils from four selected Primary Schools who were coached by some of the most competent teachers in the schools for the Cambridge School Certificate Examination. By comparison with the performance of the Secondary Grammar School candidates for the years 1958-1960 and 1962 (Vide, Table 25, Chapter 5, p. 129), the primary school candidates had a higher percentage of passes. However, there were major methodological weaknesses in this study; for example, there was no control group in the Grammar Schools.

Some of the more important observations that were made about the Comprehensive Schools in the study are summarised as follows:

1. The fact that only a comparatively small proportion of the student body achieved a measure of success as adjudged by their performance in the G.C.E. Examination tended to promote in the minds of the general public an unfavourable comparison with the existing high schools;
2. It seemed questionable whether some of the more lofty claims for the Comprehensive Schools in terms of social integration can be regarded as anything more than an ideal;

3. The large percentage of pupils for whom their formal education is terminal at age 15 appeared not to be equipped with the skills essential to ensure gainful employment for them in the society.

The Junior Secondary Schools

The establishment of these schools was legitimized by another legislative act of the Government of the day and published in a Ministry Paper, No. 73 under the caption, "New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica" (December 1966). These schools represented the major educational innovation of the decade and, like the Comprehensive Schools, were a practical expression of a policy that was conceived and executed by the main change-agent, the former Minister of Education. Since these schools were miniature models of the Comprehensive Schools, reflecting the same social philosophy of egalitarianism, it was not difficult to proceed with the implementation of such a programme on a large scale, once the necessary loan was procured from the World Bank and other international lending agencies. The actual amount earmarked for this purpose was recorded as £7 million or approximately US$16.8 million. The policies and programmes contained in the official document, "New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica", were anchored in the recommendations of the UNESCO Planning Mission which visited Jamaica from September to November 1964 at the invitation of

the Government.

The overall plan postulated a complete integrated educational system on a four-dimensional model as follows:

Primary Education

First Cycle Secondary (Junior Secondary)

Second Cycle Secondary

Post-Secondary

In the restructured system, public primary and secondary education was to be divided into grades in this order:

Primary Schools - Grades 1-6 (Ages 6-12)

First Cycle Secondary - Grades 7-9 (Ages 12-15) (Junior Secondary)

Second Cycle Secondary - Grades 7-13 (Ages 12-19)

At the age of 12 all children enrolled in the primary schools were transferred on a non-selective basis to the Junior Secondary Schools. At the age of 15, i.e., at the Grade 9 level, a small proportion (about 20 per cent) would go on to Second Cycle Secondary Education in the separate Grammar, Technical and Vocational Schools in the system on the strength of their performance in the Grade 9 Achievement Test--set and administered by the Ministry of Education. For the vast majority their formal education in the Junior Secondary Schools would end, which meant, in effect, that at 15 these children came on to the labour market and, as the evidence suggested, helped to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Among the long-term objectives were: (a) compulsory education throughout the island for all children

between the ages of 6 and 15 and, (b) free secondary education for all the 12-15 age group by 1980. The target date for the construction of the proposed fifty Junior Secondary Schools was 1969. This goal was not achieved until 1972.

Like the Comprehensive Schools, the Junior Secondary school programmes have a heavy practical bias. Provision was made in the projections for 79,000 places in 1970 at the First Cycle Secondary level out of an estimated population of 165,000. Out of an estimated population of 186,200 children in the 15-19 age group, i.e., at the Second Cycle level, the number to be enrolled in the individual types of existing secondary schools--Grammar, Technical and Vocational--did not represent more than 14.3 per cent. The heavy emphasis on Junior Secondary education is also reflected in the comparatively larger percentage increase in enrolment from 11 per cent in 1965 to 47.9 per cent in 1970 as against a mere .6 per cent increase in the enrolment figure of 11.7 per cent for the same age group in the Grammar and other types of secondary schools.

Although one of the major stated aims of the Junior Secondary Schools was to help in generating and augmenting the supply of manpower skills as quickly as possible, the study suggests that in this respect the measure of achievement seemed only minimal. A manpower survey in 1960 put the number of persons required for a variety of jobs ranging from professional, business and executive to technicians and

craftsmen at 227,000, while, at the same time, only 65,000 persons were estimated as having received a secondary education. From these figures the magnitude of the task that faced the administration to restructure and develop the educational system to respond more effectively to the manpower needs of the society can be appreciated.

