Education and Society

in the

Creole Caribbean

M.G. Smith with Lambros Comitas

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Education and Society in the Creole Caribbean

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PREFACE

LAMBROS COMITAS

A preface for this book should have been written in 1993, when *Education and Society in the Creole Caribbean,* as project and manuscript, was completed. However, the untimely death of M.G. Smith that year, the principal investigator of the project, led inevitably to an initial delay in releasing the findings, a delay compounded over time by administrative gaffes and competing priorities. Ironically, Smith, who so ably had provided the intellectual genius and extraordinary discipline that carried it through all its vicissitudes, died just weeks after completing the writing and the other editorial and organizational tasks necessary for compiling the first complete draft of this multi-authored work.

Lawrence Cremin was the other individual whose direct encouragement and support were absolutely indispensable to the undertaking. President of the Spencer Foundation at the time of the study, president of Teachers College, Columbia University, president of the National Academy of Education and a Pulitzer Prize historian, he was a leader in the effort to expand the role of history, philosophy and the social sciences in educational research, the latter a field long dominated by the single discipline of psychology. Steadfast in his view that much more multidisciplinary effort was necessary to reach balanced understandings of education, that elusive yet most critical of social institutions, he set in motion Spencer-sponsored initiatives to reach that goal. Among these, he called for a discipline-specific conference in 1986 on the needs and opportunities for research in anthropology and education. The organizers of this conference recognized the benefit of having experienced senior social scientists attend this gathering. Consequently, over half of the participants invited, including M.G. Smith, were distinguished social or cultural anthropologists who may have had little or no research exposure to education but who brought with them a wealth of experience in the more traditional fields of anthropological interest. The other half was also composed of seasoned anthropologists but specifically of anthropologists of education, individuals with a direct career stake in educational research. Discussions at the conference between and among these two matched contingents proved not only illuminating but unusually productive, discussions that generated a set of research priorities and procedural innovations intended to help enhance the development of a viable anthropology of education,

Cremin and his Spencer colleagues took the conference outcome quite seriously. One clear indication of this was the major award they made in 1988 to the Research Institute for the Study of Man, which was under my direction at the time, to carry out comparative anthropological research on education and society in the Creole Caribbean. M.G. Smith, an eminent social anthropologist and widely acclaimed Caribbeanist, was persuaded to be principal investigator of the study, a development heartily applauded by Cremin. Moreover, three of the research priorities generated by the Spencer conference helped to frame the research proposal and helped to guide the ensuing work in the field. The first of these priorities called for the rapid development of concepts, ideas and

theoretical frameworks for interpreting and moving forward ethnographic work on education. The second called for cross-cultural research on the unintended effects of the spread of formal schooling. The last sees the need a critical review of paradigms utilized in the micro-level study of schooling (the genre that had for so long dominated the field of anthropology and education) in order to expand or make possible the sophisticated anthropological study of macro-level institutions and processes and their impact on the educational domain.

Smith designed the study as a multi-year project on the post-independence effects of education in the three Anglophone Caribbean societies of Grenada, Barbados and Trinidad & Tobago with three broad objectives. To keep the record straight, I utilize Smith's phrasing as much as possible to describe these objectives. The first, essentially technical and methodological, was aimed at contributing to a fuller understanding of education in general through the use of anthropological methods and techniques. This was to be approached by delineating the role or roles of the institution of education in what Smith conceived the plural social orders of the Caribbean; by formulating procedures and indicators through which the direct and indirect impact of education on the preservation or transformation of the societies and cultures could be objectively identified and measured; by indicating the ways and means by which the development and transformative effects of Caribbean educational systems could be improved; and, to determine to what extent the techniques and methods of social and cultural anthropology could assess and demonstrate the relation of education to social and cultural continuity or change. A second objective, quite specific in intent, was aimed at determining whether or not, as well as how the educational systems of the three island nations acted to maintain or to change the structural and cultural frameworks derived from a colonial past. For this, it was thought critical to explore the extent and the ways that the then current educational policies, programs, structures and systems perpetuated assumptions, ideals and patterns that were colonial in origin and character, or had been reoriented appropriately towards the needs of small independent developing states in the modern world, and especially to the needs of their peoples as well as their privileged minorities. The third objective was aimed at determining whether or not and how, if at all, the educational systems of these three small countries served to promote development or to increase the potential for development. For this, it was important to the study that the general relationship between education and development be examined even though that relationship, as Smith noted, directed attention to the questionable character of the then current concepts and criteria of development. He also observed that the scope and breadth of the inquiry seemed almost to guarantee its failure in advance. Yet paradoxically, as he put it, those same ambitious commitments should ensure interesting results, however partial and limited. He also noted that readers would judge for themselves if the inquiry was a success or failure but they should be assured beforehand that they would find these substantive and methodological results not only interesting but also enlightening. Cremin, who I have no doubt would have pressed for their immediate publication, died unexpectedly in 1990, months before the field research was completed.

Five social anthropologists and one vital statistician carried out the study. Ultimately assembled by M.G. Smith, it was a seasoned staff. Smith, the director, had some fifteen years of field experience in Northern Nigeria, Grenada, Carriacou and

Jamaica, had published over one hundred scientific articles and some twenty-three monographs or books, and had served with great distinction at the University of the West Indies, the University of California, Los Angeles, as professor and head of the University College London anthropology department and as the Franklin M. Crosby Professor of the Human Environment at Yale University. As director of the Research Institute for the Study of Man as well as of the Division of Philosophy and the Social Sciences at Teachers College, Columbia University, I co-directed and administered the project. Philip Burnham, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology, an authority on comparative ethnographic and historical studies of African societies with an excellent reputation as field researcher, well earned for his work in Cameroon, joined the project while senior lecturer at University College London. Josep Llobera, a Catalan trained in England, joined the staff while senior lecturer at Goldsmith College London. He was then and is now an authority on the anthropology of Europe, a reputation enhanced over the years by publications such as *The God of Modernity: The Development of Nationalism in Western Europe* and *Foundations of National Identity; From Catalonia to Europe*. Jack Harewood, one of the leading vital statisticians in the Anglophone Caribbean, provided invaluable statistical support for the project. Among other posts, he had served as Director of the Central Statistical Office in Trinidad and of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, St, Augustine.

The project was to last three years with a year's fieldwork planned as the first stage for each of the three study sites. However, given prior commitments of project staff, the actual fieldwork was staggered over various periods of time between 1988 and 1991. Burnham was first in the field in 1988 with responsibility for the Trinidad & Tobago study, Llobera followed in Barbados, his fieldwork overlapping in time with that of Burnham's. M.G. Smith was the last in the field (as the unforeseen replacement of a departing project member) returning in 1990 to an island that he had first studied intensively in 1952 and 1953, Finally, over the life of the project, Harewood generated and analyzed the enormous data utilized in the construction of statistical profiles of Barbados, Grenada and Trinidad & Tobago since independence. Project staff worked independently in their quite separate locales over different time periods. They were encouraged to exchange ideas and data with one another and with the project directorate. A write-up, editing and compiling phase, coordinated through the New York project offices, stretched over a year and a half throughout much of 1991 and 1992.

This book itself consists of six major sections – an introduction detailing the theoretical and methodological frames that helped focus the study, followed by three self-contained case studies of education and social change in Grenada, Barbados and Trinidad & Tobago, then by a statistical review of population and education of the three island nations and, finally, by a conclusion that compares the three societies, attempts answers to the original research questions and offers proposals for improving Caribbean education. Authorship of these sections is as follows: M.G. Smith drafted both introduction and conclusion and was also responsible for carrying out the field work in and writing the section on Grenada; Llobera was responsible for the Barbados section, Burnham for that on Trinidad & Tobago; and, Harewood for the comprehensive statistical review. All of these sections were thoroughly reviewed by Smith, my own role in this painstaking process was relatively minor. My contributions to the manuscript's

introduction and conclusion, expected by Smith, were not received by him before his death and, consequently, were not incorporated into this version of the study. Consequently, except for the minor editorial and organizational revisions that I undertook, the book that follows, *Education and Society in the Creole Caribbean,* is very much the version conceived, organized and vetted by M.G. Smith.

It was hoped by Smith and me, and certainly by Lawrence Cremin, that this study would demonstrate not only the utility and potential of the anthropological approach for probing the complex institution of education but also would prove constructive to educators and governments alike in resolving those educational problems and conundrums constantly faced by the peoples of the Creole Caribbean. In this regard, I do not believe that the delay in its release has lessened either the scientific or practical value of this study. Given its objectives, the information utilized in this book neither dates nor weakens its arguments. In fact, with the delay comes a possible silver lining. Strong conclusions, predictions, proposals for change, some provisional others speculative, suffuse this study. All were put forward a decade and a half ago and all, with the passage of time, are now quite testable. The proof is in the pudding. That is how this book ought to be read and judged.

Introduction

m.g. smith

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

Opinions divide on the role of education in relation to society and culture. For Plato, Confucius, and, after a successful revolution, for Marxists, education is the key to the achievement of social reproduction, that is, to the perpetuation with minimal changes of the social order and its culture, even where necessary by adopting and transmitting whatever new skills and knowledge are essential and adaptive. Others, including the philosophers of enlightenment and progress in the 17th and 18th centuries, strongly advocated the positive role of education in transforming society and advancing culture by eliminating the errors of traditional beliefs and attitudes, and by inculcating reliance on positivistic reason, scientific method and the conclusions of modern research.

Among educators and social scientists alike, opinions also divide on assessments of the empirical contributions of educational programs and processes for the preservation or change of basic social and cultural structures and patterns. For some writers, the dominant effects of education are conservative and account for order as well as social and cultural stagnation. For others, following Socrates and his contemporaries, education provides, at least during certain critical periods, the central means for cultural reorientation and social change.

It follows that the concept of education adopted by various disciplines and authors will be keenly debated. For some, the term is best reserved for those processes of formal instruction and training that are concentrated in schools, universities, contexts of apprenticeship or technical training, gymnasia and the like. For others, besides such contexts and processes of formal instruction, education unavoidably includes all activities and relationships by which cultural beliefs, attitudes and values are transmitted both between and within generations and other social categories or groups. In this sense, education includes all formal and informal contexts and processes of primary, secondary and tertiary socialization, and is therefore open-ended and lifelong.

Given the wide differences of scope and focus between those two competing conceptions, there is ample room for provisionally adopting the most inclusive conception for research purposes, since that should accommodate the rest. Such inclusive conceptions of education correspond closely to the ideas of Plato and Confucius, Marx, Freud, Durkheim and Malinowski. Though difficult to handle, they may also prove more useful in the study of contemporary societies and cultures than the alternative view which identifies education exclusively with processes of formal instruction. Such conceptions require us to study and take into account the full range of loosely constructed contexts in which opinions and attitudes are shaped, and individuals or communities adopt or change their characteristic outlooks and practices, as well as the variable but increasing influence of such media as the press, radio, television and film.

The primary obstacle to successful employment of such a wide-ranging conception of education as socialization in anthropological and sociological field studies of developing and advanced societies is its inclusiveness, for it requires the researcher to develop equally

comprehensive data on both the formal structures of education and on all contexts and processes of informal education and socialization throughout the lifetime of a representative sample of individuals of all the important social categories and groups within the society. Individual researchers may not have the range of skills that such an assignment requires. While some may well be more competent and interested in studying institutions and processes of formal education, others may give most attention to the more informal processes of socialization in the home, community, playing fields, workplaces, and the like. However, any study of the contributions of education to cultural and social development and change must attempt to balance and integrate detailed information on the formal educational system with adequate complementary data on extramural processes and contents of socialization and informal education. Moreover, within the context of formal education, special attention must be given to the informal mechanisms and effects of socialization as they relate to "official" and popular attitudes, values, stereotypes, role definitions, status criteria, etc. To ensure that we achieve a balance of data on the formal and informal sectors of educational systems, it is desirable to adopt a comparative design; but clearly all such studies must be grounded on thorough and comprehensive documentation of the formal sector for the period under review.

Whether we prefer to base our research on broader or narrower conceptions of education, that concept must include new materials, contents, means, techniques, forms and contexts along with much that is variably old. Such mixtures of new and old techniques, contents and structures of education will vary widely in societies of differing developmental levels and differing cultural orientations. Thus, to pursue the critical question of the role of educational activities and processes in conserving, modifying or transforming the cultural orientations and historical structures of societies, we must study with equal care the variety of modern procedures, materials and instruments used, along with whatever has been inherited from the past in these contexts, to determine whether and how they promote social and cultural continuity or change.

A definition of education that includes socialization and the mass-communication media as well as the formal institutional processes and informal activities so widens the scope and range of enquiry that without a cogent set of priorities to organize it, study of all these aspects of education might lead nowhere for lack of direction and design. To avoid that, we chose to assign the following priorities to the institutions and topics we sought to study.

1. All salient dimensions and aspects of the institutions, structures, contents and processes of formal education.

2. Structures and cultures of decision making and policy formation and administration in public and private education.

3. Such 'private' contexts, institutions and mechanisms of informal education and socialization as the family, neighborhood, community, peer groups and other associations, work groups, the market, etc.

4. Such public institutions and mechanisms of secondary and tertiary socialization as church or sect, trade unions, political parties, the press, television, radio, films, theatre, etc.

Besides documenting the structural characteristics and content of these separate levels, we needed to examine and document their interrelations, paying special attention to all empirical data that might indicate continuity or change in the structures and content of these different sectors, and in their recent articulations with one another and with the wider society.

EDUCATION AND CHANGE

Any attempt to see whether, how and to what degree such institutional and informal activities as education, religion or politics serve to perpetuate the historic structural framework and cultural patterns of a society presupposes some knowledge of these social and cultural conditions and can only be conducted in contexts for which such knowledge exists.

As regards the decisive data required to demonstrate whether, to what degree and how the current cultural framework and social organization of a country replicates its historical modes without change, we first require accurate models of the contemporary and historic organization and culture that may be compared to reveal their differences and similarities of composition and articulation. The data required to construct such models must define the forms and contents of their essential components, that is, of all 'units' that are necessary to constitute their comprehensive social and cultural frameworks. These 'units' may be conceived as 'institutional systems' such as technology and economy, family, kinship and marriage, religion, education and socialization, politics and government, stratification and differentiation, science, law, sport, art, music and drama, each institutional system having its own relatively coherent set of rules, activities, relations, and operational contexts. Or the 'units' may be conceived in sociological terms as entities of differing size, kind, membership, base, duration, status and degree of institutionalization. The main differences would then lie between corporate and other units on the one hand; institutionalized, uninstitutionalized and anti-institutional 'units' on the other; and between groups, aggregates, categories, and smaller units such as roles and dyads that constitute them, units of each class having distinctive cultural characteristics and structural requirements.

Data essential to investigate societal and cultural continuity and change are those needed to build sound institutional and/or structural models of a society at differing points in time, its components and their articulations, together with their cultural contents. All else, however interesting, being neither relevant nor necessary, merely describes superficial phenomena and incidental events of ephemeral significance. Such phenomena may be less significant than their statistical characteristics. Careful analyses of the annual, seasonal or decennial rates of such characteristic features of social life as crime, suicide, internal and external migration, marriage, divorce, births, deaths, etc., may provide useful indicators of structural and cultural continuity and change that can be used to test hypotheses and conclusions derived by qualitative analyses of institutional relations and patterns.

Besides such institutional relations and statistical measures, we need to search carefully for those conditions and variables that will provide reliable and valid indices of

fundamental continuity or change in the content of their structural and cultural frameworks. Given appropriate historical data, it may be possible to identify changes of direction or of the rate of change for one or more variables or conditions in historical and contemporary periods, and so hypothetically to reconstruct the course and conditions of such change over the decades for which we have data. Such diachronic analyses and comparisons may confirm that certain variables are reliable indices of continuity or change and disconfirm others.

Except for such demographic measures as birth rates, mortality and migration rates, urbanization rates, age and sex ratios, etc., it is unlikely that we shall find many indicators of social and cultural continuity and change that have equivalent validity and reliability in all independent nation-states, much less in all the historically and structurally distinct societies that they contain, whether their orientations and cultural foundations are Buddhist, Islamic, Hindu, tribal-animist, Marxist-Leninist or bourgeois-capitalist.

To circumvent this limitation we can create models of developing or developed societies of similar base to set beside those of any contemporary societies, including the societal constituents of nation-states. By analysis of these models we may then indicate what changes of structure and culture are required, and perhaps in what order, for us to assimilate them to the empirical society and its developing or developed equivalent. For this, we need to distinguish clearly all conditions and structural arrangements that facilitate or generate development, however that term is defined. Given adequate ethnographic information on a society, we can then specify those arrangements and conditions which are prerequisite for its development, and re-examine our data to see whether, how, and to what degree the society's educational institutions, programs and processes contribute to such development or frustrate it. Whether by these procedures we may overcome or circumvent the tendencies to project Western presumptions, criteria and concepts into unfamiliar milieux, and to use these as valid measures of continuity, change and development, experience will show; but it is certainly worth the effort to fashion and use analytical descriptions of the relative development of adequately grounded societal models at different historical periods to indicate continuity or change, and the directions of change.

Unlike economists, I understand development to consist in those processes by which units of any kind, whether organisms, species or societies, increase their abilities to cope with their environments. Such a concept is essentially biological and is rooted in observations of the natural growth rates of living organisms (Smith 1983). When applied to society and culture, as also to animals, it should be noted that the process of development consists in dialectically related redefinitions and expansions of the unit's environment on one hand, and its capabilities to manipulate and exploit it on the other. Indeed, the mechanism and dynamic for continued expansion and redefinition of the unit's environment consist in its progressively expanding abilities to deal with external phenomena. For this study, this means that a society's development can be assessed in terms of the numbers of skilled personnel of different kinds that are available and needed for the aggregate to cope with its internal requirements of all kinds and to exploit and expand its environment constructively. On this definition, a good index of the relative development of a social system is the degree of rationality in the ordering of its collective goals and in the allocation and use of available means, both material and human, for their pursuit.

THE VARIETIES OF PLURALISM

The term pluralism has widely different meanings (Kuper 1969, 1980). As used here, following the lead of J.S.Furnivall (1948), it denotes those conditions in which members of a society are divided on grounds of race, religion, language, culture, ethnicity, history, ecology and social organization, separately or together. Thus the term applies to various social situations and conditions that may differ significantly from one another.

Culture being the universal criterion and distinctive condition of humanity, cultural pluralism expressed in institutional differences is the most general basis and mode of plural division. This is so since culture includes and subsumes language, religion, conceptions of race, ethnicity, kinship, ecology, community and instrumental or normative models of social organization and conduct. It thus pervades all spheres of social life that exhibit differences of institutional organization. Just how significant such differences or commonalities of culture may be in structuring collective relations depends primarily on whether they are relevant criteria for participation in the public domain.

As noted by Fortes (1958), societies consist of two complementary levels of organization and action, namely, their public and private domains (M.G. Smith 1969a). The *public domain* consists of those corporate relations and units that organize and regulate the collectivity by constituting and articulating its components, and by authorizing them to recruit, regulate and represent their members. In short, the public domain corresponds with the societal macrostructure of corporate units and relations to which every population owes its coherence and capacity to cope with environmental and other exigencies. All else -- that is, all those activities, relations, resources and interests that do not fall within the public domain, and do not directly affect its organization and operation -- belong to the *private domain* of social life in which, within limits laid down by custom or law, differences of practice and idea are expected and open to all, being regarded as structurally equivalent. For example, in New York or Paris, differences of domestic language, religion, cuisine, family patterns, gender concepts and relations and much else are equivalent within the limits set by national law, and do not differentiate the rights and duties of their adherents in the common public domain (M.G.Smith 1984). Under such conditions of *universalistic incorporation*, insofar as cultural pluralism obtains among the members of a common society, it lacks institutional significance in the public domain. Under those conditions, *cultural pluralism* exists without corresponding social or structural pluralism (M.G.Smith 1969b, 1984).

When two or more culturally diverse collectivities operate as mutually exclusive segments of equivalent or complementary status in the public domain of a common society, their cultural differences are institutionalized as social pluralism by their incorporation as equivalent parts or segments of the whole, which then has consociational form. The basic components of such consociations may or may not be culturally diverse, and the consociations may or may not be states. Thus the precolonial Nuer, Tallensi and Tiv, though stateless and socially homogeneous, all had consociational form. The equivalent incorporation of culturally distinct segments establishes a *segmental* or consociational *plurality*, such as Switzerland, Nigeria, or Lebanon before its recent civil war. While the Swiss and Nigerian populations were constitutionally organized in mutually exclusive and equivalent segments, in the Lebanon the various religious congregations shared power by

agreements and traditions which, though always upheld, had no place in law. Thus, like Switzerland, Nigeria from 1960 to 1966 was a consociation *de jure*, while the Lebanon, lacking a legal base, was such *de facto*. In either case, the mode of *equivalent incorporation* gives priority to the component segments over their individual members, whose status and rights as citizens in the inclusive public domain are mediated by their prior identification as members in one or other of these basic units. Such societies exhibit *social pluralism, de facto* or *de jure*, since their basic components, the equivalent or complementary social segments, are simultaneously contraposed by mutually exclusive differences of culture, community and social organization.

When members of a common society who differ in culture, race, ethnicity, religion, social organization, language, etc. also differ at law and in the polity, *de jure* and/or *de facto*, as citizens and non-citizens, free and unfree, privileged and disprivileged, their *differential incorporation* establishes the society as a *hierarchic plurality* based on *structural pluralism*. Under slavery and colonial rule the British Caribbean territories were clearly such, having differentially incorporated their culturally distinct components by restricting rights of political participation to the ruling whites and a few wealthy non-whites. Being thus hierarchically ordered by differential status rather than segmentally contraposed, the basic components of these hierarchic pluralities are best distinguished as social sections from the social segments of equivalent status that constitute the segmental pluralities. While consociational organization neither requires nor entails cultural diversity of its basic segments, the differential incorporation of two or more collectivities never occurs apart from differences of culture and social organization. This is so because however homogeneous in culture the units were initially, their differential incorporation inevitably generates fundamental differences in their culture and social organization (M.G.Smith 1969b: 442-444, 1984a).

Many plural societies combine hierarchies of differentially incorporated social sections with structures of equivalent or complementary segments. For example, South Africa combines hierarchic divisions of white, Indian, colored and black social sections with segmental divisions among whites between Boers, Britons and Jews, among Indians between Hindus and others, and among blacks between Zulu, Sotho, Swazi, Xhosa and others. Among independent contemporary states such combinations of hierarchic and segmental plural organization may well outnumber pure instances of either type together. As they are more complex than the alternative structures they coordinate, I shall refer to such combinations hereafter as '*complex*' or 'mixed' *pluralities*, if the hierarchic and segmental principles are equally pervasive and important in their structure. When the segments of a plural society are politically unequal, I shall describe the society as 'modally segmental', even if one or more of its segments is a hierarchy of social sections.

CREOLE CARIBBEAN SOCIETIES

Excluding most of the mainland circum-Caribbean countries, Caribbean societies fall historically and sociologically into two distinct groupings, the Hispanic and non-Hispanic. The former consists of Cuba, Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico, while, besides Haiti and the remaining Antilles, the latter includes such Creole or mixed units on the mainland as Belize, Guyana, Suriname and French Guyana. Given the divergent political,

cultural and economic conditions and histories of the Hispanic and non-Hispanic or Creole Caribbean societies, it is appropriate to consider the latter by themselves; and we shall focus on them in this study.

With the possible exception of Belize, all non-Hispanic Caribbean societies can be described as Creole societies, using the term Creole to denote natives of the region descended from non-Hispanic European and/or African ancestors. All biracial Caribbean societies have that biological basis, while others that include large numbers of East Indian, Javanese and other racial stocks may also be described as Creole, given their Creole speech and the cultural domination of their Creole populations.

There may be nearly fifty Creole Caribbean societies (Lowenthal 1960a). Many of these are miniscule in size and population, for example, Saba, the Turks, Caicos and Cayman Islands, La Desirade, St. Bartholome, Bequia, Carriacou, Providencia and the like, most being dependencies of dependencies throughout their history. While some of these miniscule units contain people of a common racial stock, others include both blacks and whites, the two Old World races that together, but in highly unequal relations and numbers, peopled the Caribbean and replaced its aboriginals. Whether of common race or not, some of these small communities are socially homogeneous while others are not, though notably less split and hierarchic than the larger and better known Caribbean societies (Keur and Keur 1960; M. G. Smith 1962; Wilson 1973; Naish 1982).

Though several magnitudes larger than these miniscule units, all other Creole Caribbean societies are of modest population and size. Sociologically they fall into two main groups, those which are modally biracial in composition and history; and others which, besides blacks and whites, now include comparably large populations of differing race and culture, such as East Indians, Mestizos, Javanese or Amerindians (Lowenthal 1972: 76-212; M.G.Smith 1974). Some historically biracial Caribbean societies, for example, Haiti, Dominica and St. Lucia, have lost most or all of their white populations, and may be described by visitors as racially homogeneous. Such designation overlooks locally significant distinctions of race and color between their black and colored populations. Historically, and substantially today, those groups provide the cores of two hierarchically ranked social sections, namely, the small, culturally distinct, educated and propertied stratum which, though modally colored, includes many blacks and some Creole whites, and a far larger section of predominantly black people that may include hybrids and small East Indian populations. Besides differences of language, religion, mating, family and kinship institutions, education, property forms and ecology, the ranked social sections of these Creole hierarchic pluralities differ also in their aggregate and average wealth, in occupation, numbers, history and external affiliation. Where, as in Barbados, Martinique, Guadeloupe or Jamaica, the society includes white communities that still exercize disproportionate power in the country's affairs, we shall expect to find three ranked social sections whose respective cores are racially white, brown and black, with cultural identities and differences that correspond broadly.