Economic Efficiency

There is no doubt that there were deep concerns on the part of the policy-makers over the period about the necessity for the educational system, particularly at the secondary level, to provide an adequate supply of graduates with the appropriate levels of skills to fill positions in a variety of occupational categories in the country. These concerns were summed up in the words of the Leader of the Parliamentary Opposition in 1971 (now the Prime Minister of Jamaica):

> Our educational system is the one instrument by which we can transform our society by raising its levels of skills and changing its attitudes (The New Clarion. Kingston, Jamaica: November-December 1971, Vol. 7, No. 5, p. 8).

The situation in regard to the lack of skilled manpower was evident at the beginning of the post-Independence period. In the Budget Speech of the Minister of Finance in 1962, it was pointed out that there were 626 vacancies at the time ranging from the administrative to the technical areas. The situation grew worse by 1967, according to the figures given by a manpower survey carried out in that year. The results

indicated a shortage of 1,800 professional, skilled and semi-skilled persons required to service the various sectors of the economy. By the terminal year of this study, i.e., in 1972, the projections of the survey were confirmed, for in June of 1972, the number of vacancies existing in the Government service was given as 4,506 in the categories ranging from professional to technical. Further, the shortage of graduate teachers to man the Secondary High Schools, as confirmed by the necessity for several Government recruiting missions in recent years, illustrates the magnitude of the problem in regard to the manpower needs of the society. Appendix 3, Figure 9, p. 219, provides evidence in support of this statement.

It may be recalled that two of the major objectives of the Junior Secondary Schools were:

(a) To raise the level of students entering second-cycle schools in order that the level of these outputs may in turn be raised; and

(b) To equip children in the age group 12 to 14 with a minimum degree of skills to be better able to service manpower needs, and in this regard to expand the employment horizons of persons entering the labour force at the age of 15 and to make that education immediately functional on entering the labour force.

Having regard to the fact that only a small proportion of the

Junior Secondary school population (approximately 20 per cent) was eligible for Second Cycle education, and the suggestion from the findings of the study that a good many of the remainder of those students whose education was terminal at 15 did not have the required levels of skills for the world of work, it does not seem that the objectives in these respects were realized. All the evidence indicates that the policies and programmes relating to secondary school development reflected first and foremost the Government's commitment to equity. Although there were obvious concerns at the national level about the performance of the educational system to produce an adequate supply of higher manpower skills to cope more effectively with the demands of the economy, it seemed that the efforts in this respect have fallen substantially far short of the goal.

CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions are drawn from this research. With the attainment of Independence there were pressures from the Jamaican electorate for better social and economic conditions. These were reflected in a greater demand for secondary education as a way of achieving these goals. The Government of the day responded with sensitivity and concern. This was done by the attempts that were made to replace the colonial elitist model of secondary education by democratizing access to secondary educational institutions. In the post-independence decade, the period covered by this

research, a far greater number of children from the lower socio-economic group in the society were given a measure of secondary education to which they might not otherwise have been exposed.

Secondly, it seemed that in the attempt to provide more secondary education to a greater number of "culturally-disadvantaged" children, and at the same time to ensure an adequate supply of a variety of upper- and middle-management skills to service the economy, the de-emphasis of Grammar school education associated with an inadequate output of suitably qualified graduates, contributed to the "critical short-falls" in the level of skills referred to.

This shortage of persons with the appropriate levels of skills may be judged in part against the situation described by the new Minister of Education when he pointed out that

> . . . presently there were 2,506 vacant positions in the Civil Service--from the professional down to the clerical grade--which could not be filled (The Daily Gleaner: Kingston, Jamaica, July 22, 1972, p. 19).

The same report attributed to the Minister recorded his concerns about the performance of the High Schools in turning out an adequate supply of qualified graduates. The figures quoted in support of these concerns are revealing. In 1966 of the 3,310 candidates from the Grammar Schools who sat the G.C.E. "O" Level Examination, less than 50 per cent passed three or more subjects. Only 304 of these successful candidates passed at the appropriate level to qualify them for

entry to the Government Service. In 1967, out of a total entry of 3,240, a slight decrease over the previous year, only 1,591 entrants gained three or more subjects, i.e., less than 50 per cent. Of this number, only 395 obtained qualifications that made them eligible for employment in the Government Service. Although there was some increase in the number of passes in 1971 when 2,362 candidates out of a total entry of 4,170 passed in three or more subjects, i.e., about 56 per cent, nonetheless, the situation appeared to have remained substantially the same in terms of the inadequacy of the supply "to meet our demands". (The Daily Gleaner: op. cit., p. 19). Making reference in another context to the inadequate returns from the yearly national expenditure of approximately $50 million on education, the Minister pointed out that where the Jamaica School Certificate Examination (formerly the Jamaica Certificate of Education) was concerned, of the 44,000 candidates who sat the examination in 1 to 15 subjects, "18,000 or 40 per cent never passed a single subject" (The Daily Gleaner, November 21, 1972, p. 2).

The reasonable conclusion in the light of these observations is that one of the consequences of the emphasis on egalitarianism in providing secondary education for a greater number of the Jamaican population resulted in a relative shortfall of people who had completed their education in secondary schools. This meant that a smaller

proportion of the number of graduates were eligible to proceed to university or to other institutions of further education for training in the required skills to service the economy. Because Government salary scales tended to be fairly fixed in the sense that increases depended mainly on annual service increments--which were relatively modest--and promotion over time, the skills that were in short supply fetched a higher premium in the private sectors of industry and commerce. Non-government wage scales were thus well in advance of remuneration for government service and teaching.

Again, the fact that the Junior Secondary Schools were operating side by side with a selective type of secondary education traditionally associated with achievement and social prestige, appeared in the perception of the general public to have been inconsistent with the principles and practice of equity. This was especially the case since the secondary education that was being offered in these schools was at a lower level only. For the vast majority of children formal secondary education ended at age fifteen.

Another conclusion drawn from this study is that if educational innovations had been introduced at a somewhat slower pace there would have been time for a periodic appraisal of the programme. Thus, valuable information might have been forthcoming to aid in the decision-making process at the national level.

Finally, in light of some of the educational weaknesses which this investigation has identified, the stage has now been reached in Jamaica where a good deal more research must be done in company with both planning and execution of educational innovations.

Implications and General Comments

This research has implications which apply both to the educational system studied and to educational administration further afield. In addition, comments are offered which have both local and wide spread applicability.

In view of the vastly increased numbers of children from the lower socio-economic homes of Jamaica who now have the opportunity to attend the Secondary Grammar Schools, there is the need for much more consideration to be given to modifying if not, in some instances, replacing altogether, the traditional approaches to the whole teaching-learning process within the schools. In this connection, far more attention to the development of the skills of oral and written communication is indicated. This observation seems justified on the basis that if a meaningful attempt is to be made to operationalize the concept of egalitarianism then it appears that this applies not only to equality of opportunity in terms of access to secondary education for all groups in the society; but also in terms of equally satisfactory learning conditions conducive to achievement. In this respect, far more resource materials, such as books, pamphlets and

magazines, instructional and audio-visual aids need to be made available, for these are greatly lacking in the post-primary schools in Jamaica, as Gayle (1964) suggested from the findings of his study ("Guidance Services in selected Post-Primary Schools in Jamaica", Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University).

Further, with the establishment of a large number of Junior Secondary Schools throughout the island, de-centralization of educational administration in terms of the setting up of regional offices would appear to be an important requirement at this time. One major factor that is suggested in justification of this is that the co-ordination between the programmes at the First Cycle Secondary (Junior Secondary) level, i.e., Grades 7-9, and those at the corresponding levels in the Second Cycle Secondary Schools (High Schools) appears as yet unrealized to the extent where a desirable degree of continuity between the two levels of the system has been achieved. What this means is that only a small proportion of the number of those children who were transferred from the Junior Secondary Schools to the High Schools on the basis of the Grade 9 Achievement Test were of the equivalent standard to fit into Grade 10 of the high schools. This seems to be an important organizational problem that is part of the wider area of administration controlled by the Ministry of Education in Kingston, the capital city. In order to ensure that a proper linkage is established to

facilitate the whole educational process in accordance with the concept of equity, the need exists for the establishment of auxiliary administrative sub-units with decision-making powers at points conveniently located near the schools themselves.

It is true that there are Education Officers in the field, but these are not enough to carry out all the duties of office work in addition to visits to, and supervision of, schools in widely scattered rural areas. It would seem that a new cadre of these officials is also required--professionals who are equally familiar with education at different levels of the system. Also, the necessity for the field officers to make frequent visits into Kingston to obtain decisions of one kind or another from the Permanent Secretary or his advisors at the Ministry of Education tends to restrict a good deal of their time to travelling in connection with matters that might very well have been dealt with in the field if there was more decentralization of the process of educational administration. The perceived benefit of this could mean the all-round improvement in communication and the likelihood of speedier attention to problems on the spot. In this respect, much more could be hoped for in terms of the increased efficiency of the schools.