In the third and last class of Caribbean societies, the typical Creole amalgam of white, black and brown, with or without other racial and ethnic minorities, appears as one of two or more social segments, though always historically the first, to which the rest were later

attached. Belize, Trinidad, Guyana and Suriname all belong in this category. The Creole segments of those societies differ racially and culturally from one or more others of comparable size, such as East Indians, Javanese, Amerindians or Mestizos, and some also include other ethnic groups such as Portuguese, Syrians, Lebanese, Chinese, Bush Negroes, Black Caribs and German Mennonites.

Though modally segmental, the Creole populations of Guyana, Suriname, Trinidad and Belize are hierarchic like the biracial Creole societies. Thus even without their imperial masters, and despite their basically segmental organization, these multiracial units remain *de fac*to complex pluralities, especially when the ruling Creole segment *de facto* differentially incorporates the rest.

The residual white sections of these post-colonial multiracial societies vary in their numbers, resources, political regimes, economic prospects, and other factors. In Guadeloupe and Martinique, whites may well have increased since World War II, following the incorporation of those units as overseas departments of France in 1946. Perhaps the same was true of Suriname and the Dutch Antilles before their independence. In the former British West Indies the reverse occurred, and, excluding Barbados, at decolonization few whites of British descent remained in those countries. In Haiti, by 1804 Dessalines had virtually eliminated the white population.

Thus these non-Hispanic Caribbean societies may be grouped in three classes: (1) miniscule racially homogeneous or biracial units; (2) modally biracial and *de facto* hierarchic pluralities of greater population and size, which may or may not contain two or three social sections that differ in wealth and power inversely with their numbers and color; and (3) finally, there are units with people of three or more racial stocks, cultures and languages, incorporated in formally equivalent segments, though now *de facto* dominated by the Creole group or one of its sections.

Before universal suffrage and decolonization, Belize, Suriname, Guyana and Trinidad were excellent examples of complex pluralities, their colonial masters being differentially incorporated from the subject populations, who were themselves divided into exclusive segments by culture, race, religion, language, social institutions, education, ecology, and in some cases by party organization. In each territory the Creole segment comprised a plural hierarchy of ranked social sections. With the introduction of universal suffrage under colonialism, their differential incorporation lost legality and became a *de facto* rather than *de jure* condition of social life, since resident citizens of the imperial state continued to enjoy differential rights and power despite the formal equalities of universal suffrage, while subordinate social segments and sections provided the *de facto* groupings within and through which colonial people exercised their political rights. At independence, three main structural options were open to these complex Caribbean pluralities. They could either reconstitute their plural units as equivalent segments; or one of their segments might establish its *de facto* domination, as occurred in Guyana under Burnham and in Suriname under Desi Bouterse; or the complex plurality might persist *de facto* despite universal suffrage, formal independence and universalistic constitutions, if any collectivity, whether the old rulers or some other grouping, exercised rights and privileges of differential incorporation over others who were also incorporated segmentally.

CULTURE AND CHANGE IN THE CREOLE CARIBBEAN

Established by force after the elimination of native Amerindians as radically unequal associations of European masters and African slaves, Creole Caribbean societies were created as plural societies by the forced union of peoples of differing cultures, language and race. Throughout the slave centuries these cultural and social contrasts persisted with limited change despite hybridization and some assimilation of the dominant culture and language by African and Creole, or locally born slaves. Today, nearly 150 years after the British abolished slavery in their Caribbean territories, and despite continuous efforts by the ruling strata to eliminate or neutralize African cultural elements and assimilate 'Africans' to the developing Creole culture, the fundamental social cleavages and cultural contrasts between those of European, African and Afro-European descent and orientation persist; and in certain countries since slavery these ancient divisions have been supplemented by importations of large East Indian populations, both Hindu and Muslim, by Javanese, and by smaller groups of Chinese, Portuguese and Lebanese (Syrian) origin.

Attempts to introduce Christian beliefs began during slavery in the 18th century and increased after emancipation in 1834. Attempts to provide the ex-slaves and their offspring with some rudimentary instruction in reading and writing the official language followed, but those efforts were severely restricted by opposition from the ruling white plantocracies. With minor reforms and improvements, the primary or "elementary" education provided by the colonial governments, whether indirectly in "church schools" or directly in their own, addressed itself to the masses of African descent until the eve of independence, or in some cases the day after, with rather odd results. Though rarely compulsory, since education has presented the only means of social and economic advance for the black populations of these societies, school attendance, however irregular, was maintained. But under these conditions few children who completed "elementary school" passed the local school-leaving exams, and many remained functionally illiterate until quite recently, despite several years in school. Nonetheless, primary education remained the principal means and channel of acculturation for Afro-Caribbeans to the colonial Creole cultures that emerged after the abolition of slavery, and effectively ensured that the ex-slaves and their offspring simultaneously learned to accept the society and its culture, and their places within it.

During the slave centuries, except in Barbados, few white children were locally educated, and then almost always by tutors at home. Following the collapse of sugar cultivation in the mid-nineteenth century, one or two schools were established in the larger islands for those white children whose parents could not send them abroad. Long before, a number of similar schools had developed to provide the basic literary education that was then preferred and to cater for the privileged children of white fathers and their black or colored mistresses, as well as for those of prosperous non-white parents. Until after World War II, except for Codrington College, Barbados, an affiliate of Durham University in England, there were no universities or other institutions of higher education in the colonial Creole Caribbean countries. Their local professional cadres were either European expatriates or Creoles of privileged strata trained in Europe or, more rarely, in North America. Thus the typical Creole Caribbean colony at the end of World War II had a three-tiered educational structure, the large primary level being reserved for black and East Indian children, while the

secondary school level was split into two parts, the smaller being reserved by fees and other criteria for local white children, while the larger accommodated those of the black or colored Creole elite, and those of Chinese, Jewish or Lebanese descent whose parents chose to send them to such schools. The third educational level of the society consisted of a minute number of foreign whites and local elites who were mainly colored, most of whom had studied abroad in universities, law schools, seminaries, medical institutions, etc., and who supplied such professional skills as the colony had. In the closing decades of colonial rule the governments of British territories allocated nearly five times as much public money per annum for each child in the "private" fee-charging secondary schools that catered to the colonial elites, white or non-white, as for the children of their large black and Indian populations in the primary schools (Hammond 1945: 11, 17-18).

These three educational strata corresponded closely with the three cultural sections of the typical Creole community, whose antecedents initially hailed from Europe and Africa. In societies with relatively large numbers of Indians, Javanese, Amerindians or Bush Negroes, the Afro-White Creole populations remained apart and distinct culturally and racially from those of Asiatic or New World origins; and while incorporating the Asiatics differentially on sugar plantations under regimes of strict supervision, the dominant white and Creole segment left the Amerindians, Bush Negroes, Maroons, Black Caribs and others to their own devices, without schools in their communities.

Although this sketch of Creole Caribbean society in its penultimate phase of colonialism oversimplifies much by ignoring such factors as location, size, resources, economy, imperial history and metropolitan affiliation, language, religious basis and ethnic composition that differentiate them, such data merely elaborate the variety without modifying the structural classification of these societies.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Much can be gained from a detailed study of recent contributions of formal and informal education to the preservation or change and development of the structural and cultural frameworks of independent Creole Caribbean societies. For the Caribbeanist, such research is especially strategic because it focuses on the most important means and agencies of cultural assimilation and social mobility that came under local control at independence. For these reasons, we might expect such a study to show whether, how and how far their educational systems and socialization practices have operated to preserve and perpetuate, or to change the social and cultural frameworks that these recently independent countries inherited from the final decades of colonial rule, when they displayed the familiar characteristics of plural societies, each having two or more sections or segments of differing culture, social organization, and often language and race. Given their independence, and the potentially critical role of education in promoting or frustrating sociocultural reorientations and change, the comparative study of these processes and their results in selected Caribbean countries since independence should enable us to distinguish clearly those cases in which education has promoted structural change from those in which it has not. The same data should also indicate those circumstances, educational programs and arrangements that appear most closely associated with processes of structural and cultural change on the one hand, or with conservation and perpetuation on the other. Such enquiry should also reveal the

degrees to which the diverse patterns of colonial culture have persisted in different groups and institutional sectors of these societies, thus opening to further study the mechanics and dynamics of their change.

For the sociologist or anthropologist of education, comparative study of the social and cultural effects of formal and informal education and socialization in independent Creole societies is also highly strategic and promising, since the plural framework and cultural composition of these units under colonial rule clarifies and simplifies the research problem and reduces greatly the difficulties of determining the precise contributions of education and socialization to the perpetuation with or without change of their colonial structure and cultural contents. For, given the rigidly stratified educational systems of these colonial societies, the gross differences of culture and institutional organization that distinguished various sections and segments of their population, and the broad pervasive correlations of such educational differences with differences of culture, economic and sociopolitical status, and typically also race, it should be far simpler to identify continuities or changes in the structural frameworks of culture and social relations associated with their educational policies and programs, than in more homogeneous societies.

To identify and assess the conservative or transformative contributions of formal and informal education in these societies since they became independent, we need only compare sufficiently detailed and reliable models of their current social and cultural compositions and structures with those of their late colonial selves to discern exactly which institutional structures and cultural forms have persisted unchanged in any of their social segments or sections, and which have changed more or less severely, or disappeared with or without apparent replacements. It should also be relatively easy for us to identify continuities or changes in the modes of articulation of these sectionally distinct institutional systems and their populations. Following further study, it should be possible to link the differing recent histories of these social and cultural units and their societies with particular educational policies, provisions and arrangements, or with other specific factors and conditions that have promoted and facilitated these outcomes.

Once we compare and analyze in sufficient detail their social structures and cultural composition then and now, that should reveal numerous parallels, contrasts and variations of policies, organizations and societal milieux. These differences and parallels of structure and outcome should greatly facilitate our analysis of the specific contributions of educational policies to their development since independence.

To realize these possibilities, we had to select three or four countries which had enough in common, but which differed sufficiently in their history, cultural compositions, social structures and educational programs as independent states to provide an array of significant similarities and differences in the contemporary retention of their colonial social and cultural patterns for detailed analysis to identify and perhaps to estimate the effects of their educational systems on these outcomes.

To achieve these ends we selected three recently independent Caribbean states, all of Creole or non-Hispanic historical and cultural type, though variably so, and all former British colonies: Barbados, Grenada, and Trinidad & Tobago. The selection of these three

countries has been guided by their significant similarities and differences of social and cultural composition and structure, and by their development and political histories since independence. Furthermore, this selection reflects the decision to reduce the number of critical variables so as to permit more cogent and penetrating analysis of the relation of education to structural continuity or change by restricting the choice of units to colonies of one European power only -- in this case, Great Britain -- thus excluding those important differences associated with differences of imperial government and history, legal and political administration, language, etc., that have so severely fragmented the Caribbean region, and cannot be adequately controlled in such a diachronic study. In selecting these societies we were influenced by the relatively rich recent scholarly literature about them, by the availability of excellent accounts and data on their late colonial cultures and recent development, and by the fact that the senior members of the project have considerable personal knowledge of these societies under and since the end of colonial rule.

Of these three Creole societies, Barbados (independence granted in 1966) and Trinidad & Tobago (independence granted in 1962) provide the greatest social and cultural contrast, standing at opposite poles of a hypothetical continuum that has Grenada (independence granted in 1974) in the middle. The latter, based on peoples of European, Indian and African stock, represents the typical hierarchic Creole plurality, as defined below. At independence it had a minute white ruling section, a larger colored elite, and a far larger subordinate section of predominantly African stock, together with a small population of East Indian extraction. Trinidad, with its large Hindu and Muslim populations of East Indian origin, its Lebanese, Chinese and Portuguese, residual French and Spanish elements, and predominantly Catholic orientation, contrasts most sharply with Protestant Barbados, which in colonial times had neither East Indians, Amerindians, Syrians, Chinese, Portuguese, French or Spanish, but consisted of blacks, the vast majority, and British whites, together with a small hybrid stratum of colored folk, many of whom have recently emigrated. Of all Anglo-Caribbean societies, Barbados has had the most effective structures of subordination and education and the most successful acculturative program. In consequence, if we exclude the institutions of family, kinship and mating, the white, black and brown sections of Barbadian society share a sufficient range of cultural patterns, including racial exclusiveness, for it to represent a Creole society in which the major institutional divisions are those of race, language, family, mating and socialization. In effect, our selection thus spans the spectrum from the least plural of the larger Anglo-Caribbean societies, Barbados, to its most complex unit, Trinidad, with Grenada falling in between.

The set selected includes one country, Grenada, that has recently pursued programs of change and development by Marxist-Leninist means, only to revert to more conventional structures and methods following its invasion in October 1983 by American and Caribbean troops. In Barbados since independence the educational system simply continued to expand and develop along traditional lines despite the recent addition of a campus of the regional university. On the other hand, Trinidad, the wealthiest of these societies, was governed for the first 25 years of its independence by the People's National Movement (PNM), the party of Dr. Eric Williams, who led it to independence. Like Barbados and Jamaica, Trinidad has an important branch of the university, and under Williams' administration the provision of free places to students from primary to secondary school and through to university has been

substantially increased, thus opening doors that were formerly closed to most blacks as well as the large East Indian population.

Since universal suffrage, nationalist anti-colonialist movements before and since independence have tried with little success to reduce or eliminate the most general and salient inequalities and differences between the various segments and sections of these populations by providing free education from primary school to university, by abolishing or reducing illiteracy, by promoting vocational and technical education, and by other means, including the use of popular dialect and idioms in political oratory. Nonetheless, to date these policies seem to have had uneven and limited effects.

While the neo-colonial political economy and arrangements to which these Caribbean states fell prey at their political independence did not promote dissolution of the colonial social structure and cultural framework, as dependency theorists point out, neither did they perpetuate those frameworks by any positive means or programs (Comitas 1971). In effect, then, to determine how far and in what respect the social and cultural composition and structures of contemporary Caribbean Creole societies presently retain in their basic forms and content the sociocultural systems of penultimate colonialism, we shall compare the contemporary society and culture with their late colonial selves, paying special attention to the bases, compositions, cultural characteristics, boundaries and alignments of their social sections or segments, to the movements of personnel within and between them, and to the role of various conditions and institutional mechanisms in promoting or blocking such movements. In particular, we shall need to examine the full range of educational provisions and activities in these societies, since together they provide the central instruments of acculturation and creolization and the most important mechanisms of social mobility and change.

Despite their obvious capacity to generate and/or assimilate new ideas, concepts, techniques, instruments, cults, ideologies, and even languages, as well as patterns of social organization, cultures are fundamentally conservative structures of meaning, value, assumption and belief. Whether such assimilations are freely initiated and pursued by a given population or some section of it, or whether they are promoted and induced by others through such channels as schools, newspapers, films or radio, to assess the extent and significance for the recipient culture of these transfers, in studying such processes we should distinguish their instrumental aspects and values, the recipients' knowledge and mastery of such transferred traits, and the uses and goals to which they are put by the individuals or groups who receive them. Especially we need to see whether the processes or consequences of such cultural transfers have modified the preceding structures of social relationships between donors and recipients, or within either population. Only if the processes or results of such cultural transfers either modify basic structures of social relations within the populations involved, or reduce their cultural differences by assimilating their cultural frameworks more closely, shall we regard such transfers as more than superficial. Only if the institutional and cultural systems of two or more populations are structurally homologous -- and thus substantially the same -- shall we find similar parallelism in their social structures, modes and forms of articulation, and component social units.

To determine whether these results occur, we must either compare structural models of institutional relations and activities in the donor and receiving groups, or we may compare the assumptions, categories, values and norms that organize and order their cultures and influence social action in either group. To test the conclusions of such institutional and cultural comparisons, it is sufficient to itemize and compare the various kinds of social units characteristic of each population, and to view them as patterns of social relations whose interrelations articulate the aggregate, and constitute its social structure.

RESEARCH METHODS AND DATA

To ensure comparability of our findings, we needed the following kinds of data from each country: (1) data necessary for the construction and analysis of quantitative models of the local system of formal education at primary, secondary, tertiary, vocational/technical and other levels, such as literacy and other out-of-school programs, including both private and public provisions and institutions; (2) data on the geographical distribution of educational facilities, their enrollments, organization, management structures, curricula, faculties or staffs, and their qualifications, emoluments, turnovers, staff/student ratios, and government and private expenditures by type of school, program or course. Efforts were made to collect these data in each country for its system of formal education during the closing years of colonial rule and for two or more periods since independence.

The object of such data collection was to allow us to develop accurate and comprehensive numerical models and structural accounts of each country's system of formal education and its development since independence in order that we could see how its resources, including personnel and pupils, have been allocated between its different structures and programs at different points in time; how these resources have been used and with what results; how the private and public educational sectors were once and are now related; and how the educational system as a whole relates to other institutional sectors and systems of the local society such as population, agriculture, employment and other economic conditions, family, social stratification, technology, religion, politics and government, the media and sport.

Such data should reveal any significant structural shifts since independence in a country's system of formal education at the levels of resource and personnel inputs, use and outputs, as well as differences between countries that may indicate differences in their social compositions and structures, in their resource bases, population densities, economies, etc., or differences in their educational policies, priorities and arrangements. Where available these data should also reveal such significant educational and political reorientations as have occurred since independence, in Grenada between 1979 and 1983, in Barbados, 1966-1974, and in Trinidad in the sixties and seventies.

These inquiries were designed to identify those public or private programs and policies that were expressly initiated to promote change; were initiated in response to changes that were perceived to be already under way; were initiated to prevent, reverse or arrest various kinds of change that were not desired; or were apparently initiated and/or maintained without any of these aims, for other reasons. With such guidance we hoped to

study the outputs of these differing programs in order to determine the degree to which their results fulfil their purposes.

To supplement such quantitative models of the formal educational system, we made detailed studies of the organization, content, methods, resources and operations of representative institutions at each structural level, the primary, secondary, tertiary, vocational/technical, extramural, remedial, etc. We also sought to gather information on their views and proposals from the professional associations concerned with education, from the churches, trade unions, employers' associations, political parties, university, and any other organizations that formulate or implement educational policies and programs. While some structures such as the Ministry of Education, the university, the political parties and teachers' associations unique to each country were centered at the capital, others, such as public and private schools of different kinds and levels and teacher training colleges, are generally dispersed. They are therefore best studied together in the districts where they cluster, thus reducing the field worker's logistical problems while allowing direct observation of and access to their relationships with one another and with the communities around them.

By the discursive and more direct approaches familiar to anthropologists, field workers gathered accounts of relations and interactions between members of the community, including parents, the school, its staff, governors and other personnel and learn their expectations of and attitudes to education, authority, discipline, careers, church or sect, and prevailing ideas about natural intelligence and aptitude, study, skill, occupations, places of residence, color categories, racial and ethnic types, etc. Given the variable conditions and patterns of Caribbean family organization and the often irregular and inadequate adult male participation in them, data were also gathered on the home situations and household movements of children before and during their school days.

Such topics lend themselves to those genealogical methods of enquiry that permit rapid collection of precise and verifiable data not only on the children, but on their parents, uncles, aunts, cousins and affines, and on their full or half siblings, while detailing the relative or absolute ages, occupations and occupational careers, educational experience, employment status and current location of members of the extended family. Thus by combining brief biographical profiles with genealogical inquiries, we tried to collect data on sufficient numbers of adults and family lines in both rural and urban areas to permit comparative analyses of continuities or changes of educational and life experiences, by sex, race, age and generation, rural and urban origin. Such information may also reveal whether and to what degree there have been significant changes or continuities of educational and post-school experience by sex and generation over the past fifty years.

To ascertain whether and how far the various sectional cultures of these societies have persisted, with or without change, since the end of colonial rule, we used open-ended questions. We asked about a wide range of cultural and social topics so as to consider their relationships, if any, to the educational process, and to extend the enquiry beyond the scope of participant observation. There is no need to detail here the topics covered, which dealt with folk beliefs, norms and values that enabled us to see how formal education had modified or been modified by traditional culture concepts. We tried to do this by comparing the

responses of people of differing age, education and background, that illustrated processes of recent cultural change.

Grenada

M.G. Smith

THE ISLAND AND ITS PEOPLE

Grenada lies nearly ninety miles north of Trinidad, 12 degrees North and 61 degrees West, at the southernmost end of the chain of small islands called the Grenadines that stretch northward to St. Vincent. With a length of twenty miles, Grenada is twelve at the widest, and has an area of 120 square miles or 305 square kilometers. Its largest dependency, Carriacou, lies twenty miles north in the Grenadines, with an area of thirteen square miles (35 square kilometers), and a population in 1981 of 4671, including the inhabitants of Petite Martinique to its north, who probably numbered five hundred. With 133 square miles (347 square kilometers), the people of Grenada settled in these three main islands in 1981 numbered 89,088 (670 per square mile) as against 92,775 in 1970. What the population presently is we cannot say, lacking returns from the census of April 1991; but its numbers may not have fallen since 1981* .

People of Carriacou and Petite Martinique refer to the island of Grenada as the "mainland" and distinguish clearly between its social and economic conditions and their own. Physically also, Grenada differs greatly from the other islands, which today produce no export crops. Grenada has a tropical climate with an average daily temperature that varies between 25 and 30 degrees Celsius. In Grenada the island's interior consists of mountains rising to 2750 feet in the north, with geysers and crater lakes that show traces of former volcanic activity. While turf, ash and agglomerates are found on the coast, lavas give the interior soils high fertility; but most of the interior is steep or precipitous, while the little level land is scattered uneconomically. In Carriacou, by contrast, the island spine is less than 1,000 feet, there is no local stream or river, and rain falls between May and October, varying between 30 and 50 inches per annum. In Grenada the rainy season extends from June to December, and rainfall may average 100 inches per year. Showers are generally sharp and short, mostly of half an hour's duration. Nonetheless there are occasional prolonged spells of heavier weather. Even so, rainfall at the southernmost tip of Grenada averages little more than Carriacou, from which it differs topographically. Given over to fishing, peasant cultivation of corn, beans and squash, and especially the pasturing of livestock, people in Carriacou have looked to the sea rather than the land as their main source of income, and besides building boats, sailing and fishing (Smith, 1962), now emigrate to Brooklyn, New York, Huddersfield in England, to Grenada itself, and to the oilfields in Trinidad. Forty years ago Grenadians emigrated to Aruba, Venezuela and Trinidad. Since then they have moved first to Britain until 1970, then to the Northeastern U.S., primarily New York, and Canada during the eighties. Since it was traditional for men to emigrate rather more than women, Grenada has historically had a female surplus, but has moved of late from 1:1.18 in 1960 to 1.123 ten years later, and so to 1.077 in 1981, when there were 42,943 males in the country and 46,145 females, and the density was 260.5 per square

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* Since this was written, courtesy of Ms Emmanuel of the Grenada High Commission in London, I have learnt that the population of Grenada at the Census in April 1991 was 90,047

kilometer. In practice the density is much higher as an effect of land use and tenure, large areas being uninhabited Crown forest or estates.

Despite its high annual birthrate, the island population has grown less since 1960, when it was 88,677, than might be expected, primarily due to emigration. During this period, while the number of marriages registered annually increased from 293 in 1975 to 405 in 1987, so too has the percentage of illegitimate births, which rose from 72.9 in 1972 to 81.9 in 1987. The Grenada Planned Parenthood Association was formed at that time and began to distribute contraceptives. As public reactions demonstrated the success of its program, the government initiated its own provisions.

Changes in the racial or ethnic composition of the population between 1946 and 1981 indicate certain shifts in its self-identification, and others of an objective kind. The proportion of population identified as of unmixed African descent in the censuses of 1946, 1960, 1970 and 1981 moved from 73.6 of African descent in the first, to 52.6 in the second, 84.3 in the third, and 82.2 in the last of these censuses, with corresponding shifts in the ratios of those of mixed descent. Simultaneously the number of East Indians and Whites has fallen at each successive census; and this may be expected to continue. Incremental gains in the ratio of mixed descent between 1970 and 1981 may be linked with differences in the emigration rates of the two color categories, Black and Colored, in those years. In the Grenadian censuses the categories labeled Others, or N.S. (Not Stated), include Chinese, Amerindians, Portuguese and Lebanese/Syrian.

In 1961 28,091 of Grenada's 84,420 acres were under tree crops, compared with 23,153 in 1975. Temporary crops, pasture, fallow and other arable accounted for 13,101 acres in 1961 as compared with 12,765 in 1975. Forest and woodland represented 9,504 acres in the earlier year, 7,635 in the latter; but while in 1961 there were 6,644 acres of grassland, in 1975 there were only 2094 acres; and as against 2,857 acres under other agricultural use in 1961 there were only 930 in 1975. Non-agricultural usage accounted for 24,223 acres in the first of those years, 37,863 in the second. We shall refer in passing to many other changes that accompanied these shifts in land use.