Again, having regard to the fact that democratization of the access to secondary education has brought into the school more children of widely differing abilities, aptitudes

and interests from the lower socio-economic groups in the society, the time has come for more attention to be devoted to the non-examinable subjects that lend themselves to more diverse forms of aesthetic and artistic expression. At the moment, as was suggested in the study, there seems to be too great a pre-occupation with the end-results of a secondary education solely in terms of examination results and certificates. This point was made by the Joint Association of Headmasters and Headmistresses at one of their Meetings in Kingston in 1962 when it was proposed that

> . . . the Government and employers should accept the recommendations of the Headmasters and Headmistresses as to the ability of their pupils, rather than to rely solely on examination results (Minutes of the Joint Association of Headmasters and Headmistresses. Kingston, Jamaica: April 18, 1962, Unpublished).

Finally, this study might have implications for new perspectives on school organization in terms of staff-pupil relationships, particularly in view of the lowering of the voting age to 18 years; and the importance of Parent-Teacher Associations in terms of their primary function in promoting a more meaningful relationship between the school and the community.

EPILOGUE

When a society decides--as many have lately done--to transform its "elitist" educational system into one that will serve the mass of the people, and when it further decides to use that system as an instrument for national development, it is beset by many novel problems. One is that while many more people want more education, they do not necessarily want the kind of education that under new circumstances is most likely to serve both their own future best interests and the best interests of national development. Most students naturally hope that education will help them get a good job in their developing society. But their job preferences are often dictated by a prestige-carrying hierarchy of jobs, set in the past, which does not fit the new hierarchy of manpower requirements bearing on economic growth. When the incentive structure and the employment demands of the market place also reflect the old hierarchy of prestige, there is a serious disjunction between the nation's manpower needs and its actual manpower demands (Coombs, 1968:7).

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WRITER'S NOTE: The Daily Gleaner is the only national newspaper in Jamaica and commands a very wide circulation. Numerous issues covering the entire period from 1962 to 1972 were reviewed for material relevant to this research. These would appear to be too copious for individual listing here. Some of the more important references from this source which are cited in the study are fully identified.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1.