Agriculture still forms the basis of Grenada's economy, though of late its status has considerably diminished. In 1952-53 official estimates of crop acreages gave the following figures:

"cocoa, 15,379 acres; nutmeg 11,087 acres; coconuts 4,638 acres; sugarcane 1800 acres; citrus, mainly limes, 1200 acres; food crops 7,200 acres; giving a total of about 41,000 acres under crops" (Smith 1965, 263).

In 1955 Hurricane Janet devastated the island and made replanting necessary. The British Government gave Grenada £2 million and loaned another £1.5 million on easy terms. There was a spirited attempt to replant and by 1966-7 cocoa production exceeded the average of 6.1 million pounds for the years 1951-55. Nutmeg production recovered more slowly, but by 1976, with 6.5 million pounds exported, it may have exceeded its peak before Janet, and went on to yield 7.5 million pounds for export in 1986. By then however Grenada's economy was beginning to change.

Table 1. Land Area by Use

TOTAL AREA:	Grenada	75370	
(acres)	Carriacou	8550	
	Petite Martinique	500	
		84420	
		1961	**1975**
Land under tree crops		28091	23153
Arable land:	(a) temporary crops		6994
	(b) temporary pasture	13101	2540
	(c) temporary fallow		1398
	(d) other		1833
Grassland:	(a) cultivated	705	391
	(b) uncultivated	5939	1703
Forest/woodlands		9504	7635
Other agricultural land		2857	930
All other land		24223	37843
TOTAL		**84420**	

Following World War 2 Geest Enterprises initiated regular shipments of bananas to Britain via the Grenada Banana Co-operative Society (GBCS), founded in 1954; and by 1956 the year after Hurricane Janet, banana production had begun to recover. By 1958 exports totaled 948,000 stems at an average of 27.7 lbs. per stem, more than twenty times the volume exported in 1953 (Brizan 1984: 301). Since then the banana industry has proven its value for Grenadians as a reliable source of year-round food, as well as cash income.

Simultaneously the area under sugarcane declined from 1800 acres in 1957 to 300 in 1975, when the final attempt was made to revive the industry. Local manufacture of sugar has ceased, and Grenada now imports the sugar it needs, producing none locally. Whereas before Janet nutmegs, cocoa, coconuts and sugarcane dominated Grenadian agriculture, since then the island has relied on nutmegs, mace, cocoa and bananas for export income. Bananas generally, despite their notoriously low return to Grenada on the Geest contract (*ibid*., 1984, 300-306), their declining production due to Moko disease in northwestern Grenada, and diminished annual return, remains a useful export.

While agriculture has declined in relative significance and profitability, the non-agricultural sector has expanded greatly, especially tourism and services. The experience of 1979-83 notwithstanding, the tourist industry has grown considerably, thanks to Cuban construction of the new international airport at Point Salines and to the energy of Grenadian developers and tourist entrepreneurs. Tourism now offers the best prospect for Grenada's economic recovery, and stimulates other economic activities such as construction, transport and communications, banking, real estate, housing and commercial sales. Recent changes in the composition of Grenada's GDP indicate the relative significance of these items. The greater profitability of non-agricultural activities is also reflected in the increased acreage under non-agricultural use.

The distribution of the gainfully employed labor force in 1970 and 1988 describes this development. During that period the gainfully employed labor force expanded from 25,799 to 28,022. As far as possible the totals engaged in particular areas of activity have been set out in Table 2. Except perhaps for item 8, Services, which includes community, social and personal services, and which in 1988 employed 6,727 workers as against 5,758 in 1970, the two classifications are unambiguously the same. In view of the fact that eight other categories of Table 2 are identical in its first (1970) and later (1988) versions, I assume that category 8 denotes community, social and personal services, together with finance, insurance, real estate and business services, and now accounts for 24.0 percent of the gainfully employed labor force.

In their aggregates the workers in agriculture, forests and fisheries have changed dramatically, together with those in commerce, which had expanded from 2481 to 5421 consequent on the expansion of the tourist trade. The 3,000 jobs, which had been lost in agriculture, were almost made up by the expansion in commerce. At the same time the service sector expanded by a thousand jobs and manufacturing by 777. Altogether these labor force distributions indicate the transitional state of Grenada in 1990 which may well justify the claim of the Minister of Finance in a broadcast that "Grenada is at the point of economic takeoff." Various indicators suggest that, and the IBRD and the IMF seem to agree. In 1950 to 1953 by contrast, when agricultural staples - cocoa, nutmeg, mace and cotton - accounted for between 88 percent and 92.6 percent of the island's exports, most local manufactures like sugar, coconut oil, rum and soft drinks were locally consumed, whereas nowadays most manufactures are exported (Smith 1965a, 264).

Table 2. Employed Labor Force by Industry Group & Sex, 1970 &1988

	` *1970*				*1988*			
Industrial Group	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*	*%*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*	*%*
1. Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	5504	3097	8601	33.3	3781	1779	5560	19.8
2. Mining & quarrying	16	14	30	0.1	28	83	111	0.4
3. Manufacturing	1405	653	2058	8.0	1362	1473	2835	10.1
4. Electricity, Gas, Water	219	21	240	0.9	389	-	389	1.4
5. Construction	3448	666	4114	15.9	3002	529	3531	12.6
6. Commerce, hotels, restaurants	1273	1208	2481	9.6	2141	3280	5421	19.3
7. Transport, storage communications	1254	77	1331	5.1	1529	167	1696	6.1
8. Services, financial, personal, social	2213	3545	5758	22.3	2752	3975	6727	24.0
9. Inadequately defined	754	432	1186	4,8	1001	751	1752	6.3
TOTAL WORKING	16086	9713	25799	100%	15985	12037	28022	100%
Percent	62.4	37.6	100		57.1	42.9	100	
All adults not in school	19409	24800	44209		20016	18904	38920	
Participation rates %	82.9	39.2	58.4		76.0	65.0	72	

THE SOCIETY AND ITS CULTURE

Colonialism was a regime of political subordination, the more economic the more persuasive it was. To that end, by diverse means Europeans sought to dominate the minds and hearts of their black, brown and East Indian colonials and so to subjugate them voluntarily to rule by whites for fear of being ruled by one another. Since the lessons learnt in early childhood are the most important and enduring, it was essential that if they went there, the young should be indoctrinated in school; and this was done in Grenada, as elsewhere in the Caribbean, through the *Royal Readers*, Books 1 to 4. These books upheld the achievements of British heroes such as Hawkins, Drake, Rodney, Nelson, Wellington and Gordon to colonials for emulation; and assured them that law, order and good government was theirs automatically because they were under Britain. The governing officials had to be imported from the imperial homeland, to which they returned, to be replaced by others in an unending succession of British colonial rulers, along with clergy, senior medical staff, bank managers and others high in the hierarchy of their respective professions. It was *de rigeur* that they should be equally high in the racial color scale which regulated the society, that is, they should be of British birth.

Initially, alongside this expatriate and racially white governing elite were the white plantocracy, and the local heads of those firms that exported the major colonial produce and supplied its primary imports. However, as the years wore on the expatriate heads of merchant houses were replaced in Grenada by colored Creoles, mainly brown and of Barbadian stock. Other browns dominated the professions of law, medicine and engineering, though to a lesser degree, and the privileged levels of the bureaucracy, local commerce and inter-island shipping. Many who held estates of middle size were also colored and some of these engaged in commerce and the professions. In the later decades of colonial rule, secondary schools drew the bulk of their staff from this hybrid stratum. Girls from these families worked in the banks and the shops and business houses.

Blacks, who outnumbered browns and whites by four or five to one, formed the largest and least differentiated section, the most subordinate. Most of them then lived on or on the perimeter of estates, half peasant, half estate labor. Speaking a patois, initially French, among themselves, they communicated in English through the headman, or 'driver', who relayed the orders he received and allocated the work (Hughes 1966). Larger groups of black people clustered in the coastal towns where they settled and fished, traded and farmed. Some worked as craftsmen, others as unskilled labor. In rural areas neighboring households formed a pattern of villages in the valleys between the main estates, each with its 'Great-house', the residence of the white or near-white proprietor that overlooked all. While one half of the black population lived and worked on estates as agricultural laborers, the other, having acquired lands of their own, lived and worked independently on them but followed estate practices in the crops they grew. Where the estates grew cocoa and nutmeg for export, that was also done by the black peasantry. Where the estates grew arrowroot, banana, coconuts or other crops, the peasants did likewise; but they also grew tree crops such as avocado, bananas, mango and citrus, together with a wide array of ground provisions - tanya, dasheen, bluggo, sweet potato, yams, plus cocoa and nutmeg for export, and reared goats, sheep and chickens. In Grenada, unlike Jamaica, no Nonconformist missionaries

established "Free Villages", therefore the pattern of peasant settlement evolved haphazardly in scattered parcels. Where estates had been abandoned or subdivided for sale, households clustered together in settlements along the highway.

Though influenced by Western norms, the mating and family practices of Grenadian blacks differed substantially, most children in 1870 as in 1950 being born out of wedlock and taking their mother's name, while the kinship terms are the familiar English ones. Formally bilateral, the content of kinship was different and matricentric, women priding themselves as autonomous makers and bearers of children and heads of their homes. The resulting irregular sexual patterns have persisted, despite various pressures, moral, religious and legal, against them, until in the 1980s, when the incidence of illegitimate births was 80 percent, it became clear that, as had been done elsewhere, Grenada should normalize illegitimacy and abolish differences of birth status.

A third institutional sector that distinguishes Grenadian blacks from whites and coloreds is religion. Here difference is expressed starkly by the blood-sacrifice of animals as in Shango, and formerly Big Drum, an ancestor cult which persists in Carriacou but was displaced by Shango in Grenada, and the more familiar forms of Christian ritual which sometimes, as in the glossalalia of the Shouting or Spiritual Baptists, becomes highly Afro-Christian, a matter of revelation, prophecies, miracles and spiritual healing (Smith 1963). These diverse forms of institutional expression indicate the nature and extent of the gap between the black and white cultural communities, which language, mating, family, and property also express.

Grenada's East Indians are descended from Indian indentured workers imported between 1857 and 1885 to replace blacks on the sugar estates, which were by law required to provide their imported Indian workers with barracks, food, clothing, and medical attention, and were guaranteed by the colonial administration control of their labor at agreed rates (Gittens Knight 1946: 45; Brizan 1984: 183-194). On completing their five-year contract the indentured workers were free to return to India, and 380 did so, or to remain in Grenada and receive a bounty. Unlike Trinidad and Guyana, which imported rather larger numbers of East Indians for their sugar plantations, East Indians in Grenada labored on cane farms and other estates alongside black Creoles, speaking their own language, practicing their customs, festivals and rites, their religion, kinship and family patterns. They also made special efforts to attend one another's ceremonies and to perpetuate their common culture. However, in doing that they eliminated many features that emphasized the differences among them and achieved a certain measure of cultural community that contraposed them as a group from the larger Creole population around them, from whom they separated themselves ideologically and biologically, classifying and repudiating Creole-Indian hybrids as half-castes or *doglas*. In return the Creoles treated East Indians with contempt on physical grounds and referred to them as 'coolies', especially reviling their patriarchal attitudes to their women and children, who labored on the estates.

By 1950 East Indians formed roughly one-fortieth of Grenada's population. By then they had lost their fluency in Indian languages, most elements of the caste complex, and their ancestral Hindu religion. Family patterns were better preserved, arranged marriages being still locally exogamous. The dowry pattern had declined, together with caste and

endogamy. Most girls soon quit the first marriages arranged for them and settled thereafter with another man as their husband. By the 1950s, most Indians were Christians and sent their children to Presbyterian schools, which greatly advanced their creolization.

The following account of Grenada describes the society and its culture on the eve of decolonization.

Most whites are British by origin, expatriate officials and their families forming an important segment of this group. So do the Roman and Anglican priests, all of whom, in 1952-3, were recruited abroad. Excluding these expatriate officials, Grenada's white colony consists of planters, few of whom are recent immigrants, and a handful of Syrians. The white planters include three or four families of French descent. Many members of the planter class engage in commerce, some in government also. These planter families are usually linked by kinship and affinity with one another and with similar groups in nearby islands.

Data gathered in 1953 on Grenadian stratification show a basic division between a Western-oriented elite, which contains less than seven percent of the people, and the rest, among whom rural traditionalism and African orientations prevail ... Correlations between social status, pigmentation, association and family are extremely high. First-degree kinsmen, especially agnates, share an almost identical social status. Occupation and educational achievement are ambiguous criteria for placement. Family groups of approximately equal status and color tend to intermarry. Members of the highest, richest, smallest and whitest stratum, most of whom own land, are almost all schooled in Britain, as were their fathers before and their legitimate children after them. Each stratum tended to form an exclusive field for informal association, as shown by clique, mating and club behavior.

Certain significant subdivisions within the elite section are quite clear. The small, near-white planter group at the apex of the hierarchy, took little part in commerce and none in the official life of the government or the church. The larger brown "upper-middle classes" next in rank dominated Grenadian commerce, official councils and committees, certain clubs and other organizations. In none of these formal or informal groupings did any members of the lower levels of the elite take part. . .

To complicate and underpin this rigid stratification, there were important differences of culture and institutional practice between the various social sections. Law prohibited both the typical Grenadian folk cults of Shango and "Shouting" Baptism. The official creed of the dominant strata was Anglican; that of the folk, Roman Catholic. As regards mating and family, the sections differed sharply, marriages being as rare among the folk as they were normal among the elite under laws which penalized property inheritance by bastards. While the folk lacked political rights until 1951, the elite had monopolized all locally available political interests before and under Crown Colony rule. While the folk knew only the Foresters and Friendly Society movements, the elite had long been organized in a plethora of associations, utilitarian, economic, occupational ritual, social, and so forth. While all the elite had a background of secondary education, were literate, and spoke correct English, few folk had got beyond primary school, a great many were illiterate, and the French Creole patois was still the dialect they used among themselves. While the elite held property under legal title, most folk did not. While the elite used banks, the folk preferred *susu*

associations for thrift and credit. While the elite hired labor, the folk worked in cooperative groups of various types known as *maroon* and *jamboni* . Folk wakes, nine-nights, and All Souls rituals were quite foreign to the elite, many of whom could not understand the Creole French patois spoken by the folk. In short, throughout all ranges of culture the differences between elite and folk matched their status separation.

Among the elite there were also important differences of culture and status between the handful of whites and near-whites who, having been schooled in Britain, found the Creole culture somewhat strange, and the colored majority who knew of little beyond Grenada and Trinidad. British officials also tended to form a separate group. Their structural position led them to differentiate themselves from the near-white Creole stratum while maintaining good working relations with its key members. Clearly the finely woven network of status, color, property, kinship, political and economic interests, which characterized this elite, limited their room for adjustment to new situations and events. (Smith 1965a: 276-278)

That was the situation against which the workers of Grenada rebelled in 1951 under the trade union and political leadership of Eric M. Gairy, fifteen years after their brothers and sisters in St. Kitts, Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and in Trinidad under Tubal Uriah Butler, himself a Grenadian, had protested similar conditions.

Nearly forty years later in 1990 when I returned to Grenada, most of the white and near-white plantocracy had died or departed the island, together with the British expatriate officials, religious and secular. Foreign-born priests in 1990 were generally Creoles from elsewhere in the West Indies, often indistinguishable from their congregation. The old estate system of agriculture under which a few large parcels of land were held by fewer landholders, and most of the people labored landless all their lives, was a thing of the past. Though estates persisted, they no longer constituted a separate viable system as such. Though no one had yet repealed the laws which prohibited Shango and Shouting Baptism, there was no longer any thought of enforcing them. While property laws still penalized inheritance by bastards, the status of bastardy itself was legislated out of court in 1990. While in 1951-53 few if any folk had secondary education, in 1989 6,395 children were in secondary schools, the great majority on scholarships won in a common annual exam open to all. In 1990 also Gairy's revolution belonged in the past, and the country's future was ambiguous and uncertain.

Many Grenadians still worked co-operatively by *maroon* and *jamboni*, still practiced *susu*, dreaded *lougarou* and *sukuyan*, held Shango, Big Drum, wakes, third-night, nine-night, forty-night and other ceremonies, worshipped by *saraca* or blood sacrifice, and differed in speech; but they were probably fewer than before. Though the older generation that used the French patois had passed away, their descendants communicated among themselves by a form of English strongly influenced by the French-based Creole, with underlying African grammar and syntax (Alleyne 1985: 12; Roberts 1980). It was no longer the case, as in 1953, that the people of Grenada were divided into two social sections between which "social mobility could scarcely occur" (Smith 1965a: 277; 1965b: 236-240). Expanded local educational opportunities and overseas qualifications to some degree bridged the sectional gulf that had formerly split the society. These processes were accompanied by

significant changes in the self-perceptions of Grenadians, and in their orientations to Britain, the Caribbean community, and the U.S.A. (Morrisey 1983).

RECENT HISTORY: DECOLONIZATION AND AFTER

Following emancipation in the 19th century planters and field workers had gradually evolved mutually satisfactory relations, under which workers built their houses and lived on the estate, freely using its land for their ground provisions, reaped its breadfruit, avocados, bluggoes and the like, pastured their animals on its land, drew firewood and water, and in return sold their labor to the proprietor at non-commercial rates whenever he needed it. This system of 'privileges' which had replaced slavery and had progressively converted estates from sugar plantations to production first of cocoa and then after 1880 nutmeg, so heavily cushioned labor relations that these were transformed into relations of master and man, planter and peasant, which masked their grossly unequal character. However, in 1938, following the recommendations of a committee appointed by the legislature, the planters steadily dismantled this scaffolding of privileges, without compensating labor appropriately for their lost values in kind (G.O.G 1938). World War 2 intervened, setting the Trinidad economy in high gear and increasing its demand for labor. Those seeking work headed for Trinidad, including many who could no longer make ends meet on estate wages, and felt betrayed by the planters' policies of eliminating privileges. Following World War 2, an oil refinery was built in Aruba by Esso, and for some years the labor market in Trinidad remained buoyant. To these areas Grenadians moved in search of employment and higher wages, leaving behind the exploitive relations on the estates.

When Gairy first mobilized Grenadian farm workers, farm wages well below BWI$1.00* per day for both sexes had recently been reduced. He called a general strike during which several planters' homes were put to the torch, crops were looted and the nutmeg and cocoa sold to produce dealers. Roads into the town of St. George's were blocked and movements of people and goods arrested, and workers disputed with one another their rights to specific portions of the estates their ancestors were believed to have planted. The British government, having already decided to wind up the Empire, made little effort to restore the *status quo ante*. Gairy was arrested, removed to Carriacou, and armed police were imported from St. Lucia and Trinidad to reinforce the local force. In Gairy's absence the lootings and burnings continued. Within a month the strike was over and the union had won all its demands (Rotenberg 1955). When universal suffrage was introduced and a general election held later that year, the Grenada United Labor Party (GULP), which Gairy had put together, swept to victory in the polls. But however important in the long run, that victory proved rather hollow immediately, as the colonial administration still retained executive power.

The strike of 1951, followed by Gairy's electoral victory, broke the local myth of white invincibility, but arrogantly, Gairy took the credit entirely to himself, forgetting that without support from the field workers he could have changed nothing. His initial demands for social acceptance by the white plantocracy having been rebuffed, he determined to show

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* In 1951 the BWI dollar, which was Grenada's currency, had an exchange value of 4s 2d or U.S.50c. In 1990 Grenada used the East Caribbean dollar and the exchange rate was US$1 = EC$2.67

them where power lay and railed against them at his meetings. In 1953 Gairy called a second general strike of agricultural workers, without explicit demands. Unlike its predecessor, that strike failed, partly because by then Gairy had begun to distance himself from the field workers he represented. In 1955 Hurricane Janet swept across the island, wreaking great damage. In consequence the cocoa and nutmeg trees had to be replanted, thus increasing the demand for estate labor (Smith 1965a: 262-321).

The colonial administration then had the task of educating Gairy and other newly elected members in the rules and ways of parliamentary procedure. The new members of the Legislative Council had first to become acquainted with the rules and procedures of government on the Westminster model before they would be ready to exercise executive power, a step that presupposed the introduction of ministerial government, the transformation of some senior civil servants into permanent secretaries, the dissolution of the colonial secretary's office, and the replacement of nominated members by elected Members of Parliament, as the old legislative council was duly renamed. First, however came a period of government by committee, that is, by three committees of the legislative council which dealt respectively with Trade and Production, Communications and Works, and Education and Social Services; Defense, Finance and Justice were reserved for the administration to handle.

Under the ministerial system the colonial administrator administered Grenada through an executive council, having selected as chief minister the man supported by the majority of elected members, another minister without portfolio and an *ex-officio* member, the chief law officer. By then Gairy had been suspended for breaking up a meeting of his opponents in the 1957 elections and debarred from standing for election until 1961. In Gairy's place, H.A.Blaize, who had founded the Grenada National Party, became the first Chief Minister in 1960, by which time elected members routinely exercised ministerial power. On the restoration of his political rights in 1961, Gairy resumed his seat by election and assumed office as Chief Minister and Minister of Finance (Singham 1968: 176; Brizan 1984: 221).

In January 1962 the Administrator of Grenada appointed a Commission of Inquiry into the expenditures of public funds in Grenada during the preceding financial year. As Chief Minister and Minister of Finance Gairy was directly implicated in questionable expenditures of public funds on several accounts, and the Commissioners recommended his suspension. This misuse and misappropriation of government funds is locally known as "Squandermania" (*ibid:* 321-327; G.O.G. 1962; Reply of E.M.Gairy 1962; Singham 1968: 200-253). The Commissioners accused the government, and particularly the Chief Minister, Eric Gairy, of wantonly destroying morale in the civil service by threatening its officers' security of appointment in the performance of their duties, and by wastefully incurring expenditures through the refusal of advice from civil servants.

In September 1962 there were general elections, which were won by the Grenada National Party (GNP) under H.A.Blaize with 6 of the 10 seats, while Gairy's party, the Grenada United Labor Party (GULP), won 4. From 1962, when the Federation of the West Indies dissolved, until 1967, the GNP ruled Grenada, with its finance firmly under the Administration's control. Through its agents, Colonial Development and Welfare (CD&W), the British government provided funds for capital development, including the construction

of primary schools, the extension of teacher training facilities, and construction of the Institute of Commercial and Domestic Arts. To prevent any repetition of "Squandermania", all members of Legislative Council except the Speaker and Attorney General, administered its finances together as a standing committee under the chairmanship of the Minister of Finance. Another committee of Legislative Council consisting of three members, none of whom was on the Executive Council, examined the audits of expenditure from public funds and other accounts laid before the legislature. These constitutional provisions held sway until the 1959 constitution was restored in 1966, which set the government free to discuss proposals for further constitutional progress towards decolonization.

In March 1967 Grenada became an Associated State of Great Britain under a constitution which required the Governor to appoint a Senate of 9 members, 5 on the Premier's advice, 2 on that of the Leader of the Opposition, and 2 as representatives of certain interest groups, to supplement the elected House of Representatives. Its executive consisted of the Premier, and such other Ministers as the Legislature or the Governor acting on the advice of the Premier might designate, while the Cabinet consisted of the Premier, all Ministers, and the Attorney General or an *ex-officio* member. The Legislature had full control of Grenadian affairs except for defense and foreign relations, which remained under Great Britain.

Since his second general strike in 1954, called without explicit reason or need and defeated by the planters (Smith 1965a: 287-293), Gairy had been less active as a unionist than a politician. Out of office from 1962 to 1967 he lived meanly, until the elections of 1967 gave him another chance of power. Claiming that if re-elected he would seek Grenada's affiliation with Trinidad, which then threatened to close its doors to Grenadian immigration, he mobilized considerable popular support and was re-elected with 54 percent of the votes cast.

To secure his power, in 1968 Gairy forbade retention of firearms by all who opposed his government. Next he sought to control the population by seizing the estates of his opponents, ostensibly to distribute as "land for the landless."

"In 1971, 14 estates were taken over by the government, and in 1972, 7 more. By 1978 over 30 estates had been acquired ... In many cases the owners of these estates were opponents of the government. In some cases, especially those appropriated after 1972, payment was not made. Many estates thus acquired were not subdivided to give land to the landless; the object was to break the economic power of those medium and large landowners opposed to the government." (Brizan 1984: 330).

By independence, Gairy had effectively broken the estate system and the white monopoly control of Grenada's economy by appropriating part or all of 23 or more estates that belonged mainly to his political opponents, while leaving untouched the property of those who supported him or were prepared to seek his protection in various ways. By then he had also begun to build his own class of entrepreneurs as an alternative to the brown gentry who dominated Grenadian commerce. Incoming Lebanese merchants did especially well, and by various means he made the others also contribute amply to his coffers which included,

as always, union dues, though by then these were a mere trickle (Rottenberg 1955; Brian 1984: 323-5).

Thereafter he retained power until 1979 when he was overthrown, and

> ruled Grenada with an iron hand, ... making himself financially prosperous in the process. In these twelve years Gairy utterly disregarded the principles he had upheld in 1951, violated the very workers' rights he had campaigned for in 1951, and destroyed some of the people he had fought for in that year (*ibid*.: 329).

By 1979, after he had held office for twelve years following a long spell of indebtedness (*ibid*.: 323-5), Gairy's assets in Grenada were estimated at over two million EC dollars, although his total salary from ministerial office from 1967 to 1979 was only EC$188,000 (NDC 1990: 4).

Gairy ignored Parliament and degraded the institution. On one occasion for example, he pushed through "in one sitting some sixteen bills ..., each carried through three readings" (*ibid*.: 345). Public servants were victimized by threats to terminate their employment, or by other kinds of pressure without protection by the Public Service Commission, which thereafter became a rubber stamp. Gairy also sought to establish a new class of black businessmen by granting concessions and monopolies, whether newly created or formerly the property of others. Political dissent, which flourished naturally in these conditions, was ruthlessly suppressed (*ibid*.: 331-2). At the same time Gairy took control of the producer co-operatives by which the three main crops had been regulated, namely, the Banana Co-operative Society, the Grenada Cocoa Industry Board and the Grenada Co-operative Nutmeg Association. To do so he abolished the boards elected by growers and replaced them with his government nominees, despite the evident illegality

In 1967 when conferring the status of Associate State on Grenada, the British government had announced its willingness to grant independence subject to the results of a referendum. However, following the election of 1972, Gairy

> "announced that his victory in the recent elections had given him a mandate to arrange independence, which Britain was eager to grant, without a referendum, and he proceeded to open discussions with the British. This decision was greeted with a storm of protest. The moderate Grenada National Party, headed by Herbert Blaize, gathered 14,000 signatures against independence (Sandford and Vigilante 1984: 34).

In protest, the New Jewel Movement (NJM), under the leadership of Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman and other young professionals, announced a People's Convention on Independence on May 6th, 1973 and published a manifesto which promised

> agricultural reform, agro-industries, secondary education, curriculum reform, freedom schools, a national health insurance scheme, a preventive medicine campaign, social planning, new tourism, the nationalisation of banks, phasing out of foreign insurance companies, establishment of government-owned national insurance companies . . . an end to party politics and the institution of people's assemblies (Brizan 1984: 333).

In response Gairy set his Mongoose Gang of thugs upon Bishop's supporters (*ibid*.: 337), but such persecution merely increased public support for the NJM.

The imminence of political independence gave urgency to the successive NJM conventions in Grenville. The Grenadian people, having by then learnt what life was like under Gairy, were anxious not to risk independence under him. On 4th November 1973 the NJM congress attracted an assembly of 8,000 Grenadians, one-eleventh of the island's population. This Congress passed a resolution that condemned the government on 27 charges of violence and terror, incompetence, squandermania, illegal administration, pressure, victimization and general neglect of the country's welfare. It called on Gairy to resign within two weeks, that is, by the 18th November, following which the Governor, Dr. Hilda Bynoe, should appoint a National Unity Council and call elections. Unless the government resigned, the NJM leaders warned, the shops would shut and the country as a whole would go on strike until it did.

On November 8th Gairy broadcast on the radio and threatened to charge the NJM and its leaders with sedition and treason, amongst much else.

> On Sunday 18th November 1973 ... a reign of terror was unleashed and six members of the NJM who had gone to Grenville to hold a meeting were mercilessly beaten by a crowd of secret police under the supervision of Inspector Belmar almost beyond recognition. The six were Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman, Kenrick Radix, Selwyn Strachan, Diamond Daniels and Hudson Austin.... In fact the beatings precipitated the very strike they were intended to prevent. For one month in January 1974, the island was locked in a general strike and the streets were filled with thousands of Grenadians, young and old, demonstrating and chanting "Gairy must go!". The Governor, Hilda Bynoe, overwhelmed by the massiveness of the demonstrations, resigned and migrated to Trinidad... Gairy called up his secret police to Mount Royal on January 21st. After the meeting, assisted by armed police, they proceeded to unleash terror on the demonstrators, causing serious injuries to many including women. Rupert Bishop was shot and killed, businesses in St. George's were looted, first by Gairy's supporters, then by others. The population panicked. There was no answer to the government's guns and force (*ibid*. 341-342).

Thereafter the stage was set for the showdown. If its members were to survive, the NJM could only go underground, following the debacle of January 1974, which convinced Gairy more than anything else that his tyranny was the best medicine for Grenadians. Forced nonetheless to appoint a Commission of Inquiry into police brutality in Grenada, Bynoe's successor as Governor appointed Judge William Duffus of the Jamaican High Court to investigate the breakdown of law and order and report with recommendations, which he duly did (Duffus 1974). The result, though a clinical indictment of Gairy's rule, merely increased his commitment to repression.

Despite British promises of a referendum beforehand, wide protests in the island against the prospect of uncontrolled Gairyism, and Grenada's appeals to Britain to defer independence, Gairy was allowed to take Grenada into independence against its will. Under the Committee of 22, the port and town of St. George's were shut down in January 1974 on the eve of independence, following the assault by police on the NJM leaders on November 18th. In response, by Gairy's contrivance, mobs looted the shops in St. George's. When the British signed the articles of independence for Grenada, they betrayed it for the first time.

There was to be a second betrayal later. This was a profound shock to those Grenadians who had identified the country with the British colonial regime.

Grenada received its independence on 7th February 1974, but the capital, St. George's, had little with which to celebrate, its shops having been thoroughly looted two weeks earlier. To restrict the expression of dissent, Gairy legislated to increase the deposit required of anyone before publishing a newspaper from EC$900 to EC$20,000, in an effort to close down the NJM's newspaper, begun in 1973 but already boasting a circulation of several thousand.

The elections due in 1976 were conducted under abnormal conditions, the opposition Peoples' Alliance of the NJM and the moderate GNP being unable to campaign freely by the ban on its use of a public address system. Though the government was accused of massive vote rigging, the Alliance nonetheless won six seats with 48.2 percent of the popular vote to Gairy's nine.

Thereafter the NJM moved quietly to establish itself within the Public Service Association, the Grenada Union of Teachers, the Technical and Allied Workers' Union and the Commercial and Bank Workers' Union. Previously these had all been specialist trade unions, but under the NJM's guidance they became general unions, catering both to those with special training and those without. By late 1977 it was time for the Public Services Association to challenge Gairy over wages, the 1977 salaries revision commission having recommended increases that averaged 83 percent for 1977-8, as public servants had received no increase since 1974. To restrict the flow of information on the issue, Gairy introduced his ban on loudspeakers and made it permanent. When Gairy had rejected the commission's recommendations, the unions called a strike. In a broadcast on 26th January 1978, Gairy threatened violence. At this point the unions backed down, obliged to accept what Gairy's government offered for fear of violence. Later that year the NJM itself had to call off other rallies in face of similar threats. In February 1978 government legislated to ensure that the Port Authority would in future have the powers necessary to maintain efficient port services by preventing strikes on the waterfront. Under that law, industrial disputes involving the Port Authority would be settled solely by arbitration, the intent being to block any recurrence of the general strike of January 1974 on the eve of Grenada's independence. Clearly experience had persuaded Gairy that the best response to protests was to exclude industrial disputes.

Having apparently suppressed the NJM opposition and leaders of the People's Alliance, Gairy set out for New York on March 12th 1979 to address the United Nations on a topic of importance to him, namely, research into flying saucers. The NJM leadership, being well informed of Gairy's movements, quickly prepared a coup, and at 4.15 the next morning broadcast to Grenada that "the People's Revolutionary Army seized control of the Army barracks at True Blue. The barracks were burnt to the ground and after half an hour's struggle the forces of Gairy's army were completely defeated and surrendered" (Sandiford & Vigilante 1984: 47; Marable 1987: 220-222). The coup was indeed well organized, one detachment seizing the radio station, another Pearls Airport near Grenville, and other detachments neutralizing quickly and without bloodshed the various police stations in which

Gairy's men slept. By the afternoon of 13th March 1979, it was virtually all over, with one lieutenant dead (Sandford & Vigilante 1984: 48; Payne, Sutton & Thorndike 1984: 16).

Despite his regressive policies, Gairy had changed certain things in Grenada irreversibly. When he first seized power on behalf of the people, that meant an end to colonialism, white supremacy and rule, the estate system that had maintained that racial order, and the rule of law and civil rights. For his last ten years in power, Gairy had relied on arbitrary repression and terror. The Westminster system of government and the law courts offered little protection. Having purged the police force of non-sympathizers, he used it thereafter to harry his opponents and eliminate them where necessary. In such duties the police were assisted by Gairy's paramilitary Mongoose Gang recruited from hardened criminals. The Solicitor General and the magistracy were both so compromised that the Duffus Commission recommended their investigation by the Commission for Judicial and Legal Services with a view to their replacement. Innocent Belmar, an Inspector, and David Andrews were recommended for dismissal from the police force (Duffus 1974: 228-335), and Duffus concluded that not only was there police brutality and a breakdown of law and order in Grenada, but that its government was solely responsible for that state of affairs.

On the economic level Gairy had also stamped his influence on Grenada by disrupting the estates that anchored its agricultural economy. To that effect he unleashed waves of praedial larceny in the 1951 strike which never receded, and which ruined the profitability of Grenadian farming. Later while in government, he seized the estates of those who had opposed him without paying for them, thus discouraging landholders from investing in estates in Grenada, with the result that yields per acre steadily declined, as owners accommodated to their situation and reaped, but did not invest (G.O.G. 1988: 1-5). Land on some farms was marketed in large or small parcels to land-hungry Grenadians, thus beginning the breakup of estates. In these ways, by encouraging looting and praedial larceny, by destabilizing the tenure of estates, and by discouraging agricultural investment, Gairy's rule in the seventies meant the end of the old Grenadian agricultural order.

As the government's revenues dwindled, Gairy sought loans and cut its overseas expenditures, including its contribution to the regional university and other regional bodies.

> By 1979 more than sixteen thousand people - approximately 50 percent of the island's work force - were without jobs ... Government's finances collapsed into chaos, the Treasury becoming virtually denuded of funds. The country's trade deficit rose to over EC$50 million, thanks to a huge import bill, and the national debt to some EC$60 million ... Aid flows and aid funds more or less dried up within a year of the winning of independence, and, since population growth was not abated, per capita income fell in real terms by some 3 per cent per annum between 1974 and 1979 (Payne, Sutton & Thorndike 1984: 14).

When Gairy finally fell Grenada's economy was at a standstill, and the NJM then tried retrospectively to persuade the Grenadian people and the world at large that their coup had been a popular revolution.

THE COUP AND THE REVOLUTION

In his first broadcast after the coup its leader, Maurice Bishop, announced that "the supporters of the former Gairy government will not be injured in any way. Their homes, their families and their jobs are completely safe so long as they do not offer violence to our government"; and he promised that "all democratic freedoms, including freedom of elections, religious and political opinion, will be restored to the people. The personal safety and property of individuals will be protected, foreign residents are quite safe, and are welcome to remain in Grenada." (Sandford & Vigilante 1984: 49). Two weeks later at a victory rally, the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) announced its People's Law No. 1. "The constitution of Grenada is hereby and has been suspended as of 12.01 a.m. on March 13th 1979. All acts or deeds by or under the authority of the People's Revolutionary Government are hereby deemed and declared to have been legally done" (Brizan 1984: 348). "With the suspension of the constitution, government became essentially one of governing by decree." (*ibid.:* 349).

It seems possible that between March 13th and 25th 1979, the date of People's Law No. 1 which in effect suspended the original commitment to restore "all democratic rights, including those of election", the hardliners had prevailed within the NJM, itself "a party that had less than 50 full members" (Latin American Bureau 1984: 28), thereby setting Grenada firmly on the path of Marxist government and repression. However, in 1980 some observers asked why there had not been a return to constitutional government. Many reasons for this delay were given by the PRG, including:" (1) the problem of national security; the possibility of an invasion externally generated by Gairy or other forces still existed in a real sense; 2) the need to get the economy on a sound footing after years of economic mismanagement." (Brizan 1984: 349). By 1980 the PRG had decreed 63 People's Laws, including two, numbers 17 and 21, that legalized the preventive detention under which people could be held without charge or bail for indefinite periods without questions being raised in court.

The relief with which Grenada welcomed the coup that ended the years of Gairy's rule cushioned its shock on learning the real nature of NJM rule. For the first year of its administration, the NJM's PRG concentrated its attention on social and economic conditions, especially health, housing and education. Moving quickly to ally itself with Cuba, it soon became dependent and within three months, by June 1979, welcomed the first medical brigade of seven doctors, three dentists, a radiographer and a co-ordinator from Cuba. Thereafter doctors were forbidden to see their private patients in the hospitals, where all treatment was now free. In due course the number of doctors rather more than doubled, not only at the hospitals in St. George's, but also elsewhere in Grenada and in Carriacou. "The Ministry of Agriculture set up a Food and Nutrition Council to oversee a school lunch program and the distribution of free milk (donated by the European Economic Community) to needy children." (Sandford & Vigilante 1984: 68). Drawing largely on funds from OPEC, "the government began granting housing loans of up to $1,000 per household at repayment terms of as little as $5 per month." (*ibid.*: 70).

Education was another matter. There were at this date 68 public primary schools in Grenada, 16 owned and run by government, 45 funded by government but administered by the churches, of whom the Roman Catholics, with about two-thirds of Grenada's communicants, were the largest denomination, while 7 schools were private and independent.

That year, 1979-80, the 16 government primary schools contained 4,875 children while the 45 government-assisted denominational schools contained 17,546, making a total of 22,421 in public schools, which the enrollment of 644 in private schools brought to 23,065. These government and church schools had a total of 774 teachers, of whom 496 (64) were women. Of the teachers, 189 were in Government schools, 585 in Church schools. Of these primary school teachers, 257, or one-third, were professionally qualified, while the rest had modest educational attainments. Of those who taught in the 7 private primary schools, we know nothing.

At the secondary level, government maintained 6 schools with 2,084 pupils, of whom 1,401 were boys, while the churches had 11 with an enrollment of 3,628, mostly girls, bringing the total in all 17 schools to 5,712. Together these 17 schools were staffed by 254 teachers, 126 of whom were female, while 72, or 28, were trained. Concerning the qualifications of teachers in private secondary schools, we lack information.

By 1980, the first year of the PRG government, of 3007 candidates who sat the common entrance examination for admission to secondary school, 510, or 17, received scholarships. Of 821 who sat the school leaving examination at the end of primary school, 172 or 21 passed, while of 6,355 entries from secondary schools in Cambridge O and A level subjects, 1,888 or 29.7 passed. Given such results, it was perhaps inevitable that the PRG should make a serious effort to upgrade Grenadian education, especially as in doing so it could mobilize and educate the adult population to look at the world in a dramatically new way.

Bishop himself addressed these questions in a speech to the National Education Conference called by the PRG in July 1979, in which he set out the NJM view of Grenada's education in the past, and its immediate objectives.

> Perhaps the worst crime that colonialism left our country, as indeed it left all former colonies, is the education system. This was so because the way in which that system developed, the way in which that system was used, was to teach our people an attitude of self-hate, to get us to abandon our history, our culture, our values. To get us to accept the principles of white superiority, to destroy our confidence, to stifle our creativity, to perpetuate in our society class privilege and class difference ... Our educational process, therefore, was used mainly as a tool of the ruling elite... It was meant to create the belief that social mobility was the most important factor to be had from education. It was meant to foster the illusion that the most important reason why anyone should receive education was so that he or she could acquire individual wealth. It helped to teach us most of the negative attitudes and values that today we still see in certain sectors of our society. Attitudes of racist beliefs, racism, priorities, and chauvinist attitudes that make many of the men in our society look at the woman as not an equal partner, but as being a tool for personal use and enjoyment ... It has taught us to accept attitudes of authoritarian rule, hierarchical structure that says that the people do not have any right to participate, do not have any right to have their voices heard (Bishop 1982: 79-80).

> Our society has encouraged ... division between those who have mental and intellectual skills, those deemed the elite, ... the most important people in our society, and the vast majority of people, the ones who are in fact the most important because they are the ones who are producing, because no amount of reading and writing and passing exams for certificates can help us produce the cocoa, or nutmegs, or bananas that our country relies on in order to produce the wealth we have (*ibid*.: 82).

What in fact was being encouraged was backwardness, was superstition, the perpetuating of a feeling that only a small elite can rule; that the only purpose of education was to acquire personal wealth (*ibid*.: 84).

The physical condition of our schools is a sin crying to heaven for vengeance. Virtually every single pre-primary school in our country is in need of repair. Secondary schools, a fair number of them are also in pretty urgent need of repairs, and when we come to the situation of the teacher ... we find that of our teachers at the primary level, less than one-third, in fact only 30 percent, have received any form of professional training at all. At the secondary level the picture is even worse, it is something like 7 percent of all the teachers who have received some form of professional training, and at the pre-primary level the vast majority have in fact received no form of professional training.

Therefore with these problems it means ... that the solutions we are going to ... propose ... are going to have to be radical solutions ... we must move to wipe out illiteracy, we must move to develop a system of work and study in the schools, we must move to make all of us who are capable of being such teachers. ... We must use the educational system and process as a means of preparing a new man, a new life and a new society we are trying to build" (*ibid*.: 84-86).

The three instruments by which the NJM sought to tackle and solve Grenada's educational problems were the Adult Literacy Campaign, the National In-Service Teacher Training Program (NISTEP) and the Community School Development Program (CSDP). The three programs were closely integrated and were hammered out by discussion at the conference that Bishop opened. The Adult Literacy Program was co-coordinated by the new Centres for Popular Education (CPE), which mobilized volunteer tutors across the country to fight illiteracy. As a first step the adult literacy campaign aimed to make everyone literate, to teach all the basic skills of reading and writing. At the start, of 4070 "learners", 2,738 illiterates registered for the program, and over 1500 Grenadians aged between 15 and 65 volunteered as teachers. Of the illiterates who registered, 881 or 32 successfully completed the course; but not all who registered for the program were formally illiterate. There is in fact a great discrepancy between formal and functional illiteracy in Grenada, as elsewhere. Using 1981 census returns of population as 89,088, of whom 49,500 were then over 15 years, between 5 and 7 may have been illiterate, but the CPE's census yielded a formal illiteracy rate of 8 to 10 and much higher rates of functional illiteracy, unlike UNESCO, which estimated the latter at 13.2 (Grenada CPE Project Proposal 1981; UNESCO 1982: Annex 18).

In its second phase, the CPE program offered remedial or basic adult education, which involved Language Arts, Elementary Mathematics and General Science. 3,000 students distributed over 35 centers, five per parish, were scheduled to have 16 hours a week for 17 weeks, that is, a total of 272 hours' instruction in 4 terms of equal duration, using textbooks developed by the National Technical Commission of the CPE. Following this came a third phase in which workers would finally learn new skills and have their old skills upgraded; but first they had to complete the second phase program, which lasted two years. Few managed to achieve that.

NISTEP, the National In-service Teacher Education Program, set out to meet the need of 70 percent of Grenada's teachers for professional training of any kind. Designed in collaboration with the UWI School of Education at Cave Hill, Barbados, NISTEP was

launched in November 1980 to replace conventional in-college teacher training by educating all 562 untrained teachers in the primary and all-age schools in a "compulsory three-year in-service program for our 500 untrained teachers in three centres." It replaced "the ridiculously impractical Teachers' College which used to graduate only 25 teachers a year - many of whom left the teaching profession shortly after they entered it" (Creft 1982). Its rationale was that, whereas 651 students had graduated from the Grenada Teachers' College from its inception in 1963 till 1980, only 271 trained teachers remained in the primary schools, which meant that 380 teachers, or 58 percent of the GTC total, had quit teaching in 17 years, giving an average withdrawal of 22 teachers per year, or approximately half those graduating from GTC. On that basis there was little chance of training all primary schoolteachers much before 2010 A.D. (M.o.E 1982: 103).

The decision to conduct NISTEP as a compulsory three-year in-service program was not taken casually or without discussion, but after discussions that proved insufficient for the purpose (Brizan 1981: 80-123). In the NISTEP program, while teachers taught their classes four days a week in primary school, they were expected to attend one or other of the three NISTEP centers on the fifth, Friday, for the in-service training which over three years would complete their course. In addition, NISTEP trainee teachers had nine weeks in classes at their centers during the Christmas, Easter and Summer vacations, and were attached to some trained, experienced teacher at their school who was expected to sit in on lessons given by the trainees and to supervise and grade them on a standard assessment form.

The absence of two-thirds of the teachers on Fridays created chaos in the primary schools. On their days off from school to attend the NISTEP courses, the teachers' classes were taken over by the Community School Day Program (CSDP), which sought to foster close association of study and work by bringing craftsmen into school to speak about their craft, or by taking classes to visit factories, banana packing stations and the like, to learn about the work done there, their aim being to relate the school more closely to the community of which it was part by engaging it more fully with the world of work. The CSDP was not the success it was expected to be, as few craftsmen were gifted teachers, and truancy increased on Fridays.

Understandably, under such conditions,

> The drop-out rate was high, at least partly because the teacher trainees resented the radicalism of the instructors ... Truancy was rampant on CSDP days ... In addition to time lost to CSDP, more time was lost when classes were repeatedly disrupted while children were called out to rallies, drills, mobilisations of the militia, National Youth Organisation, Young Pioneers, Student Councils and other revolutionary organisations. Moreover, the ideology inculcated by the NJM through these groups undermined discipline both at home and at school (Stanford & Vigilante: 73).

As Bishop had said in July 1979, the

> question of the curriculum is going to be a key one. A curriculum that is geared to developing a new philosophy, that is going to stress the important question of self-reliance, the important question of genuine independence, ... that is going to try to begin to raise national consciousness, ... that sort of thinking we are going to have to develop (Bishop 1982: 86).

This was a subject to which Bishop returned in October 1981 when he called for a

> problem-solving curriculum, ... a Language Arts syllabus that teaches our children to love and respect their own people, their workers and farmers ...; a history syllabus that seeks to analyse the process of emancipation of our working people and the struggles they have fought over the years, and continues to link that with the struggles of working people all over the world; ... and a science syllabus that sets out to investigate the potential in our land and people ... We need a curriculum to practically aid our liberation, not to keep us dependent on outside powers that will do nothing but exploit us (*ibid*.: 224).

This effort at curriculum development could not be isolated from the other educational reforms attempted by the PRG. It called for an integration of education and production, for an ethos of participation, self-reliance, equality, national consciousness, an end of elitism, an ethic of hard work and love for the Grenadian people, and their docile support of PRG policies and programs. The curriculum reformers had to develop Language Arts and Mathematics curricula for all levels of primary and junior schools which would foster and support these goals. The educational reform process, though initiated with enthusiasm, halted when the CPE graduated its first literates in March 1981. NISTEP had not the time in which to graduate any of its 562 enrollees, being suspended in October 1983 when the PRG government collapsed, together with the CSDP, and the PRG's curriculum reform program. Still, much that the PRG had attempted persisted as a possible alternative program for Grenadian educators, at least ideologically and motivationally. But as we shall see, their most successful educational reform, and the only one to persist, was the substitution of scholarships for fees, which opened the secondary schools to so many.

Yet however important it was to the NJM, education was not their immediate priority. Given their revolutionary aims and program, they had first to secure their power, and then to take control of the Grenadian economy, revive and expand it, and reorganize it to their ideas. Guided by Marxist texts (Brutents 1977), the NJM leadership assessed their situation and decided that for Grenada the mixed economy model of private sector, state sector and co-operatives was the only realistic one. They were therefore content to recruit into their ranks local capitalists, provided that they themselves kept control of the economy (Seabury & McDougall 1984: 59-88). To reverse the decline in economic activity and to revive the economy following its prolonged neglect under Gairy, the PRG repealed the Nutmeg Industry Ordinance by an amending People's Law, No. 43, which enabled them to nominate a new interim board to run the association's affairs pending elections, which were never held. In like fashion they replaced Gairy's appointees to the boards of the Banana Co-operative Society and the Cocoa Industry, and soon had these under control. To reduce unemployment and put money into circulation, besides recruiting extensively for its militia and the PRA among the youth, the PRG annually doubled government expenditure on rehabilitation of main roads, pushed ahead with rural electrification, and promoted co-operative developments, through the National Cooperative Development Agency (NACDA), using some of the 26 state-run farms it had inherited from Gairy's regime, until its own program of land acquisition under the Lands Development Utilisation People's Law No. 21 of 1981 enabled it to acquire lands on nominal lease at one percent of their capital value for any purposes it chose, including the use of such lands by co-operative groups. "By July 1983 some 9,000 acres were subject to compulsory lease" (Sandiford & Vigilante 1984: 80). By instituting a Marketing and National Imports Board (MNIB) charged to import such basic

items as rice, sugar, cement, fertilizers, drugs, tractors, trucks, etc. and to export such non-traditional crops as eggplant, mangoes, pumpkin, not only were prices held down but government regulated trade and reaped the benefit in its return from this new commercial activity. By April 1982 the PRG could claim that only 14 percent of the people were out of work as against 49 percent unemployed in March 1979, and declared that "the state alone now provides a total of 9,350 full time jobs" (Coard 1983: 5-6). Of these, a large number were in the grossly inflated civil service, which had already been abused by Gairy as an employment agency for his supporters, who had been guaranteed security by the PRG on assuming power, and expanded further under their regime.

In 1981-2 the state's agro-industries produced over EC$225,000 worth of nectars, jams, jellies etc., and forestry some 35,000 feet of locally processed timber. An unsuccessful attempt was made to set up a National Fisheries Corporation under Cuban tutelage to engage in offshore fishing for a fish processing plant. Tourism suffered due to the bad press the PRG's Marxism attracted in the U.S., but as against this, local manufactures increased more than fivefold, thanks to government's tax incentives to increase exports and the CARICOM market. The major engine of economic activity was undoubtedly the construction of the international airport at Point Salines with Cuban capital and assistance. Its scale relative to the rest of the economy can be seen from the fact that capital inflows mainly on its account averaged 19 percent of GDP in 1979 and 1980, and increased to nearly 30 percent of GDP in 1981 and 1982. Under the circumstances, the World Bank classified Grenada as one of the few countries in the western hemisphere that continued to experience per capita growth during 1981 and recommended the state as credit-worthy (IBRD 1982: Report No.3825-GRD).