The Problem of Illiteracy

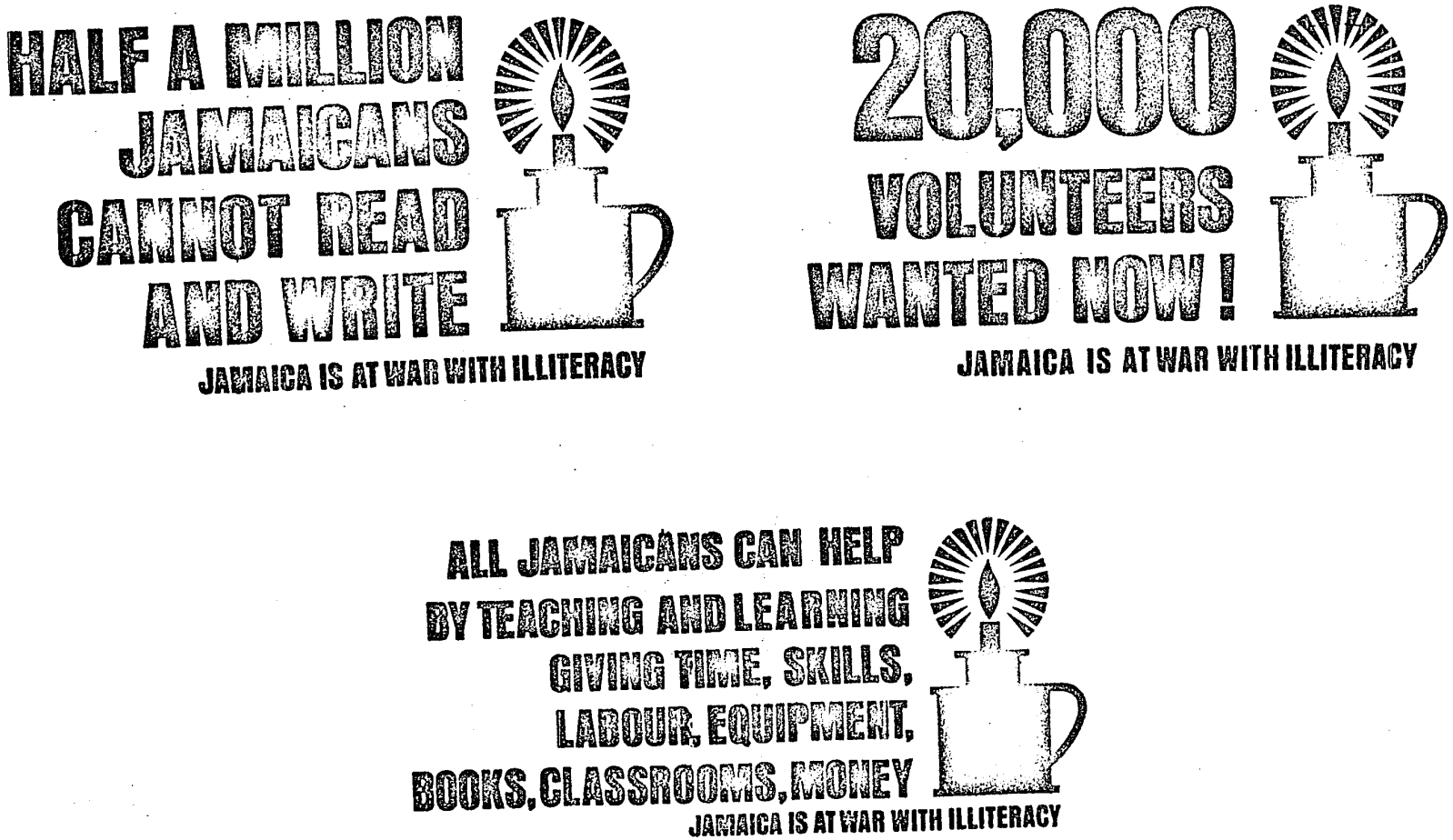

Figure 7

Advertisements from the Daily Gleaner, July, 1972,
Concerning the Problem of Illiteracy

APPENDIX 2.

The Shortage of Graduate Teachers in Jamaica

Ministry team leaves to recruit foreign teachers

A TEAM CHOSEN to recruit foreign teachers on two-year contracts left the island yesterday for about four and a half weeks. They will spend two weeks in the United Kingdom, one week in Canada, and eleven days in the U.S.A.

Government has decided to send this team abroad, says Mr. FLORIZEL GLASSPOLE, Minister of Education, because of the shortage of graduate teachers in Jamaica.

Figure 8

Advertisement from the Daily Gleaner, May 19, 1972, p. 10, concerning the shortage of High School Graduate Teachers in Jamaica

APPENDIX 3.

The Need for Skilled Personnel in Jamaica

venture into this new experiment in Secondary Education, it soon became clear, however, that the financial constraints were of such magnitude as to render the implementation of a major building programme of Comprehensive Schools impossible. In fact, in the early stages of this secondary experiment some doubt was entertained as to whether the establishment of the two schools decided on would be a reality. In the debate in the House the Minister explained it in this way:

> It became necessary for Government to make the provision of school places the number one priority in education. At that stage it became doubtful whether we could have two Comprehensive Schools (Hansard, Session 1963-64, April 8, 1963-August 1, 1963, p. 73).

However, there was no cooling of the ardour for the planned educational change envisaged by the policy-makers--in fact by the Minister of Education who was the major proponent of the change--and this was matched by a corresponding vigour in clashes of perceptions and expectations in all segments of the society. Despite rumblings of disagreement and disquiet generally and differences of opinion between the Minister and the professional teachers' organization, the Jamaica Teachers' Association, with respect to the policies and programmes being pursued, the next few years saw another major innovation in Secondary Education--the Junior Secondary education programme. This was fully outlined in a document known as the "New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica", Ministry Paper No. 73, December, 1966. The importance of this policy not only in terms of its significance for secondary education generally, but also with respect to

Edmonton Journal

Figure 9

Advertisement from The Edmonton Journal, March 17, 1973, concerning the need for skilled personnel in Jamaica

APPENDIX 3.

The Need for Skilled Personnel in Jamaica

Edmonton Journal

Figure 9

Advertisement from The Edmonton Journal, March 17, 1973, concerning the need for skilled personnel in Jamaica