In the economy the PRG program was reformist rather than revolutionary; but in its approach to government and democracy the PRG resolutely repudiated the 'superficial' democracy of the Westminster model of government that Gairy had discredited and sought to replace that by the "participatory democracy" of "people's power" based on parish assemblies and zonal councils, and by mass organizations such as the trade unions, the women's organization, national youth organization and militia, both of which the party co-coordinated through village bureaus. It was to such bodies that the People's Budget of 1982 was presented; and in their own eyes,

> Today in Grenada parliament has moved out of town and into the community. Government has escaped out of York House and spread into community centres, school buildings, street corners, market places, factories, farms and workplaces around the country. Critical power has been taken out of the hands of a few privileged people and turned over to thousands, men, women and youth, of all walks of life in every nook and cranny of Grenada, Carriacou and Petite Martinique (Hodge & Searle 1982: 22).

In the process, popular participation in national defense by membership of the People's Militia became obligatory for all who could do so, the PRG being firmly convinced that by allying itself with Cuba, Grenada had invited U.S. hostility, which was true. Accordingly it was necessary for Grenadians to be prepared and exercise vigilance.

Underneath the revolutionary facade and rhetoric of the People's Councils, "power lay unambiguously with the Central Committee ... What emerged was a democratic centralist structure with the party in the center, decisions being easily transmitted to and between the various levels" (Payne, Sutton & Thorndike 1984: 38-39). Because of their paranoia "opposition came more and more to be seen as a form of destabilisation, ... traced back to the United States and the CIA" (*ibid*.: 39) which could and should be smothered in advance by preventive detention without trial. Some 3,000 people were apprehended for questioning, about a tenth of whom were imprisoned, the majority

> for a matter of hours, or at most days. Some 100 'counter-revolutionary' political prisoners ... were in Richmond Hill prison .. on 26 October 1983. A year earlier, there had been over 129, many ... for 2 years or more (*ibid.:* 39).

All public expression of discontent was suppressed by closing down the independent newspaper, *Torchlight* in October 1979 and forbidding publication of the *Grenadian Voice* in 1981. Instead, the government published its own newspaper*, The Free West Indian* as well as papers for the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA) and the National Women's Organisation (NWO) (*ibid*.: 40; Marable 1987: 242-252). Increasingly, the PRG leaders felt obliged to protect themselves against possible assassination by armed guards, security and the like.

Having thus isolated themselves from the society and appropriated total control of its entire political process as Grenada's 'vanguard party', following their Leninist model (Seabury & McDougall 1984: 59-88), the NJM closed the door to political discussion and solutions on itself, and thereby set out on the road to self-destruction. By 1983 it was apparent that rhetoric could no longer sustain the revolution, that sterner methods and policies were needed, and a prolonged debate about the appropriate form of re-organization got under way. It was proposed that leadership should be exercised jointly by Maurice Bishop and Bernard Coard, the two leading spokesmen of the movement. Bishop initially agreed, but later demurred, wondering how this would work. Coard, whose supporters were a majority in the Central Committee of the PRG, had Bishop put under house arrest for spreading rumors of a plot against his life, and broadcast to inform the people. Some days later Bishop was released by a crowd of people to whom he symbolized all that was good in the NJM government. At their head he marched on Fort George, then known as Fort Rupert in honor of his dead father, where the People's Republican Army (PRA) had its headquarters. A troop of armored cars was dispatched from Fort Frederick on Richmond Hill towards them. There was shooting and Bishop surrendered. Along with Jacqueline Creft, Unison Whiteman, Norris and Fitzroy Bain and others, he was taken into an interior courtyard and shot. The PRG dissolved itself and was replaced by the Ruling Military Council (RMC), to which it delegated responsibility and power in the crisis, and which refrained from arming the militia for fear of revolt (Marable 1987: 253-263).

The Governor General got a message through to Barbados asking the Organization of East Caribbean States (OECS) to intervene and restore lawful government in Grenada. He "requested OECS assistance in a message which reached ... the Organisation on Friday 21st October as they began their meeting in Barbados" (Payne, Sutton, Thorndike, 1984, 157). Urged by the Prime Ministers of Barbados and Jamaica, the OECS grouping delivered

"a fully formal verbal request for British assistance" (*ibid.*:153) on Friday or Saturday, 21st or 22nd October. The Governor's message was relayed to London on Monday afternoon, by which time the Caribbean Prime Ministers had appealed to Washington for help. That night Mrs. Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, phoned the U.S. President "imploring him to change his mind" (*ibid.:* 153). In the event she was disappointed, and on the 25th October, Grenada was invaded, much as the PRG had feared, and the invaders were welcomed by the people as deliverers. By then the country had lost another 9,700 people through emigration, 3,700 in 1979, 2,500 in 1980 and 3,500 in 1981. These emigrants went mainly to Trinidad, the U.S. and Canada, often fleeing for fear of preventive detention.

RESTORATION

The island was quickly pacified, the militia, which was belatedly armed, dispersing without formal surrender, while the RMC and Coard's faction of the PRG were rounded up and put in detention to await trial. The Governor nominated an interim administration under Nicholas Brathwaite, a Grenadian then with the Commonwealth Secretariat in Guyana, who undertook to restore the Westminster political system in order that elections should be held as soon as possible. The constitution of 1974 was quickly restored, with a nominated Senate and elected House of Representatives. Gairy at once returned to Grenada and began to campaign, which united all his opponents and ensured that despite their disagreements, a coalition of four parties united under H.A.Blaize as the New National Party (NNP) to contest the elections. These were duly held on December 3rd 1984, and resulted in the overwhelming victory of the New National Party with 58 percent of the votes cast and 14 of the 15 seats in the House.

As a former Prime Minister with substantial experience of government, Blaize seemed to many the obvious leader. In December 1984 he duly took office, nominated his cabinet, and began stocktaking. The interim government had already divested itself of various NJM state enterprises such as the fish processing plant, the spice grinding plant, National Transport Service, etc., and had compiled lists of everyone with claims to compensation in respect of property acquired or confiscated by previous governments, or for the periods they had spent as individuals in preventive detention. Blaize's first budget included provisions to appoint a Claims Commission to investigate and assess the compensation due on such claims.

One thing that had grown immensely under the PRG was Grenada's foreign debt. It had risen from a total of US$7.5 million in 1978 on the eve of the NMJ takeover, representing 12.1 percent of the GDP, to US$17.1 million in 1981, and so on to 1984, when it was estimated at 46.1 percent of the GDP, and included (in U.S.dollars) $9.4m to the British firm Plessey for work on the airport, $4.44m to the German Democratic Republic for telecommunications, $5.07m to Libya and $0.63m to Algeria for balance of payments support. Blaize's government accordingly looked overseas for assistance and advice on programs of fiscal reform sufficiently comprehensive to spread the burden of this debt. In 1985, debt service charges represented 23.3 percent of the current revenue, or $3.73m. To put its finances in order, Grenada needed capital expenditures totaling $32.2m, $5.86m to be allocated to roads, $1.4m to water, $1.7m to electricity, $1.23m to school repair and reconstruction, and $15.5m to the airport. Most of this money came from the United States

through USAID, but Canada also contributed. In 1986, besides another $30.2 million of grants, $10.82 million was borrowed, most of it abroad, and in 1987 besides $11.6 million of foreign grants, $14.2 million was borrowed abroad, and $3.73 million locally. These figures are all given in US dollars.

However, by 1989, foreign arrears including debt service amounting to US$11.23m remained unpaid, and arrears of contribution to regional organizations totaled US$3.13m. In addition, unpaid local claims against the Treasury that year amounted to EC$6.3m (US$2.5m), following an award in 1987 of EC$43.3m (US$16.2m) as increased salaries to the public service. Faced with that, the Treasury had simply suspended overseas payments, regional transfers and local unpaid claims amounting to approximately EC$6.3m (US$2.35m) (Brizan 1990, Latin American Bureau 1984: 9-10, Estimates 1986-87). Claiming that the revenue performance in 1985 demonstrated "the efficacy of Government's fiscal philosophy that lower taxes result in higher revenue yields", in 1986 Blaize undertook "the complete removal of Income Tax by repeal of the Income Tax Law, and the elimination of Export Duties" (Blaize 1986: 14), replacing them by a Value Added tax (VAT), Modified Land Value Tax (MLVT), petrol tax and company levy. This effectively placed the burden of taxation squarely on indirect taxes. Such rampant conservatism did not always find favor with Blaize's colleagues.

By 1988, besides the Prime Minister's office, Blaize was personally responsible for the Ministries of Trade, Finance, Industry, National Security, Information, Energy, and External Affairs. By 1990, though the U.S. and Canada still cushioned the economy and assisted in various ways, the tourist trade, export agriculture, manufacturing, construction and transport had recovered their buoyancy, and the GDP averaged a growth rate of 5 percent since 1984, which was projected to continue.

With Blaize's death in office in late 1989 and Gairy's re-emergence as a possible successor, the pressure was once more on those politicians concerned to maintain and improve Grenada's prospects to find a leader under whom to unite and rally the people's support. After weeks of negotiation, George Brizan and Francis Alexis, two equally prominent younger leaders, emerged and agreed to work together under Nicholas Brathwaite, the former head of the interim administration, within the National Democratic Congress (NDC). In the elections of April 1990, the NDC won seven seats, and GULP, the Grenada United Labor Party, won four, Gairy losing his seat to the NDC, which formed a coalition with other parties that enabled the Governor to ask Nicholas Brathwaite to form a ministry. This Brathwaite did, appointing Brizan as Minister of Finance, Planning, Trade and Industry, Alexis as Minister of Legal Affairs, and taking the offices of Prime Minister and Foreign Relations himself. Six weeks after its election the new government suffered a severe loss in a fire which destroyed the Ministry of Finance and its records on April 27th. Fortunately copies of essential data runs were found in other Ministries, thus enabling Finance to reconstruct its records, with some losses and residual gaps. That August a tropical storm washed away many of the island's roads, thus obliging the new government to undertake extensive repair work.

Over the next few months the unification of the Windward Islands came on the agenda. From Marryshow's day, this had always been supported by Grenada, which had

learned the hard way through independence, first under Gairy and then under Bishop, the value of association in a larger body. In 1990 also, CARICOM, the organization that supervises the Caribbean Common Market, appointed a Commission to explore the possibilities of some closer regional integration, thus reviving memories of the W.I. Federation of 1958-62. Throughout 1990, discussions of union among the Windward Islands proceeded without hitch, and towards year's end the W.I. Commission visited Grenada. The NDC government responded positively but cautiously to both sets of opportunities, which call into question the boundaries of the state, and Grenadian national identity. Meanwhile the country awaited the court's decision and sentence on those members of the PRG who had been held in prison since 1983, and tried at considerable expense to the state.

A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN GRENADA

a. The Colonial Period

The structure and state of education in Grenada are both historical by-products, as the PRG's NISTEP program demonstrated both by its intentions and its effect. For the goal of NISTEP was simply to provide in-service training for all the untrained teachers in Grenada's primary schools; and the effect, given that NISTEP was suspended in mid-course, was the failure to achieve its goals, thereby leaving the system much as it was before, except for the disturbing experience. We therefore have to ask how did such a situation come to pass, namely, that the majority of the teachers in Grenada's primary schools were unqualified after more than a hundred years of state initiative to educate its children.

Historically, public education system began at Emancipation in Grenada almost as an afterthought, and consisted solely of primary or elementary education whose aim was to teach the children of ex-slaves the "Four Rs", reading, writing, arithmetic and religion, at as little expense to the state as possible. There was then no thought that it should be universal, much less compulsory. Even though recognizing that "secondary education for all classes and teacher training would be needed to transform education in the West Indies" (Gordon 1968: 64), in his report to the British government Rev. John Sterling only recommended a modest Negro Education Grant to assist religious bodies to provide basic education for the children of ex-slaves during the first ten years of emancipation.

To avoid the historical sin of 'presentism', that is, judging the actions and institutions of past times by those of the present, we should recall clearly that as regards education in Britain in 1835 there was no tradition of state provision. The Negro Education Grant of £30,000 was only the second grant in support of elementary education to pass through the British parliament, the first, for £20,000 in Britain itself, being made in 1833 (Evans 1975: 20, Aldrich 1982: 18). Until then, the development of schools and universities reflected the spontaneous decisions and actions of the Church, the Crown, especially under the Tudors, and many private individuals whose circumstances enabled and moved them to make such provisions. The state as such had then neither the interest nor the commitment and tradition to educate its citizens. Responsibility for that lay first with the church, and secondly with the citizens, which meant that it was religious, optional, voluntary, and when practical took the form of apprenticeship. In 1834 the bulk of the British population were illiterate (Aldrich 1982: 76-79). Not until the English Elementary Education Act of 1870 did

the state itself undertake to teach its citizens to read and write, and even then education was neither compulsory nor free (Evans 1975: 34). Thus in legislating the Negro Education Act in 1835, the British parliament was making educational provisions for its former slave colonies which at that date had few precedents at home. As we review the inadequacies of those provisions, we should bear in mind the inexperience on which they were based. Throughout the period educational provisions in Britain were not essentially different from or more advanced than those in the West Indies.

Under the Negro Education Act

> [t]he imperial method employed to educate Blacks and Coloureds in Grenada after 1833 was almost a carbon copy of the British Dr. Bell's system and the Irish National system. In both systems moral and religious training was dominant ... Separate schools were built for boys and girls, or, where this was not feasible, the sexes were separated during classes. Schools established under the Negro Education Grant were to be regarded as the property of the religious bodies. The British government was to put up £250 to erect each school; if it had 200 pupils £100 would be granted for its maintenance (Brizan 1984: 149-50).

There were already eleven private schools in Grenada, catering for the children of whites and free coloreds, when the Grenada Benevolent Society opened its Central School in St. George's in 1824. Its pupils were all children of free colored parents, and by 1832 it had graduated 148 boys and 74 girls (*ibid*.: 147). In 1835 Grenada had ten private schools, four public, two of the schools classified as public or central being partially supported by church or government funds. During the years before emancipation these increased to nine Anglican public schools, two Methodist, and one Roman Catholic, with a total enrollment of 1234 (*ibid*.: 151). In 1837 the government in Britain sent Charles La Trobe, an Inspector of Schools, to the West Indies to survey the situation and report on the operation of the Negro Education grant.

> La Trobe identified the following obstacles to popular education: the patois spoken by the blacks, the Roman Catholic religion (the religion of the majority), the few clergy, and the discord between the various groups which needed to agree and co-operate on the question of education. In his view, unless these matters were resolved, the progress of education would be retarded (*ibid*.: 152).

By 1845 the colonial governments were expected to shoulder the burden of financing those educational provisions themselves as best they could. To keep costs down, they were advised to rely on the churches to provide the education while undertaking to defray some or most of the cost, religious bodies having been traditionally regarded as the most appropriate sources of instruction.

In January 1847 a Colonial Office circular suggested that a curriculum for "industrial and normal schools" in the Caribbean should include "religious instructions, English, requirements of small farmers, and relationship to authority" (*ibid*.: 152-3). Ten years later Lieutenant-Governor Keate wrote that while the adoption of the non-denominational Irish system was desirable, this would be impossible to introduce, given the religious divisions of the community between Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians, the additional public expense and the opposition from the planters and the middle classes. When the Negro Education Grant ceased in 1845, dependence on the

churches persisted, and in 1846 the colonial government provided the Anglicans and Methodists with £337 for their schools. In 1848 that was increased to £390, and in 1851 to £500. Although the majority religion, Roman Catholics received no government aid before 1852, when they were allocated £190 for their ten schools. Only in 1853 did the colonial government grant exceed the £800 it had received annually from the Negro Education Grant. By then there were 34 schools in the colony, 10 Roman Catholic schools, 19 run by the Church of England, 4 by the Methodists and 1 by the Presbyterians, with a total enrollment of 2024 or 10 of the school age population (*ibid*.: 154). A beginning had been made, but little more.

The principle of allocating government funds to the schools of all denominations had been established, though unequally. Although the Roman Catholics increased their share, it was never in proportion to their numbers. Protestant fear of Catholic educational practice was the root of the problem. Governor Keate saw that teachers needed training, and together with other reforms recommended the establishment of

> a Central Teachers' Training School in the town of St. George's and the creation of a Board of Education. The Training School should be open to all persons of all denominations and therefore non-sectarian; its curriculum should be wholly secular ... The Board of Education should meet monthly at a stated time, ensure periodical inspection of all schools receiving government assistance, and require periodical reports from the ministers of religion who manage the schools (*ibid*.: 155).

Thus, education in Grenada was founded on a division of responsibilities between government and the four leading denominations in the island. This dual system gradually evolved, but initially the government gave grants to the denominations in respect of particular schools, the grant meeting the full cost of building the school and teachers' salaries and a small portion of what it cost to maintain the school, other costs of its construction, repair and operation being borne by the denominations themselves and the local community. Initially, the denominations were responsible for teachers' salaries. Discussions between the denominations and the government preceded any decisions to construct new schools; but once built and operating, schools were maintained by these means, the denomination owning the school, being responsible for school furniture and other provisions. Initially the government had no schools of its own and so employed no teachers. When government undertook to meet the salary costs of the teaching staff in the denominational schools instead of providing the schools, it acquired the right to approve the teachers selected by denominational boards of management for those schools under their care. After 1884, when government began to build its own schools, those teaching appointments rested with the officer in charge of education.

As we have seen, religious and moral instruction figured prominently among the aims and objects of this educational system from its earliest beginnings. The denominations were therefore regarded as the most appropriate agencies to administer education, and government undertook to subsidize and maintain schools run by them, provided they offered simultaneously instruction in secular subjects that formed part of the official curriculum. For this reason, teachers appointed in the denominational schools were selected and approved for their religious beliefs and character by representatives of the church as well as the state, and continued to hold their post while satisfying both bodies. Religious instruction at that

time formed a principal part of the school curriculum for which special hours were reserved in these church or 'government-assisted' schools. When government began to build and run its own schools in the 1880s this remained the pattern. For these reasons the teacher's status and reputation in the community were materially important, and he or she might be dismissed by the employer for being no longer regarded as suitable on moral grounds as well as specifically pedagogic ones.

The curriculum emphasized the relations between the content of education and authority, by which it meant the order of society. Coupled with the heavy stress on religion, this ensured that its bias was towards the humanities rather than science. Having to teach mathematics with few books, in English spoken as a foreign language, ensured that its rules and concepts were expressed imprecisely and poorly understood, since the teachers themselves often relayed garbled information.

As part of its supervisory role in relation to denominational schools, government was responsible for setting the curriculum and for examining schools to see that it was taught. Government required the head teacher, in its own and assisted schools, to see that his or her assistants each developed weekly and daily work plans for use in their classes, which they should then follow faithfully to complete the curriculum. In practice, however, this expectation was rarely fulfilled in denominational or other schools, and teachers asked to produce a curriculum excused themselves on the ground that the education office had not yet dispatched this, though it said it had. There was thus, despite the government's aim, less uniformity in the curricula taught by various schools than had been planned, a problem that was compounded by relying on class teachers to teach all subjects in the curriculum, whether or not they were qualified to do so, except for some specialist teaching of English language and mathematics in those classes preparing to sit external examinations. This idea of the omnicompetent class teachers fitted their levels of qualification very poorly.

In 1857 with an education vote of £2,000 per annum, the government passed an Education Act to constitute a Board of Education composed of seven members with the Governor presiding, five Protestants and two Catholics, to establish and operate a Model School, a Normal School to train teachers, and a Grammar School for middle and upper class children. To reduce costs, the Board appointed one man as principal of all three schools, and inspector of schools for the island. For an outlay of £600 the Grammar School opened with 31 students and the Model School with 200, while the Normal School had 12 pupil-teachers on the roll. In 1858 Mr. Noble, the Principal, reported on the schools in Grenada in considerable detail. Brizan's summary of that report is worth quoting for its detailed account of public education in Grenada at that date and because the Report drew attention to the great need for teacher training and made special provisions for that.

> Every parish priest was to be patron of his church's school, and he was to select one person from his young volunteers for teacher training at the Normal School. Upon completion of training, a teacher was required to return and serve in the school of his patron if there was a suitable vacancy, otherwise he or she should go to any other school with a vacancy... Teacher training was financed by the Board but trainees were required to repay this when they started to work.

Noble was dismayed to find even children in the most advanced classes ignorant of the common arithmetic tables; he attributed this to unsuitable teaching, and recommended more suitable methods of teaching. He also found that books used were of all kinds and that all the pupils, regardless of age or attainment, were being taught the same thing.

In Carriacou, children could read and write satisfactorily in only two schools. In many others children were unable to count to 20, name the days of the week or the months of the year. These were the schools whose principals boasted of having trained teachers!

Most schools lacked books, maps and desks. Some schools had only two desks for more than 100 children; some had none. Most schools were dilapidated and too small to cater for different classes. In these conditions, Noble concluded, learning was impossible; moreover it was incomprehensible why teachers did not abandon the struggle in despair. The physical difficulties were bad but the ingratitude and injustice were worse. Many people in Grenada, especially planters and Assemblymen, were still strongly opposed to popular education, claiming that so far it had succeeded only to make the newly emancipated averse to estate work and to give them strange ideas of their social status ... The upper class required teachers only to inculcate in the mass of Blacks respect for authority, acceptance of the *status quo* and subservience to his or her employers.

Many members of the lower class were also opposed to the education system as they did not see how their children could benefit from it. Noble sympathized with them, as the system of education was meaningless, chaotic and futile. To remedy the situation, Noble made numerous recommendations covering all aspects of schooling: buildings and equipment; staffing and organization; and provided guidelines on curricula and attainment for each class from Standard I to Standard V.

The Assembly accepted the Noble Report and subsequently the Board of Education began to implement its recommendations ... But implementation was slow and by 1862 no significant effect could be observed ... An area that Noble failed to examine in detail was inadequacy of supervision and the excessive work load of the Inspector, who was not only Headmaster of the Grammar and Normal Schools, but also had to report on all schools in the colony at least once every three months (*ibid.*:155-157).

While the primary schools improved under Noble's guidance, the Grammar School seemed likely to close, given its exorbitant fees - £4, £6 or £8 per term for students of differing grade. This provoked the resentment of the "middle class", which opposed the education of the lower class. In 1862 the legislature voted no funds for education, thus indirectly closing the Grammar School. Despite this, the churches maintained their schools and teachers continued to teach. In 1863, however, the Legislature voted £500 for the schools that had kept open in 1862, and a further £900 for the current year (*ibid.*: 157).

By these means government simultaneously began to train teachers for the primary schools, and tried to establish a secondary school for the children of prosperous citizens. The latter was not adequately supported by those who had the means to send their children

either to Britain or Barbados for their education. Over the next twenty years the Grammar School reopened and closed three times. In 1876 the Roman Catholics opened a girls' secondary school at St.Joseph's Convent in St. George's, with 145 pupils. It was run by the Sisters of St.Joseph of Cluny and maintained by students' fees and Catholic Church funds. In 1878 there were 31 primary schools, 16 Anglican, 10 Catholic and 5 Methodist (*ibid*: 158).

In 1874 the Church of England in Grenada was disestablished by law (Gittens Knight 1946: 48), and in 1876 the Legislative Assembly voted to place Grenada directly under the Crown. That freed the colonial government to increase its expenditure on education by building and running its own schools. Under the Education Code of 1882, pupils in schools were divided into classes, and an Inspector of Schools was appointed to inspect and report on schools supported by government funds and examine the pupil-teachers. His report listed weaknesses in language, arithmetic, geography and English history, and false returns by teachers, and directed attention to the poor roads, lack of bridges, and long distances children traveled to school.

In 1882 before the government Grammar School in St. George's reopened for the fourth time, in view of the disproportionate outlays of public funds on that elite institution, a Royal Commission recommended that three scholarships should be awarded annually by open competition to the school. Thus for the first time scholarships were used to facilitate access to secondary education in Grenada. In 1891, when the St. George's Girls' High School, a school for the daughters of "middle class" Anglicans, opened with private and public finance, the government stipulated that it should have two scholarships annually at the school. Another two girls also held government scholarships at the St. Joseph's Convent.

In 1885 the Governor increased the vote for education from £3,000 to £8,500. By 1891 there were three secondary schools in Grenada, including the Grammar School, revived and renamed the Grenada (Boys') Secondary School with lower fees, St. Joseph's Convent, and St. George's Girls' High School. Altogether they had about 150 children on the roll. Though the Education Ordnance of 1888 made primary education compulsory, of 13,183 school-age children counted in the 1891 census, less than one-half, 6155, were enrolled in school, and on average only 3246, or 23 percent of the school-age population, attended. By the century's end there were 37 primary schools in Grenada with an enrollment of 7128, an average attendance of 3527 or 49percent, a government grant of £5,792, and £342 in school fees towards a total annual cost of £6,134, representing an average expenditure of less than £1 per year per child in school (Brizan 1984: 160-162). By then Noble's program of teacher training at the Normal School had apparently lapsed.

In 1889 an official report on the schools of Grenada found that although obliged by the Act to do so, the Board of Education had not yet drawn up or promulgated rules to regulate government aided schools. In consequence every teacher followed his own inclinations. "There was actually no intellectual life throughout the schools, and the whole process of education was mechanical ... there were no infant schools ... Not a single teacher showed real knowledge of school organisation" (M.o.E Report 1963: 2-3).

By 1882 education had taken root in Grenada, firstly by overcoming the prejudices of the colonial government against the Catholic church; secondly, by instituting a secondary

structure which despite substantial aid from government still charged exorbitant school fees, by comparison with fees of 1, 2 or 3 pence per week at the Model School; and, thirdly, by making provision for teacher training and providing pupils with scholarships from primary to secondary school.

It was accepted that the colonial government was responsible for the free education of the poor of the colony, while requiring those who could do so to contribute to their children's education by paying fees. Government had also recognized that it had to train teachers, and had made some modest attempts to do so. During the remaining decades of colonialism these commitments prevailed. So too did the system's structure and shortcomings. While the state provided education between the ages of seven and twelve or thirteen, there was neither public infant education nor adequate provision for primary schoolchildren to get technical or secondary education, and thus there was ample need and opportunity for unassisted private schools to supplement state provisions at all levels.

Government's dependence for education on the denominations had inevitably led to a system of dual management fraught with conflicting interests. Despite disestablishment of the Anglican Church in 1874 and the overwhelming Roman Catholic majority in the island, the government was concerned to restrict Catholic influence, even if that meant restricting primary education. Thus, its ordinance of 1906 reserved the right to apply for pensions to teachers in government schools, the first of which was opened in 1884. That ordinance also took away the power of appointing and dismissing teachers from those managers who were ministers of religion, vesting both in government. The denominational protests provoked by these proposals resulted in rapid suspension of the ordinance and its replacement by that of 1907, which classified primary schools as combined, lower division, and infant, and related the salaries of principals to the schools in which they taught, awarding pensions to all teachers in combined and lower division schools without regard to denomination, and bonuses to principals for successful examination results, especially those of pupil teachers (Brizan 1984: 285).

Unfortunately throughout the last century and most of this one, the ruling classes of Grenada, who ran its estates, main firms and government, opposed expenditures on public primary education for the people, and preferred to educate their children abroad in Britain or Barbados (Smith 1965b: 217-227). For that reason among others, the grammar school proved premature; its fees were too heavy for those parents who could not afford to send their children abroad. Only when the government increased its subsidies to secondary education sufficiently was the grammar school viable; but in doing so, it subsidized the affluent at the expense of the poor. For the remaining decades of colonialism the major tasks facing primary education were, firstly, to extend the system to the entire country, and so increase enrollment; secondly, to improve attendance; thirdly, to implement the reforms, to standardize the curriculum, and eradicate the "barbarous patois", the common speech of the peasants; and finally, to train and retain most primary school teachers. We shall see later how these needs were tackled.

In 1907 the colonial government reclassified schools eligible for its support to include infant schools, lower or junior division schools, and combined or all-age schools, thereby increasing its freedom to assist new schools. Over the last two decades the colonial

government had rebuilt 15 schools, enlarged or repaired 8 others and purchased 2. Despite the Education Ordinance of 1888, there was still no attempt to make school attendance compulsory and average public expenditure per child in school was a little over £1 per year. The estates still employed child labor, though how much we cannot say. In both the primary and secondary schools the curriculum was highly academic, and technical skills or subjects formed no part of it.

To encourage attendance at schools, in addition to their regular salaries, - £40 for a first class teacher, £30 for a second and £20 for a third class, - under the 'payment by results' system (Evans 1975: 256), teachers received 6 shillings per head for each child in the preliminary standard who attended 200 times per year, and 2 shillings per pass in each subject in Standard 1 to 7. By 1896 average attendance was less than 50 percent of the total, voluntary contributions towards the cost of education had ceased, and to supplement government's annual contributions, schools collected fees. The 'payment by results' system was abolished in England in 1897 (Aldrich 1982: 83), but persisted in Grenada for a few more years. In the first three decades of this century, efforts were made to increase school enrollment and attendance, with little result. In 1920 the Compulsory Education Ordinance made school attendance mandatory for children aged 6 to 14, repeating the Elementary Education Ordinance of 1888, but this had little effect. In 1947 under another Compulsory Education Ordinance, School Attendance Officers were appointed to enforce the rule, but within ten years their ineffectiveness was evident, and their posts were abolished in 1958 (M of E Report 1960-62: 5). Thereafter compulsory education, though still optional, became the rule.

In 1916 Grenada established an annual scholarship tenable at British universities to be awarded on the results obtained in the Cambridge Senior examination; but in 1926 this award was reduced and became biennial.

As late as 1927 the census revealed that

> out of a population of 56,550 aged 5 years and above, 29,944 were able to read and write, 4,710 to read only. The number of illiterates was therefore 31,811 or 56 percent of the population aged 5 years and over. The achievement of 100 years was very limited (*ibid*.: 286)

In 1928 the Governor appointed a committee to suggest a plan for the reorganization of the educational system, but its report was rejected by the wholly denominational Board of Education which opposed combined all-age schools being built and run by the government, and insisted on the denominational control of such schools in order that their children should not be compelled to attend a government school. La Trobe's fears of 1838 seemed highly prophetic. "In the 1930s the government met stiff resistance from the various denominations when it attempted to play a more dominant role in education and to increase its control over schools" (Brizan 1984: 287). By restricting government's direct role in education, the churches, led by the Catholics, had unintentionally obstructed government's efforts to improve the educational system to meet the higher standards expected of it.

Despite the 1907 ordinance, which provided pensionable allowances for all primary school teachers, only in 1931 was the Head Teachers' Pension Ordinance passed,

making their pensions automatic. In the 1930s and 1940s the *Royal Readers*, which had been the main readers since 1883, were gradually phased out and replaced by the *West Indian Readers*. By then, on completing secondary school, children routinely sat examinations set and marked by a British syndicate, and children left primary school at 14 plus.

In 1933 while carrying out a Colonial Office inquiry into education in the South Caribbean, F.C.Marriott and A.Mayhew visited Grenada to examine the situation and make recommendations. *Inter alia* they condemned as wholly inadequate the salaries paid to teachers, whose training in Trinidad they recommended, together with a modern secondary school, domestic science center, and expansion of the manual training centers. Evidently the regular inspection of primary schools initiated by Noble had lapsed over the years in face of denominational opposition, and its resumption was strongly recommended. However, unless the government substantially increased its educational expenditures, they recommended that education should continue to be voluntary rather than compulsory (Gordon 1968: 155-186). Altogether the colony's 66 primary schools, 29 of them Roman Catholic, 16 Government, 14 Anglican, 5 Wesleyan and 2 Presbyterian with a total enrollment of 13,343 and an average attendance of 62 percent, had a total of 250 teachers. Of these, less than half were qualified, they're being 118 pupil teachers and 19 monitors in the total; but what proportion was fully trained, we cannot say (Brizan 1984: 289). There were then 478 children in the 4 secondary schools, which still catered predominantly for the privileged classes. To these schools government gave 20 scholarships per annum, 8 to the Boys' Secondary School (GBSS), and 6 each to the Anglican Girls' High School and Roman Catholic St. Joseph's Convent.

By the 1930s secondary school pupils either took the Cambridge Junior or Senior School Certificate exam in Forms 4 and 5, or the London Matriculation. In 1946 this was replaced by the Higher Schools Certificate (HSC) exam, and from 1968 the Cambridge Junior Certificate was no longer taken in Grenada. In 1964 both the Schools Certificate and Higher Schools Certificate exams were replaced by O and A levels of the General Certificate of Education (GCE). Some years later the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) was founded to administer annual examinations and award its own certificates, and so to regionalize the syllabuses of secondary schools. In 1979 the CXC exams were first taken in Grenada at both basic and higher level. The new CXC exams taken at the General and Basic levels represented an optional alternative to the GCE O-levels. As yet, however, there is no CXC equivalent of the GCE A-level.

Writing from firsthand experience of the school system as a young Grenadian who passed through it in the late 40s and 50s, this is how George Brizan remembers it:

> By the 1940s education in Grenada had made no significant impact on the social life of the people ... More schools had been built in 1936-37, ... but these were open buildings with no separate classrooms. Teachers often had to shout against each other to be heard in class. The schools were disorganised, the curriculum was irrelevant, but most of all education lacked a clear perspective.

Many teachers were untrained and academically poor. Pupils were often absent from school helping with household chores or working to help support the family. Children were generally abandoned by their fathers, and mothers had to be both housewives and breadwinners.

In 1939 there were 29 class I head teachers, 20 class II and 4 class III, assisted by 100 assistant teachers, of whom most were untrained, and used the whip as their greatest teaching aid. There were 146 pupil teachers and 30 monitors, the majority of whom ... had to write four local examinations, first, second, third and fourth year, to become certificated; but this did not mean that they received teacher-training. An average class consisted of 50-60 children, presenting a formidable task for untrained teachers, and leading to the destruction of any inclination to learn for the majority, with school representing a life of torture (*ibid*.: 290-291).

In 1937 and 1938, the British West Indies, excluding Grenada, were torn by labor demonstrations, strikes, hunger marches and lockouts. The imperial government in Britain was taken by surprise and promptly dispatched a Royal Commission under Lord Moyne to investigate the causes of the disturbances and make appropriate recommendations. The Crown Colony system and period of rule against which T.A.Marryshow had fulminated in vain for so long was nearing its end; but World War 2 began just after the Moyne Commission had completed its survey of conditions in the West Indies, and publication of its report was suspended until 1944. Fortunately that did not delay all remedial action. In 1942 a program for Colonial Development and Welfare (CD&W) was initiated in the West Indies with headquarters in Barbados. The Anglo-American Commission for the Caribbean was constituted in Puerto Rico, on the understanding that if Britain fell to the Nazis, the U.S. would assume responsibility for its Caribbean colonies. There had been no West Indian census since 1921. Hence there was an almost total lack of basic data on these societies. CD&W in Barbados was staffed to undertake factual studies of health, education, agriculture and economy in several islands, and to propose necessary remedial action. Its adviser on education was Mr. S.A.Hammond, a specialist in educational administration and policy. In 1942, at the Comptroller's request, he made a detailed study of Grenada's educational needs, for which he also made recommendations. We are fortunate in having Hammond's assessment of education in Grenada at this date and recommendations for its improvement, which nonetheless failed to achieve his goals. I shall summarize that here, since it furnishes a comprehensive account of the island's educational needs and provisions at that time that forms an excellent preface to more recent developments.

b. Hammond's Report and Proposals

Beginning with the connection between educational and economic development in the West Indies, Hammond identified the goals of education in Grenada as follows: literacy, primary schooling and adult education, prevocational and vocational training.

The true foundation of education in the West Indies is not an elaborate school system, desirable though that might be. It is the conservation and right use of the means by which the people ultimately live, and a stable family economy (Hammond 1943: 1).

Accordingly, without requiring compulsory attendance, he sought to make it possible for primary education to be universal.

In 1941 the children in the school age groups numbered 23,549, namely, 5-6 yrs: 2,270; 6-12 yrs: 12,365; 12-15 yrs: 5,490; 15-17 yrs: 3,424. By comparison, the elementary or primary schools had an enrollment of 17,146, a highest total attendance of 13,060 and average attendance of 10,774 (*ibid*.: 2). At 10 square feet per child, the space

then available in schools would accommodate 8,963 children, well below that required for the average attendance of 10,774. Given the available space, Hammond concluded that it was "not practicable as a first stage to enforce compulsory attendance ... for all the children of 12 and over, chiefly on account of the shortage of suitable teachers" (*ibid*.: 2). However, the aim should be "to provide for compulsory education from 6 to 12 and for voluntary attendance from 12 onwards" (*ibid*.). Schools should therefore be classified by the average age of their pupils as follows: pre-school, i.e., below the age of 6; 6-12, "the compulsory school age for which sufficient schools and teachers must be provided as rapidly as possible" (*ibid*.); 12-16, "the voluntary school age for which accommodation and teachers should be provided to the extent to which regular voluntary attendance can be anticipated" (*ibid*.: 2). Arguing that "attendances over the age of 12 can be expected to increase as more appropriate provision is made for them," since "secondary schooling properly begins with adolescence" (*ibid*.: 2), he classified schools catering for children aged 6 to 12 as junior schools, while those offering instruction above this level were senior schools and those for children below that, play centres. He therefore deferred "proposals for the enforcement of compulsory attendance for the ages 6 to 12 until the building and teacher training programs ... (provided) the necessary school places" (*ibid*.: 4).

In 1941 the available school places were 1811 below the average attendance and 4,097 below the highest attendance. Of Grenada's 53 primary schools, 28 were overcrowded on their average attendances, and 33 on their highest. If the attendance averaged 75 percent, there was a shortage of 3,800 places in 1941, which would exceed 5,000 by 1943, due to growth of population. On the assumption that the useful life of school buildings in Grenada was 30 years, one-thirtieth of the current number of places in school should be replaced annually. To make compulsory attendance practicable by 1950, Hammond calculated that to replace and expand existing stock, government had to build approximately 2,000 new places per annum from 1944, at an average cost of £10 per place or a total of £126,000, "excluding the cost of sites and other lands required for playgrounds and gardens" (*ibid*.:7).

Given the dual control of schools by government and the churches, the position and role of teachers was the subject of much dispute. For example, the Education Ordinance of 1936 laid down that religious instruction should not be required of any teacher in government schools. The churches strenuously opposed this, and besides providing religious education in their own schools, demanded an interdenominational executive committee that would have the right to inspect and provide religious teaching in government schools, since "it is no part of the normal function of the government to teach", and "*definite* religious teaching is the only true basis of education" (*ibid*.: 10). Hammond conceded that the "churches should be given full weight in the selection and, if necessary, the removal of teachers, and in the time and manner of religious instruction and observances", but argued that "authority in the daily running of the schools should not be divided as it is now. The Head Teacher, being appointed by the Governor, should be directly responsible to the Education Department" (*ibid*.: 10).

In 1941 the 53 public primary schools had a total of 340 teachers, of whom 17 were college trained, 28 certificated, 42 uncertificated, and 183 were pupil teachers. Classes were unmanageably large, with an average enrollment of 50 and average attendance of 40. Then as now, in its essentials the problem was, how most efficiently to train and retain in the

teaching profession an adequate number of educated teachers? As against a total of 83 pupil teachers who passed the final examination in the years 1939-41, and were accordingly certified, another 159 were appointed; and as against an average annual retirement of 8 teachers other than pupil teachers over those years, recruitment averaged 16 per year. The inadequacy of Grenada's arrangements for teacher training in Trinidad to meet its needs was clear. To educate intending pupil teachers quickly, Hammond proposed substituting 3 years of secondary education for the pupil teachership, to be followed by at least two years of student teaching in selected schools.

To replace retiring teachers and accommodate the annual increase of enrollments in primary schools, 16 secondary school scholarships should be provided annually for intending teachers, divided equally between boys and girls. This annual rate of recruitment of intending teachers could be increased or reduced to meet the needs of the primary schools within the limits of secondary school places available and public funding. Including the costs of fees, books and stationery, Hammond reckoned these scholarships at £10 per annum or £30 for the full three-year course. In the secondary schools, "intending teachers should receive free tuition, all expenses, and a maintenance allowance if necessary" (*ibid*.: 14). "They should not be required to follow the course leading to the Cambridge School Certificate", but should concentrate on "English, general science, practical mathematics, such practical arts as the school affords, and in guided reading, individual study and group discussion" (*ibid*.: 14). On Saturdays they should have lessons on teaching and during the holidays should practice observation in primary schools.

However, since this program really required five years, of which the last two would be spent student-teaching in selected schools to produce teachers, Hammond considered how best to increase the number of certificated pupil teachers in the short term. He suggested doubling their numbers, so that each would spend no more than half the day in actual teaching, and the other half in supervised study under a visiting supervisor and the head teacher. In future he recommended that "the training of the teachers should by degrees be concentrated in selected large schools" (*ibid*.: 15), staffed appropriately by 8 teachers trained in Trinidad to teach both the pupils and intending teachers and provide regular supervision for the student teachers when they finish secondary school. He estimated the cost of training these intending teachers for the first five years at £14,355, but pointed out that thereafter they would only remain in the profession if their salaries and terms of employment were improved.

Rejecting the "payment of teachers according to the size of school" as "undesirable" and unfair to assistant teachers, Hammond recommended that on passing their exams, pupil teachers should receive a "full certificate of competence" and be made pensionable. Excluding war bonuses, he proposed the following salary scale: pupil teachers, £12 per annum; student teachers, £25; uncertificated teachers, £30-£45; certificated teachers (women), £50-£80; (men), £50-£95; selected grade (women), £86-140; (men), £100-160; charge pay (additional to grade salary for teachers in charge of schools), £24; House Allowance, 10 of grade salary without charge pay; Training College or other approved training, 2 increments of salary for each year of training.

In 1942, the government of Grenada spent £17,339 on teachers' salaries, or 12 percent of its total revenue of £135,601. Hammond reckoned that by the time Grenada had a population of 100,000, 25 of its children aged 12-15 and 90 of those aged 6-12 in school, at current rates government's bill for teachers' salaries, allowances and emoluments would be £47,000 a year, one-third of its 1942 revenue (*ibid*.: 18).

Of pupils in secondary schools in 1941, 15 percent had free places, and a much larger proportion had previously gone to primary schools, over 80 percent of those in the Boys' Secondary School. Presumably many of those were on scholarship. However, "scholarships cover the cost of fees only and maintenance is not provided. This entails evident difficulties on scholarship winners in country districts whose parents are poor" (*ibid*.: 19). While government provided most scholarships, 20 at the boys' school, 6 for each of the two girls' schools, others were given by the schools themselves or by private organizations.

In 1936, of 223 former students at the boys' secondary school, 66 had commercial jobs, 21 worked for the government, 21 as electricians or mechanics, 18 in agriculture, 11 as "schoolmasters", 26 were unemployed, and 60 were unaccounted for.

"During the last ten years of this period 59 percent of the school leavers failed to reach the school certificate form. Subsequently, in the last three years before the war ... the proportions of school leavers holding the School Leaving Certificate were only 25, 25 and 36 respectively. These figures ... do show that a large number of pupils who attend the school do not complete the school certificate course for which it is designed. The high proportion of unemployed pupils is also significant"(*ibid*.: 20).

At this date fees at the boys' school, for example, were £6 per annum, while the gross public expenditure per pupil was £13.19.6. Thus "all pupils, whether their parents pay fees or not, are a charge on public funds" (*ibid*.: 22).

"Much is made, again, of the necessity for more free places for children from elementary schools. But since 80 of the secondary school boys come from elementary schools, and since all are a charge on public funds, the first question is whether those who are admitted are those best able to profit ... Some of the more able children who are awarded free places are unable to complete the course because their parents cannot maintain them in St. George's" (*ibid*.: 22).

Hammond concluded his report on the needs of education in Grenada by recommending apprenticeship to provide vocational training and discussing adult education and library services. He calculated that a total of £195,565 was required to enable the government to meet the immediate needs of education in Grenada. This included £126,000 for school buildings spread over 6 years; £12,500 spread over five years towards the housing of teachers; £11,520 spread over six years for building offices; £3,540 to supply deficiencies in school textbooks; £800 spread over 5 years for minor school equipment, maps, globes, pictures etc.; £250 spread over 5 years to equip school gardens, £3,000 spread over 5 years for consumable stores for craft and handicraft departments; £4,000 spread over 5 years for supplies of stationery; £15,000 towards secondary school buildings; £14,355 spread over 5 years vocational training grant; and £1,800 spread over 6 years to meet half the annual maintenance cost of new buildings.

Hammond's recommendations were accepted and forwarded by the Comptroller, CD&W to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with a proposal to finance the salary of an Education Officer for Grenada for 3 years to take charge of the program. Until then the Inspector of Schools, who also served as chairman of the Education Board, was its only paid officer, but the routine inspection of Grenada's 53 primary schools fully absorbed his time. The Board of Education was to be reconstituted, its members being drawn from a wider range of interested organizations and serving for 2 years. By 1946 there were a hundred more pupil teachers in training, half the cost (£1500) being met from CD&W funds. In 1947 a sixth pupil teacher center was established and CD&W made grants of £6,980 for textbooks, stationery and other school equipment.

In 1946 the Board of Education proposed a ten-year plan to cost £305,750 to build on the framework supplied by CD&W. Among its aims were

> the provision of a sufficient number of teachers and elementary schools for the 6-14 age group; (a) £13,000 for the Education Officer and staff; (b) £16,000 for books and stationery; (c) £50,000 for teacher training for 9 teachers in Trinidad, 48 intending teachers at secondary schools and 7 supervising teachers. It planned on training 400 teachers between 1947 and 1952. (d) £130,000 for school buildings to house 12,000 children of school age; (e) £30,000 for secondary school buildings; (f) £10,000 for a technical high school; (g) £31,250 for school farms; (h) £2,500 for vocational training; (i) £10,000 for adult education; (j) £21,000 for woodwork and machine shop; (k) £3,000 for library services; (l) £2,000 for visual education. This plan was submitted to the Secretary of State for his approval, but by 1949 approval was still awaited. Very few of the plan's projections were ultimately realised (Brizan 1984: 292).

Thus at the very end of the colonial period, a hundred years after the Rev. John Sterling's Negro Education Grant had lapsed, Grenada's rulers finally took a realistic look at the needs of their educational situation and came up with a plan not unlike the PRG's NISTEP to train 400 teachers in 5 years, to build schools for 12,000 more children and to supply all the deficiencies of schooling such as books, stationery, housing, furniture, equipment, visual aids and school gardens. A model school and farm was set up at Grand Roy at a cost to CD&W of £11,400 with a grant of £5,000 for the school farm. In 1948 there were 2,270 new places in the primary schools, 48 intending teachers had completed their secondary courses, and another 150 were in secondary schools. By 1952, 192 intending teachers in secondary schools had completed their training under this scheme, and had entered the schools as qualified student-teachers. During the CD&W's first five years some £300,000 was spent on education in Grenada, to train teachers, build schools and increase accommodation (*ibid*.: 293); but cessation of government scholarships for intending teachers in 1952 left unbridged the original gap between primary and secondary schools, and in 1957 six Centers were established throughout the colony to provide in-service training for pupil teachers. In 1958 there were 55 primary schools with 527 teachers and an enrollment of 20,866, giving one teacher to 39.6 pupils, but the average attendance had risen to 16,177 or 80 percent. Thereafter on average it has not fallen, which suggests that with greater dispersion of schools and more emphasis on the relevance of education for life, there has been improvement of attendance to that level. From 1953 to 1963 on average 4 teachers per year were sent to Erdiston College, Barbados, until another grant from CD&W enabled Grenada to set up its own teacher training college in 1963. The Grenada Teachers' College

(GTC) was founded to provide the country with the trained teachers it needed, thereby admitting the failure of that part of Hammond's program.

It seems appropriate to periodize the recent history of education in Grenada as follows:

(1) To 1951, when Gairy signaled the end of the colonial order;

(2) 1952-66, the early years of decolonization, when the colonial government retained executive power and CD&W was active;

(3) 1967-78, the years of Associated Statehood and early independence, under Gairy's rule;

(4) 1979-83 under PRG rule;

(5) 1984 to the present, the years of restoration and renewal.

The persisting lack of trained teachers in primary schools provoked a Canadian educator to remark that

> Ultimately, the success or failure of a people, the fate of a nation, is determined in its schools. To leave so heavy a responsibility in the hands of the immature, the untrained and the second-rate is to invite disaster ... 75 percent of the teaching staff are uncertificated, more than half the teaching staff are pupil teachers. Loss of probationer teachers to other occupations ranges up to 46%. Only about 6% of the children entering school pass the School Leaving Examination - over 90% drop out. In the secondary schools only about 20% to 50% of those entering secure School Certificates... No nation can afford to deny or postpone the provision of adequate education for these children who in a very short time will control the nation itself. The first essential is trained teachers (Staples 1962: 19).

Staples accordingly recommended, firstly, that holders of the school leaving certificate who wished to teach be first given four weeks training in teaching methods and principles, and that successful completion of that course should be required for appointment as a pupil teacher. Secondly, that an instruction program in school certificate subjects through correspondence and holiday classes be instituted for pupil teachers. Thirdly, that teachers be required to submit evidence of having passed the GCE exam in at least 2 subjects in order to teach the following year; and fourthly, that there should be a one-year training course for students who obtained the school certificate.

In December 1962, when there were 24,074 pupils in 56 primary schools, there were 73 trained teachers in a total staff of 616, that is, less than 12 percent. That year when the six secondary schools had a total enrollment of 1777, of 78 teachers in those schools, 19 or roughly one quarter, were trained (MoE Report 1962: 44-45). Anticipating the growth in the school age population, Hammond had tried to reduce the size of class per teacher by scholarships for intending teachers who had had some years of secondary schooling. Evidently that was not enough, as in 1962 class size still averaged 39.4 in the primary schools. In 1958 the first school leaving examination was held in Grenada, replacing the first year of the pupil teacher's examination. Of 303 candidates, 139, 45, were successful. Government tried to increase the number of secondary school places in response to demand

by building three government secondary schools in 1963-5, bringing the total enrollment in secondary schools to 2,592 or 9.2 percent of the children in primary schools (MoE Report 1963-65: 27).

On the basis of Staples' report, the Grenada Teachers' College was established in 1963 to provide a one-year course in educational psychology, school management, English for primary and junior schools, mathematics, history and geography, science, art and music, physical education and health, industrial arts and home economics, candidates being expected to obtain 60 percent in each subject at the final exam for a teacher's certificate. The GTC taught and awarded certificates in a special relationship with the Institute of Education, UWI, and got off to a shaky start. In its first year ten men and eight women enrolled in the course, and in January 1964 five men and 7 women. This was a little better than the average of four Grenadians per year who had gone to Erdiston College, Barbados. Moreover, while the crying need was in primary education, pupils trained at the GTC at first went to secondary schools. Thus the problem of the untrained primary teachers remained untackled, and the plan to train 400 primary teachers between 1947 and 1952 was unfulfilled. The school buildings needed for an additional 5,000 children had been constructed with Colonial Development and Welfare funds by 1952, government having recognized that although the churches and community might help in repairing schools, with the resources at their disposal they could not provide them and therefore that it retained the responsibility for their provision.

c. The Last Three Decades

Initially government left the churches free to hire, purchase or erect the buildings used as schools where they felt appropriate and when they could find persons to teach. Not until 1884, when Grenada was a Crown Colony, did government build its own first primary school. By 1889 it had built fifteen schools, enlarged or repaired eight and purchased two (MoE Report 1963-5: 2). At that time only one-third of the school-age children were enrolled in primary schools, hence there was a need for schools in any settlement of reasonable size.

Throughout the colonial period most Grenadian schools were designed according to the "monitorial system" of Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell (Evans 1975, Aldrich 1982: 73-6), and built on an open plan as one large hall, with no walls to divide the classes from one another. There was generally a raised platform on which the head teacher sat during class, supervising the general melee beneath. In lieu of walls, teachers partitioned the open room with blackboards, which did not shut out the competing sounds of one another's classes. In some cases, church halls that served occasional assemblies of community adults and were in consequence without divisions, substituted for schools; in others the assembly hall formed the upper story of a two-story building, both floors being undivided open spaces that housed separate schools. In such situations, as the junior school generally occupied the ground floor, its children suffered the noise produced by stamping on the floor above, added to that of other classes around them. Although by 1940 the "monitorial system" had long ago been abandoned in British schools, not before Hammond did it occur to the colonial authorities that the open plan schools made it difficult both to teach and to learn, even when all students had textbooks, were perfectly fluent in the language of instruction, docile,

obedient and highly motivated to please their teacher. The schools constructed by the Canadians in the late sixties and seventies modified this open plan by sliding partitions; but too many buildings of the old type still remain in use because no one can now convert or replace them due to the expenses involved.

In advocating the expansion of school space for children, Hammond strongly advised the subdivision of classrooms by moveable screens in place of the open-plan buildings then in use, and saw that the building program was so large that "the churches cannot bear any substantial part of the cost" (Hammond 1943: 8), and that many school buildings would need new sites. However, as parents often preferred to send their children to schools of their own denomination, even though they were farther away, he made no proposals for systematic zoning of the schools. He therefore said little about the selection of sites for new schools and nothing about zoning school districts, which the denominational structure of Grenadian education effectively ruled out.

In 1941-43 the Grenadian government gave 20 scholarships annually, tenable at selected secondary schools, to primary school pupils. As the school building program got under way these scholarships increased, and were awarded competitively on the results of examinations taken by primary schoolchildren. With the increased school accommodation, and an evident purpose in going to school, enrollments increased steadily from 19,090 in 1954 to 26,684 ten years later, that is, by 7,594 students or 40 percent (PDA 1971: 48-49). That was the fruit of the building program and of increased scholarships to secondary schools. By 1963-4 there were 72 scholarships, "two-thirds are awarded to pupils below the age of 12 years, and one-third to pupils between the age of 12 and 14" (MoE: 1963-5: 94). The schools were soon full without any attempt to enforce compulsory school attendance as required by law. This was no longer necessary, given the scholarship incentives and the social and economic opportunities that promised. By 1970 when the difference between enrollment and school capacity calculated on the basis of 10 square feet per student showed a net shortfall of 4,814 school places in 24 schools, in 9 others there were 2,559 surplus places, based on the same standard of 10 square feet per student. Thus,

"On the assumption that surplus capacity in one school is of little value to an overcrowded school in another location, the *total* shortfall is approximately 7,350 places ... In the absence of adequate zoning, under- and over-capacity are bound to occur, since there is no real control over enrollments" (PDA 1971: 55).

Since then the situation may well have got worse, given the continued lack of zoning policy, which is perhaps now unavoidable since the success rate of candidates from different schools in the Common Entrance Exam ranks them in an order of merit in public opinion, and so influences parental choices of schools for their children. Moreover, as the grades which children get in that exam effectively decide to which secondary school they will go, those with the better grades go to the more prestigious schools with better qualified staff and provisions, while those with lower grades go to the recently established secondary schools with less prestige. Given parental concern with the detailed exam results obtained by students from different schools, which are published in the weekly newspapers, zoning, which would restrict their choice of primary schools by place of residence, is now unacceptable to parents whose local schools compete poorly in the annual exam.

Under the system of dual control developed by government and the denominations over the years, as we have seen, government inspected and examined the primary schools it supported, to evaluate their performance and assist with problems. With regard to the secondary schools, the position was different. Grants in aid allocated to secondary schools that were already under their own school board remained exempt from external supervision and the schools from inspection by the Department of Education. One reason given was that in colonial days the Department lacked university graduates qualified to undertake such roles. Moreover, the system of secondary education was self-regulating in so far as external examinations dictated the syllabus and measured the performance of schools. In 1971 the UWI Nicholson Committee, in its survey of Grenadian secondary schools, recommended their direct supervision by the Ministry, a recommendation the PRG finally implemented about ten years later.

There were four grammar schools in the island in 1951, namely, the two girls' schools, St. Joseph's Convent and the Anglican Girls' High School which had replaced the St. George's Girls' High after 1960, the Grenada Boys' School, and another boys' school founded by the Presentation Brothers of the Roman Catholic church in 1947. These four schools offered an academic curriculum. Between them they also offered 32 scholarships to children from primary schools, which was increased in 1958 to 49, and to 170 by 1969. In 1968 there were 11 secondary schools with a total enrollment of 2,770 (PDA 1971: 49, 61). In 1976 there were 17 secondary schools with 5067 on the rolls and 154 teachers (Brizan 1981: 41 App. 1).

Despite some official confusion of the meaning of the term, the structure and aims of secondary schools had been firmly implanted. When the school age was extended to 15 or more, a new category of Junior Secondary Schools was introduced in the early 1970s to bridge the wide gap between primary and secondary education. In practice they differed, in that only the grammar schools at this date prepared children for the Cambridge Senior (School) Certificate examination, which was not available in the senior grades of other schools.

In the 1960s also, government began to establish a common entrance exam for admission of primary school pupils to secondary school at 11 years of age. The Common Entrance exam (CEE) was initially taken only by pupils under twelve, but later another test was added for those between 12 and 14 years. Under this structure, the junior departments of primary schools fed in at age twelve to the senior departments of all-age schools those children who had not got scholarships or dropped out of school. In 1971 the Ministry of Education committed itself to build eight Junior Secondary schools to cater for these 12 to 15 year olds. This initiated another wave of school building in 1971, by which time CD&W and the Canadians had built 18 primary schools to meet the expanding school enrollments.

Meanwhile integration of primary and secondary structures was pursued by increasing the number of scholarships, awarded on the basis of the Common Entrance exam taken at 11+ to 13, from primary to secondary schools. These rose from 49 in 1958 (MoE 1963: 46) to 260 in 1975, 302 in 1978 and 360 in 1979 (Brizan 1981: 44). In 1980 and thereafter, under the PRG, these jumped to 509, then to 1023 in 1981 and to 1137 in 1982. Since then 1206 scholarships were awarded in 1984, 1258 in 1988, and in 1990, 1333 or 46

of all who took the Common Entrance exam. By thus throwing open the grammar schools on scholarships to all on the basis of performance in the CEE, the PRG linked primary and secondary education with one another and with university, in a course ideally open to all on merit. In addition, principals of secondary schools that received these scholarship winners could allocate up to 30 percent annually of new places in their school to students who were qualified by performance in the CEE for entry on a fee paying basis, while government paid the fees of the remaining 70 percent with its grant in aid.

The Common Entrance Exam began by testing candidates only on language, maths and mental ability. In 1972-73 that was changed and the exam extended to include natural science, history and social studies. This expansion of the syllabus has inevitably meant that less time is devoted to reading, writing, language and arithmetic, with the result that many who win scholarships on this broader Common Entrance syllabus may not be able readily to read, write or reckon. This sometimes happens, because students answering the "objective" exam questions now only have to tick their chosen answers, and submit no written work. To obviate suspicions of interference with the exam results, the papers are sent to Barbados to be marked by computer. However, given their anxiety about the exam, parents and students do not always accept the official results.

Of the 692 primary school teachers in June 1968, 158 or 22.8 were trained. Of those primary school teachers who had completed secondary school, one was a trained graduate, 143 were trained teachers and 119 were untrained; while of teachers who had not completed secondary school, 14 were trained and 415 were not, bringing the numbers trained to 158 or 29.6 percent of 534. Of the 120 teachers in secondary schools, 39 or one-third were trained, 58 were graduates and 23 of these were trained. Of the remainder, 15 who had completed secondary school were trained, and 29 were not. Of 18 who had not completed secondary school, 17 were untrained, bringing the total untrained to 81 out of 120 teachers.

Despite this urgent need for qualified teachers, it was government policy to exclude qualified foreign nationals from teaching in public primary schools, and to limit the issue of work permits for such qualified foreigners to secondary schools and private primary schools. Since the denominational boards of management were responsible for the selection of teachers in their schools, they recruited their staff locally, and, as the majority of the schools were denominational, this became general policy. Hence there was no way in which government could relieve the chronic shortage of qualified teachers except by training them more speedily and retaining their services longer. In September 1971 the GTC enrolled one hundred teachers, fifty in each of the two years of its program. Admission to the course required possession of four GCE O-level subjects including English, plus at least one year of full time teaching plus in-service courses, or local teacher's certificate, or a four to five weeks' summer course. The principal fields of concentration were mathematics, social studies, English language and science and the compulsory subjects in either year were English, education and mathematics. First year students did six weeks practical teaching, while second year students did five.

In the 1960s the Ministry of Education had to establish a program of early childhood education and at the other extreme programs and institutes of tertiary education, including provisions for teacher training and technical and vocational education in Grenada.

That presupposed an end to the island's regional entanglements in the West Indies Federation of 1958-62 and in the hypothetical association of the 'Little Eight' - St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica, Grenada, Antigua, Barbuda, St. Kitts, Nevis and Montserrat - which was mooted as a possible successor to the West Indian Federation, but failed to materialize.

Following the opening of the GTC in 1963, attempts were made to develop the tertiary sector. In 1966 the Commercial and Domestic Arts Institute was initiated and offered two lines of courses, commercial and domestic. The former included, besides typing, shorthand and office practice, afternoon classes in bookkeeping, while the latter provided home economics courses.

The Grenada School of Nursing evolved historically as the Matron of St. George's Hospital had at first trained her nurses. From 1925 until 1949 the matrons conducted this training themselves, but in 1951 that was taken over by two Grenadian nurses who had trained in Britain, and the School of Nursing began. In 1954 the General Nursing Council, which administers exams for nurses' registration, was established by statute. The School of Nursing takes in 36 students a year for the three-year course in nursing, with a fourth year in midwifery, while the Grenada School of Pharmacology, established by the Ministry of Health in 1978, admits 12 people for a three year course. Requirements for admission to the pharmacology course are 5 passes at GCE O-level, including English, Maths and Chemistry, and to the nursing course 4 GCE O-levels, including English and one science subject, plus either mathematics, commerce or business studies. In both cases the CXC equivalents to O-levels are accepted.

Agricultural courses have fared poorly in Grenadian primary schools. Few schools have the trained or interested teachers, fenced gardens, tools or seeds that such courses need if they are to be successful. There were initial problems in designing and instituting a course in agriculture to train teachers of agricultural science, linked with the division of responsibilities between the Ministries of Education and Agriculture, and with the higher standards of information and instruction expected in education. To resolve this and train agricultural instructors, the Farm School at Mirabeau estate was established in 1970 with 8 students; by 1984 that had increased to 35, and by 1985 to 38. Nowadays, specialist agricultural teachers circulate among the schools to teach syllabi prepared for the age-groups 5-7, 8-11 and 12-14 as best they can.

Technical and vocational training began in the 1970s and was at first housed in a technical wing of the Grenada Boys' Secondary School. Scholarships were awarded annually at the end of the third form to encourage students with ability in technical subjects to pursue those at the end of the fourth form. A new Technical College was opened with Canadian help in St. George's in 1971 to teach mechanical, electrical, automotive and refrigeration skills, as well as agriculture, carpentry and plumbing. In 1979 the Technical College had an enrollment of 219 while the Teachers' College had 95. By then the four grammar schools in the capital had been persuaded to transfer students who had passed O-levels and wished to sit the Cambridge GCE exams at Advanced level to a new central sixth-form college. This was the beginning of the Institute of Further Education (IFE).

In these ways Grenada assembled the tertiary institutes and schools it required in the late 1960s and 1970s. Except for Nursing, which remains in the Ministry of Health under the General Nursing Council, these tertiary schools are now placed under the director of the Grenada National College, which in 1990 had three divisions, Adult and Continuing Education, the Division of Arts, Science and General Studies, and the Division of Technical and Professional Studies.

The Division of Adult and Continuing Education operates in two departments, namely, the Department of Continuing Education which provides courses for the GCE and CXC examinations, and the Department of Remedial Studies which offers basic literacy, basic adult education, and a general program leading to a national elementary school certificate. In 1990 its enrollment was 2013.

The Division of Arts, Science and General Studies consists of the old Institute of Further Education, which besides the A-level courses it was founded to teach, now offers additional courses of its own for an Associate Degree, and provides specialist courses in stenography and 'secretarial science'. It also includes a Department of Fine Arts, offering courses in pottery, tile making, jewelry, joinery, arts and crafts. In 1990 it had 295 students.

The Division of Technical and Professional Studies consists of the Department of Hospitality Arts which offers 2-year courses in 'hospitality arts', cake and pastry making and meal preparation, and a one-year course in sewing, and in 1990 had 42 students; the Farm School at Mirabeau offered one and two-year courses in Agriculture and Food Science to 44 students; the Department of Teacher Education, the old GTC, had 87 in its 2-year course in 1990; the Department of Technical Studies, with 80 first-year and 56 second-year students of automotive mechanics, plumbing, refrigeration, air conditioning, electrical installation, general mechanical engineering, electronics and building construction; Pharmacology with 6 students, and a 2-year para-legal evening program with 10.

In 1977, when those commissioned to arbitrate a wage dispute recommended that the salaries of public servants, including teachers, should be increased by 83 percent on average as they had had no salary increases since 1974, that was rejected by Gairy, and the Grenada Union of Teachers was among the unions that determined to strike. Gairy responded by threatening violence, which he was well able to execute, having recently done so in 1974. Faced with this, the unions backed down and bided their time. In March 1979, when Gairy's government was overthrown by the NJM, which had supported the unions in their 1977 demands against Gairy, the unions revived their claims. In 1980 the Grenada Union of Teachers, together with the Public Workers and Technical and Allied Workers' Unions, demanded a 60 percent wage increase. Though it had supported their campaign in 1977, the NJM in government resisted this request, arguing that large wage settlements were against the national interest. Accordingly the PRG offered a smaller settlement, which the unions refused. The dispute dragged on until February 1981 when a one-day 'sick-out' was planned. Thanks to the party affiliations of its leaders, the Technical and Allied Workers' Union refused to honor the ban, and PRG propaganda frightened others. In effect the government had won and the GUT returned to work on the lower rate.

During the seventies government's recurrent expenditure on education fluctuated between 18 and 21 percent of the total recurrent expenditure, that is, between 5.5 and 7.7 percent of GDP. During the eighties expenditure on education ranged annually between 10.5 and 12.6 of government's expenditures.

In 1968 there were 28,982 children in primary schools and the average daily attendance was 24,180 or 83.4. Thereafter the school age population began to decline for reasons beyond this report, although most children between 6 and 11 then attended some primary school. In 1976, for example, the enrollment was 26,255 and average attendance 22,299 or 84.9; in 1979 there were 22,861 in 61 primary schools with an average daily attendance of 19,584 or 85.7. There were then 761 primary school teachers, of whom 293 were qualified. In 1980, when there were 792 primary teachers, 271 or 34 were qualified. 137 or 17 of the teachers stopped teaching that year, while 169 (21) took their place. Their inadequate training was compounded by the teachers' rapid turnover, despite periodic attempts to increase their salaries, which the government regularly resisted. That was the background for NISTEP.

As related above, the PRG tried to deal with the shortage of trained teachers in primary and secondary schools through NISTEP. However, in its final year, that program, together with the Community School Day program, was severely criticized by the trainees, by school principals, pupils, and parents. As UNESCO concluded, NISTEP's instructors

"were inadequate in their oral and teaching abilities and ... seriously limited in their knowledge of the subject areas assigned to them to teach ... The fundamental weakness of Grenada's teacher training system remains however untouched, i.e., the lack of a viable pre-service teacher training program which will ensure that every teacher beginning to teach has been prepared for the duties of the profession" (UNESCO 1982: 11).

That this deficiency was not wholly confined to the primary schools is evident from the fact that

'In 1980-81, of 274 teachers in the secondary schools only 19 were trained in the teaching area for which they were responsible. Since of 53 university graduates, 21 are principals with reduced teaching responsibilities, in most cases the percentage of trained teachers carrying out teaching duties is even lower. In other words, the specialized subjects theoretically required in secondary schools in Grenada are taught almost exclusively by primary school teachers (87 percent). The role of the 57 qualified teachers who are principals of primary schools is to remain in reserve as supply teachers for their schools rather than to shoulder a full teaching load routinely. In the junior secondary schools that year, there was no qualified secondary teacher, and of the 79 primary school teachers, 66 percent were untrained." (*ibid*.: 11, para 25).

Granted the failure of NISTEP, the PRG displayed its greatest radicalism in policies for secondary schools and higher education. Beginning in 1979, it increased the numbers admitted to secondary schools by scholarships on the results of the common entrance exam from 302 or 10.8 of 2689 candidates to 1081 or 37 of 2772 that took it in 1981, and 1183 or 36.5 of 3234 in 1983. At the same time they abolished fees for those schools, which had recently risen to $137.50 per term under Gairy, thereby making public primary and secondary education free in principle.

In 1980 there were 137 Grenadian students at universities overseas on government scholarships, 40 in Cuba, several in the (East) German Democratic Republic, as well as the UWI, to which the PRG had repaid the debt accumulated by Gairy. Of these 137 students, 69 studied agriculture, 35 medicine and dentistry, 33 education, 27 management, 14 engineering, 7 each in languages and international relations, and 1 each in law and manufacturing. In 1980 another 49 students entered universities and 13 graduated (MoE 1980: 23-25).

For radicals in the NJM the schools provided the ideal arena for inculcating ideology; but first it was necessary to root out the old ideology and free the schools from the influence of churches over education, replacing their religious beliefs by Marxism. As a first step in that direction, Wesley Hall, a Methodist school, was moved to new premises built with government funds in 1982. Reversing recent policies, its control was then removed from the Methodist church to government. Some time later

"religious instruction was removed from its traditional place in the school curriculum to the consternation of most parents and teachers" (Sandiford & Vigilante 1984: 74).

In 1983 the party

"decided it was time to replace 'reactionary and redundant elements' with 'democratic and progressive elements' better suited to inculcating proper political views. The PRG suddenly transferred eighteen principals and teachers out of their schools without consulting the mainly church-affiliated school boards. All remaining principals were summoned to a five-hour meeting at which a new 'principals' council' was founded, as a means of supervising their political orientations" (*ibid*.: 74)

Under the PRG, education sought to liberate Grenadians from habitual cultural dependence, inferiority and ignorance, so that they would become self-reliant independent youngsters, proud of their country and race. Creole speech was freely used in schools (Searle 1980), and many periods were devoted to patriotic songs, marches and rallies in favor of the revolution, the seniors being enrolled in the militia while their juniors became Young Pioneers. The PRG used these and other channels to put across its teachings of Marxism and Black Power, the two doctrines to which leaders of the movement were firmly committed. There was a stream of publications (Bishop 1982; Searle 1983; PRG 1982; MoE 1980; Jacobs & Jacobs 1980; Hodge & Searle 1982, etc.), innumerable rallies, demonstrations, marches of the militia and Young Pioneers recruited in and out of school, speeches, songs, and emulation competitions attended by the leaders and loyal followers of the PRG. By these means the message was communicated that for too long the whites had oppressed and exploited the black people of Grenada for their own enrichment, first in slavery, then by a form of serfdom or indentured labor. While Gairy had climbed to power on the backs of the people, he had subsequently repudiated and repressed them by the Mongoose Gang, the Green Beasts, and other instruments of terror. History had shown that only the NJM had the courage and insight, derived from racial pride and Marxism, to withstand Gairy and free Grenada.

Students indoctrinated in their out of school activities were encouraged to report any loose talk by their teachers to the PRG authorities, with the result that teaching was affected by the divided loyalties of the student body. At one secondary school the head

teacher was warned by his students that if he continued talking as usual he would end up in 'Bishop's College', the popular name for the prison on Richmond Hill used for preventive detention. In another school a boy pulled a gun on a teacher.

"With Cuban help there was a move to standardise textbooks and to introduce Marxist political education (labelled 'civics') directly into the curriculum" (Sandiford 1985: 74).

The ideological assault was under way. Children as young as ten were given military drill in the Young Pioneers and taught to handle weapons - or so certain teachers believed. Parents reacted angrily to children rejecting their authority as obsolete, having been taught to believe that by virtue of their youth, they knew better than their elders.

The curriculum of those pre-primary schools funded by government was changed by the PRG, which introduced the Marryshow Readers as the most appropriate and relevant texts with which to teach reading. In May 1984, after the collapse of the PRG, the suitability of these Marryshow Readers for use in the infant schools was reviewed by a committee which duly found against them. Thereafter the Marryshow Readers were withdrawn, together with the four books on adult education for use in the Continuing Education Program, and much else developed by the PRG. Since then, the Early Childhood Education Unit in the Ministry of Education has provided the curriculum, training, physical facilities and inspection of 74 pre-schools in Grenada, 19 of which have opened since 1984.

It has now become the primary function of education to prepare students, irrespective of ability, to do or appear to do well in the Common Entrance exam, even when they lack the necessary textbooks as well as teachers with the necessary skills and training to teach them. Of 1333 children awarded scholarships on the basis of their results in the exam in 1990, the government provided money to buy school uniforms and textbooks for only 400, a ratio which suggests that at least two-thirds of the scholarship winners that year came from families that could provide those essentials for their children. Such families can hardly be called poor.

In the higher classes of primary and lower levels of secondary school, textbooks may now cost around 120 EC dollars (US$45) per year, school uniform, socks and shoes another $130. In addition, in most cases there are daily expenditures for bus fares, school lunches, etc., which put a heavy burden on those parents with two or more children attending school, given that 28 of the labor force are unemployed. Under the family structure of Grenadian folk, rural or urban, these burdens fall primarily on women, who themselves head a high proportion of the homes in which these children live. Women generally try to see that their children are properly turned out when they go to school; and since they can only afford one uniform, the child is often kept at home on Friday while that is washed and ironed for the following week. Alternatively, elder children may be required to look after younger ones at home so that the mother may go to work. For such reasons, even without individual truancy, attendance, especially on Fridays, is irregular in primary school.

In secondary school, attendance is both higher and more regular, given the importance of the CXC and Cambridge GCE O-levels for parents and children. For without four GCE O-level passes or their CXC equivalents, including a pass in English language, the

Grenadian secondary school graduate has poor job prospects. With four O-level passes, including English language, even without mathematics, the student is qualified to enter the civil service, the nursing and teaching professions, and may go on to take the A-level exam at GNC. With only two or three O-levels to their credit, those who wish to become nurses will first have to serve as nursing assistants for sufficiently long to demonstrate their competence and ability to profit from the three year course in nursing and one year of midwifery. With less than 4 GCE O-levels the graduate may apply to the Ministry of Education for work as a primary school teacher, but will be classified as a temporary or student teacher, and poorly paid. He or she then has to earn promotion by passing other GCE O-levels to a total of four, including English, at which point he becomes a certificated grade 2 teacher, and in 1990-91 might earn EC$10,368 per year, or US$3,868.

With four GCE O-levels, including English, students may apply for a scholarship to the Grenada National College. Alternatively, by passing a college placement test in English and mathematics, or by completing the foundation program run by the Division of Adult and Continuing Education of the College, they may gain admittance. A fourth route is for them to pass the School Leaving exam which is sat annually in Standard VII of the all-age primary schools, and has always had a remarkable failure rate, since it requires successful candidates to pass several subjects simultaneously. For example in 1975, 201 of 1113 entrants or 18 were successful; in 1979, 66 of 874 or 7.5; in 1989, 122 of 691 candidates passed, a ratio of 17.7; and in 1990, 106 out of 729, or 14.2.

Against this background, certification is critically important to eligibility for admission to training, jobs or promotion. It is therefore no surprise that for most Grenadians who have had few opportunities for social mobility themselves, the main purpose of education is now to enable one to pass exams which will in turn make one eligible for certain jobs. It is likewise no surprise that schools are popularly ranked according to their success rates in the exams, and that parents who by one means or another can place their children in schools with high success rates should do all in their power to that end. In consequence it often happens that mothers classify their children as dull or bright according to the results they obtain at school, and make greater efforts to help the 'bright' ones at the cost of their 'duller' siblings. To such parents, their children's education is filled with anxiety, grades and certificates being so highly unpredictable, and exams themselves so costly. In 1990 the GCE fee was EC$85 to sit the first subject, representing charges of EC$50 local fee and EC$35 entrance fee, plus EC$35 for any second subject, whereas the CXC fee was EC$85 for any number of subjects.

To place those figures in their local context, for six hours a day six days a week, a woman employed in a hotel probably expected to receive EC$225 per month. For eight hours a day less 30 minutes lunch time, in one of the CBI-financed local factories that expatriate firms stipulate should have no unions, women may earn about $400 a month, and meet their transport, clothing, lunch and other costs from that. The annual cost of putting two children through school might therefore represent their entire wages for two or three months. Should the fathers contribute to the cost of schooling, whether living with them or not, this will lighten the mother's burden; but perhaps no more than 40 or 50 percent of the children, even those at secondary school, live in two-parent households. Most are believed to be from one-parent families which have to rely on their own resources, while some

children who reside with guardians, an aunt, a grannie or an elder sister, have one or both parents overseas. As regards the parents' educational background, estimates vary that from 10 percent to 30 to 40 percent of children in primary school have parents who are functionally illiterate. 20 to 40 percent of their homes may have books and some interest in them, but most townsfolk now have television, however poor they are.

The most important set of influences on a child outside of school are those provided by its socialization to the language, culture, and social composition of family, home, peer group, and community cult, and to their own roles in these units. For Grenadian infants too young to attend school, family and home provide the immediate context in which patterns of language and behavior are transmitted and learnt, the young child being unaware of the extent to which these are gender-modeled. Common to children of either sex is the physical habitat of their home, the social composition and stratification of their community, especially its racial or ethnic aspects, and the language, which still divides Grenada into two sections, a minority that speaks Grenadian Standard English, and a majority whose speech combines an English lexicon with features of French and West African grammar. The latter are always at a disadvantage in communicating with the former, who casually assume that they understand standard English and merely speak it badly, thereby misinterpreting much that they say. It is especially difficult for children from this background on entering school to learn English grammar from teachers who likewise assume for purposes of teaching that the children understand English but speak it poorly, though they themselves often speak dialect when they most urgently want to communicate. It seems unfortunate that despite all that has been done recently at the UWI by Alleyne (1980, 1985), Bailey (1962, 1966), Borely & Carrington, (1977), Carrington (1983), Craig (1969, 1971, 1976), Grey (1971), Le Page, (1951, 1957-8), Roberts (1988) and others to demonstrate the difference between Creole and English, and to show how best to teach language, and despite the extensive and continuing revision of the curriculum in Grenada, the Ministry remains either unaware or indifferent to this invaluable work. Infants brought up in Creole-speaking homes rarely have books at home to read, since those books are printed in a language with which neither parent is fully comfortable, so that they neither read them themselves nor to the children. The differences between home and school in such cases could not possibly be sharper, since the school, which presupposes literacy, book learning, and the correct use of English as the language of instruction, is the reverse of the home, which has limited literacy, does not use it internally, and communicates in the Creole dialect, a distinct language with an English vocabulary.

Such differences between the Creole-speaking home and the school are paralleled by others between the homes of Creole speakers and of those who use Standard English. In the latter, which are permanent structures that demonstrate greater affluence, besides communicating in English a child listens to stories read to it by its guardian at more or less regular times, whereas in the former it may occasionally hear tales of Zien, the spider and trickster, tales told at Wakes or Nine Nights by some old expert of the Cric-Crac tradition as part of the living folk culture. The child from the Creole-speaking home, which is usually smaller, poorer, and often without water, electricity or sanitation indoors, may not readily grasp the full significance of the difference between the two homes, his and that of the English-speaking child. But the differences are there for all to see and interpret as they will. Where their families do not differ racially, these differences are readily interpreted as differences of class; but that label does not hide the reality, which is cultural. In one case

the child moves from home to school without entering a radically new environment; in the other the child crosses over from the world of oral communication in Creole into that of literate, i.e., book-based, communication in Standard English, one consequence of which is that because English is not taught as a second language in the schools but assumed to be the first, many children are classified as dull, obtuse or plain stupid simply because they cannot understand clearly the questions or instructions addressed to them.

To some degree this difficulty is overcome by placing the child in basic school; but many households cannot afford to do that; and many basic schools, perhaps the majority, do not teach, in which case the child enters primary with the same handicap. Community stratification, illustrated by differences between these two homes, the English speaking and the Creole, ramifies and pervades several fields including religion, gender patterns, mating, family and occupation, which are mutually incompatible in institutional culture. These cultural differences are little affected by the attendance of both children at a common school, since their experiences there and their relations with the teachers mostly echo and reinforce the differences. However, in many cases they do not attend the same school. Frequently those from the more affluent families go to private fee-paying schools while those from less affluent Creole-speaking families go to the public primary school, where, as we have remarked above, the majority of the teachers have little or no qualification beyond dedication or their need for work.

Within the school itself, besides the formal process of instruction, which communicates a specific content by certain formal means, there is considerable informal communication among the children who form a class, and between them and their teacher, individually and in groups. This forms part of a more extensive field, which includes the school, parents in the community, or communities that it serves, teachers, boards of management, and the pupils passing through the school. Thus, going to school tends at every step to involve a measure of socialization, including non-attendance on Friday, often to look after the younger ones, leaving the mother free to do the family washing, paid work, or to run errands. Perhaps the most important aspect of this wider continuous context and process of socialization in childhood consists in the child's diverse relations with others around it, its various accommodations, and the ways in which these serve to shape its view of itself, consciously or otherwise.

This most inclusive context and process of socialization at school ensures that some students emerge with confidence in their abilities, and in their acceptability to persons of all ages and status, while others emerge without such confidence in themselves or their relations with others, often as an effect of some casual act of annoyance, disapproval or rejection, the meaning of which was mistaken, and which has long been forgotten. Yet others are uncertain of their own abilities and the reactions of others. Set beside such hidden outcomes, the statistics of 'wastage' in the school system seem reasonably easy to understand. But 'wastage' is always relative to expectation, and levels of expectation vary between individuals. A child thought to be of low ability may so lower its expectations that by comparison its performance ranks highly. Another classified as 'wastage' on the basis of exam results may realistically have expected little from attendance at school beyond making some friends, and may therefore have switched his interests elsewhere, including for instance, an early determination to emigrate. Relatively few at school nowadays elect to

become teachers themselves. Those who do are mainly girls from primary schools, whose commitment to teaching as a career remains uncertain. Nonetheless, one-tenth of secondary school children contemplate school teaching.

Secondary schools are now required to state annually how many places they have available for new entrants, and may reserve 30 percent of those for allocation by their heads to pupils who pass the CEE, the rest being allocated by the Ministry. To ensure that girls, who won most of the scholarships, received places, secondary schools were made coeducational. In this way for the first time GBSS came to admit girls under the PRG; but it is now once more devoted only to boys.

Now that the 'pupil-teacher' category has been abolished, a temporary teacher is one who has the primary school leaving certificate, or one GCE O-level; a student teacher has either the pupil-teacher's examination, or two GCE O-levels; a probationer has three or four O-levels, with or without English Language. Those with 4 GCE O-levels including English Language or teacher's certificate parts 1 and 2, are certificated grade 2, while others with four such O-level subjects including English, and the teacher's certificate or two or more GCE A-level subjects are certificated grade 1. All those with one year's teacher training plus three year's teaching experience, or two years' teacher training are regarded as qualified, including all the Principals of primary schools. For example, in 1980 untrained teachers were two-thirds of those in primary schools, but in 1987 there were 353 qualified teachers in primary schools, of whom 57 were principals, 31 male and 26 female, and 296 were qualified assistants, 77 male, 219 female. Another 419 or 54.3 percent, were unqualified, 4.1 percent of these being Certificate 1, while 27 percent were Certificate 2 holders, being 60 males and 152 females. 124 were probationers, 38 were student teachers and 13 temporary, bringing those in the three most poorly qualified categories to 175 or 22.4 percent. In January 1989, 96 of the 303 teachers in secondary schools were graduates but only 11 of those were trained, leaving another 207 who at best had qualifications that fitted them for teaching in the primary school.

In 1990 the school system had the following structure. Its lowest rung consisted of five Nursery Schools with a total of 215 children and 25 untrained attendants, and 68 pre-primaries with a total of 3,283 children and 146 untrained teachers, all female. The age of entry into primary school was six, but first admissions were confined to stated periods of the school year. In Grenada pre-primary education has been promoted by the Van Lire Foundation of Holland, the Canadian Save the Children Fund and the churches; but many basic schools were organized as commercial activities for fees by people with the means to do so. The primary departments of Combined or All-age Schools enrolled juniors aged 6 to 12, while the senior or secondary department took children of 12 to 15, and offered a curriculum equivalent to the first three years of secondary school. While attendance in primary school was formally compulsory, in the senior classes of the All-age Schools attendance was voluntary, and there were many dropouts. Junior Secondary schools catered to the age-group 12 to 15 and were classified as secondary schools. There were 19 secondary schools, all of which prepared students for the CXC and GCE O-level exams, though GBSS, Presentation College, the Anglican Girls' High School and St. Joseph's Convent, the four oldest, still enjoyed the highest prestige.

In June 1989, 5,393 infants attended school, and there were another 8,890 in the junior departments of the 61 primary schools, together with 2,924 in the senior departments of all-age schools. That brought the primary enrollment back to its 1982 level of 20,207. In 1989 there were also 6,395 students in the 19 secondary schools, of whom 58.6 percent were girls. Of the 763 teachers in public primary schools, 362 or 47.4 percent were trained. Of 311 teachers in secondary schools, 100 or 32.2 percent were trained, and 106 were graduates, 84 of them untrained. Thus most of the trained teachers in secondary schools had not been to university. That year, on a per caput basis, government spent EC$429 (US$160) per pupil in primary school, and EC$647 (US$241) per pupil in secondary school. That year 45.4 percent of those who sat the Common Entrance exam were awarded scholarships, and 122 or 17.7 percent passed the primary school leaving exam. Of 4,163 entrants in the CXC exam there were passes in 1,422 subjects; but as usual the passes in the two English papers were very low, 22.2 percent and 23.1 percent, and in Mathematics, 27 percent. At the GCE O-level there were 865 subject passes in 2,517 entries, or 34.4 percent, but only 53 A grades and 231 Bs. Pass rates in English were low, as usual, 25.4 percent in Language, 18 percent in Literature. Passes in Mathematics were even lower, 7 of 149 entrants or 4.7 percent being successful, as against 12 of 22 passes in Additional Mathematics, 54.5 percent. By far the best results were obtained, as usual, in Agricultural Science. That year, of 254 candidates in the A-level subjects, 94, or 37 percent, passed, with English and Mathematics low as usual, but in 1990 the results were much better, with a pass rate of 55 percent.

EVALUATION

We may now list the educational system's major deficiencies, namely, the apparently irreducible majority of unqualified and uneducated teachers obliged to teach all subjects on the curriculum without mastering any; students who are unable to study from lack of textbooks, lunch or equipment and expected to understand English because it provides their lexicon, but who do so at best imperfectly; parents for whom the primary goal and purpose of education now is for their child to win a scholarship to one of the more prestigious grammar schools, and then to proceed onwards by similar means to university and beyond; a Ministry economically constrained to aim for the second best, despite its high rates of exam failures, school dropouts and 'repetitions', which amply demonstrate the "considerable level of under-achievement in the school system" (Fernando 1974, Brizan 1991); that now recruits most of its professional staff from the ranks of primary school principals, and is accordingly committed to the low standards of the primary school; curricula that despite the Ministry vary haphazardly from one school to the next; persisting elite academic bias and low levels of technical and vocational skills which ensure that the school system serves the community poorly -- we could continue the catalogue; but is this an accurate or adequate evaluation of education in Grenada today? Can we on any assumptions, including the apparently established correlations of educational successes, development and individual incomes, adequately evaluate educational systems by dividing the inputs, both capital and recurrent, by the numbers of their exam successes?

Some such reasoning seems to underlie the approaches of Dennis (1962), Schultz (1968), Psachoropaulos (1987), the World Bank (1988), Brizan (1991), and others who argue that the higher the individual's education, the higher his productivity and earning, a

conclusion that seems to be supported by the overwhelming weight of evidence from the developed and developing or underdeveloped world.

An alternative viewpoint represented by Karabel and Halsey (1977), Williamson (1979) etc., seems to argue that, as power controls ideology and ideology indirectly controls knowledge in education, the latter is therefore not as neutral a value as the human capital approach assumes, being rewarded variably in differing social systems. On this thesis, the structure of referral is really to the political system. As the state is Marxist, Islamic, Hindu, metropolitan-industrial, colonial, agrarian or other, so too will be its educational ideology and its policies, educational and other. Hence to estimate and compare the adequacy or relevance of educational systems to their milieux, it is to the political system that we must turn.

While generally true, that consequence affects certain areas of educational organization more than others. For example, it is an objective of all educational systems to teach reading, writing and reckoning, first and foremost, since those techniques enable us to learn others. However, as Grenadian experience shows, the language of instruction used may be inappropriate, though it is often first selected because of cultural and/or political factors. If so, being used for instruction, it will then deny the children for whom it is used the instruction it purports to offer; this may be what the policy intended, or it may not; and when, as in Grenada, secondary schools are thrown open to all through scholarships on examination, despite the reformers' best intentions, the affluent or "middle classes", who least need help with school fees and expenses, are the primary beneficiaries of such programs. That is inevitable, since often "middle class" children, being more fluent in the language of instruction, are better able to understand what they are taught in mathematics and science as well as history and the humanities. This in turn means that "middle class" students will obtain superior results in the externally administered exams, and will perform better in the universities and institutions of higher learning, to which they move on the results of those exams. In this sense Karabel and Halsey may not be right, and power and ideology may not be the main determinants of educational policy, since its outcomes are the obverse of the intention.. But the extent to which educational policy determines its outcomes will vary with the adequacy of the resources, both human and material, to the task of educating the population concerned. Like many Third World countries, Grenada spends a relatively high proportion of its revenue, currently 23 percent, or 4.9 percent of its GDP, on education. The question then is whether that or any other amount the government can afford to spend can ever be adequate, or whether in fact the dice are too heavily loaded against it for the government ever to succeed in achieving its educational goals.

The administration of education in Grenada illustrates this. From its beginning at Emancipation, the planters opposed and frustrated education of the people. Initiated by Britain, this was underfunded, under-resourced, and preoccupied itself with the attainment of limited and ill-defined goals at lowest cost; yet as there was so little to build on, and so little experience of educational administration, perhaps at the start little more could have been done. Valuable years were lost due to Protestant suspicion of Roman Catholic intentions, although the majority of the people were Catholic; when the denominations first received equal treatment after 1874, the government began to build and run its own schools, but the churches opposed that; and until 1877 when Grenada became a crown colony, its planters

had effectively blocked the government's educational program; but so too had government's inexperience in designing and administering any programs of universal education, and its dependence on the denominations for their efficient implementation.

It might be argued that the colonial authorities were forced to accommodate the Catholics against their will; but to see that all children were routinely in school, government had first to build a sufficient number of schools. By then however the objective test of adequacy for the educational system was no longer the attendance rate of the school age population, but its pass rate in the progressively more elaborate system of school examinations; and even before the problem of attendance rates had been fully resolved, attention had turned to the adequacy of technical and vocational training for the population.

On these measures, the government scored poorly, partly because since the colonial era ended it had been subject to three or more different systems of control: firstly, the repressive improvident regime of Gairy, anti-populist, tyrannical and corrupt; secondly, the Marxist revolutionary government of Bishop, Coard and the NJM.; thirdly, the guided democratic regimes of Blaize and Brathwaite, which pursued their educational programs through George McGuire, Blaize's Minister of Education, and Carlyle Glean of the NDC, both educators by profession, and Glean formerly a consultant and lecturer in education at the UWI, Barbados. However, neither of those regimes was responsible for the educational system it had inherited; neither Gairy from the antecedent colonial epoch with its legacy of exploitation and neglect; nor the PRG which succeeded Gairy, only to find that while on average 50 teachers graduated each year from the GTC after training, 25 equivalent trained teachers quit the profession, so that only by simultaneously training all the untrained primary school teachers would that problem ever be solved, thus inaugurating NISTEP. When in December 1984 Blaize's government took over, NISTEP was already a thing of the past, another program which had misfired badly and been inherited by Blaize's regime, together with the problem it had tried but failed to solve.

Likewise, whatever their preferences for coeducational schools, the successors of Blaize's government under Nicholas Brathwaite had to accept the abrupt reversal of PRG coeducational policies in traditional grammar schools as a *fait accompli*, together with the abolition of the Marryshow Readers, the CPE, the National Service program, and overseas scholarships at universities in Marxist countries, among much else. To say that the ideology of the most powerful determines educational policy, while meaningful in a relatively stable industrial polity such as the USA, which builds on its educational inheritance incrementally, controls its own resources and can therefore finance fully its educational system, has little relevance in Grenada, which has never been adequately endowed educationally.

In colonial days Grenada imported the high level manpower, professional, administrative, religious and technical, it needed from overseas, while exporting to Barbados and Britain those who could afford schooling there, however dysfunctional that was for the society. In days of less extensive travel, movement was involuntarily restricted across cultural frontiers by differences of language, religion and culture; but these barriers were surmountable, as Grenadian emigration to Caracas and Curacao in the closing decades of colonialism indicate. Many Grenadians were led by desire to earn money to cross such cultural frontiers when there seemed to be opportunities for work. Unless successful, their

emigration would be brief, and when unemployed, or when they had achieved their target, they would return home.

Such patterns may now have changed. To the extent that they have, they require us to modify the thesis that political power has determinant influence on the form and content of education, by asking to what degree state ideology prescribes such outcomes. The thesis that the ideology of the power brokers determines the educational programs and policies of the state, and therefore the outcomes, is relevant only in so far as the state manifestly dominates and regulates the people, their attitudes and activities. Whether we should ever assume that a state with as inefficient an educational system as that of Grenada, with its population so ill-educated in school, perfectly reproduces the intent of its policy, one may doubt. In any case this aspect of Grenada's situation needs study. If the answer is positive, and if the people are so effectively regulated by the state as to reproduce and perpetuate itself, then Grenada should not have had the political upheavals since late colonialism that it has. In both cases they were powered by a protest ideology of strikingly similar kind, which rejected the exploitation of people of African race, first by the colonial regime and then by the leader who had risen to power on that first wave of popular protest. Both were varieties of the Black Power ideology (Jacobs & Jacobs 1980, Smith 1991).

From its record, Grenada's political instability argues strongly against the thesis that the educational order, determined solely by political ideology and considerations, was ever so deeply rooted in the Grenadian consciousness, whether under colonialism or since, as to dictate popular attitudes and responses. We must therefore ask why, and to what extent, that should be so. Does not Grenadian education deliver the manpower needed to run the state and its economy? And does not its economy sustain the social structure? In light of the nearly universal brain drain process, the adequacy of the system's response to the country's needs must be examined carefully in view of its high rate of failures.

First, to assess the adequacy of an education system to the current needs, we have to list those needs and then to see in detail how the educational system enabled Grenadians to qualify with the skills needed to serve their society. Such measures may be described as 'societal'. Secondly, we need also to look at the individual's response to the educational process, which includes here the examination hurdles, its failures and its passes, and ask whether and how these materially restrict individuals' opportunities in later life. It would indeed be remarkable if they did not in some way affect the individual, but, to answer the question before us, we need to know precisely how. Thirdly, we have to ask whether, given that the development of the individual is so often upheld as the goal of education, there is any sense in which Grenadian education advances individual development even when it has patently failed to equip the individual to do so by passing from lower to higher levels of the system. The effect on individuals will vary with their character and expectations; those who did not expect to improve themselves in this way will probably not be surprised at failure, whereas those who expect to acquire skills or mobility by this route will be disappointed if they do not succeed. The question then becomes, how many Grenadians, of what class or kind, have nourished such expectations of progress up the educational ladder? The answer, it seems, is relatively few - those whose parents and families have experienced this for themselves, that is, people who primarily belong to what we call the "middle classes", or who by virtue of their own achievements have effectively joined them. In Grenada such people,

though much rewarded since government instituted free secondary school places for all on scholarship in the common entrance exam, are still relatively few. Most of the society, recently known as 'the masses', being primarily rural folk, still regard going to school as a childhood activity like growing up, from which one expects no special benefit. For such people the state, which has never materially protected or advanced their interests, despite Gairy and the PRG, is not something on which they rely, but rather would gladly escape.

At first Grenadians welcomed the NJM's message that the revolution was theirs to advance and defend, but that to do so they must first prepare themselves appropriately by becoming functionally literate, better informed, more highly motivated, and having a much deeper general understanding of the significant relations between events. They accordingly enrolled in the literacy program, even when too old or young, and already literate. However, as the revolution wore on they came to see that this was merely a device to ensure their commitment to the revolution, without participating in its control or direction; and when the revolution finally destroyed its leader and itself, that simply confirmed their original disbelief in the declared intentions of the state, whoever ruled, and reinforced their general indifference.

Nowadays, with scholarships to secondary school available for approximately 40 percent of candidates for the common entrance exam, there is much greater expectation that perhaps one's child may be fortunate enough to win a scholarship; so there is some purpose in going to school. But when annually the results of the exam do not fulfill one's hopes, disillusion and disappointment set in. This is the general fate since, as we have seen, only 400 of the 1333 scholarship winners in 1990 received grants from the government for the books and uniforms they need in secondary school. Even though such figures do not demonstrate that most of the scholarship winners were from "middle class" homes, coupled with information on the scholarships awarded to children from fee-paying private schools, they suggest that a fair number of scholarships go to the minority of better-off families. We shall check that speculation as best we can below. However, even those who won scholarships and thus kept open the door of opportunity still have to pass the GCE O-levels or CXC exams which annually return a failure rate of 66 percent by subjects, or higher for the exam as a whole. Hence success in the CE exam does not guarantee ultimate success in those exams; and, given the critical importance of certificates of accreditation in the job market or in the search for training, the probability remains that most students who sit those exams would do better to study practical, vocational and technical subjects, providing they had the interest, encouragement, the trained teachers and equipment to help them.

By comparison with the educational system in 1951, 1966 or 1974, when decolonization ended, with its inadequate provisions for primary schools, fee-paying secondary schools, grossly inadequate tertiary and agricultural education, there is no question that over the past thirty years the educational system of Grenada has developed. It has done so after experimenting with the junior secondary schools, the progressive reduction of fees, the provision of more scholarships to the secondary schools, and the gradual, almost experimental addition of a tertiary level for training in special subjects such as teacher training, pharmacology and nursing. Ideally it should also have met the need for trained teachers, since that remains the most urgent need of the school system, in which for too long a majority of the primary school teachers have been untrained. Despite the education

program designed by Hammond in 1943, during the 1950s and 1960s the ratio of untrained to trained primary school teachers persisted with little change, and still persists. Hence we cannot say that at its highest levels the educational system adequately caters to the needs of the community, since it has signally failed to meet the need for trained teachers. However, by centralizing the preparation of A-level candidates in the Institute of Further Education, the system underwent rationalization at the same time that it incorporated early childhood education through the infant and pre-primary schools. Even so, the degree to which subjects studied in the various departments of the Grenada National College currently meet the country's needs for manpower with those skills is problematic, the numbers qualified in welding, electrical installation, plumbing, refrigeration, automotive mechanics, electronics or general engineering being significantly lower than the demand.

Recent developments do not therefore imply the present adequacy of the educational system, but merely the prospect of greater adequacy at some time in the future. Whether that hope will in fact be fulfilled remains uncertain. For example, to meet Grenada's demand for trained teachers, the GTC (now the Department of Teacher Education) was expanded to admit 50 trainees a year from the primary schools for the 2-year course to be taught in college. By 1990, however, even this modest target could not be met, as untrained teachers refused to enroll for the course, since they did not regard teaching as a career, but as a temporary job.

RESPONSES TO EDUCATION

a. Emigration

Grenadians characteristically make their own endeavors to secure the values and careers that they want. We should always remember that formal schooling does not by any means exhaust their education. For centuries one could learn a craft or skill through training by apprenticeship. Now one can do so by other means, such as on-the-job training or special courses, both at home and abroad. For Grenadian school leavers, most of whom are classified as 'wastage' by results of the O-level, A-level, School Leaving and Common Entrance exams, leaving school raises several possibilities, the chief of which are own-account employment, unemployment, or training within the island, and emigration.

To see whether and to what extent Grenadians of any class approach their lives in this way, and to familiarize myself with the most common alternative accommodations to successfully going through school, I collected genealogies from a number of Grenadians selected haphazardly for their tolerance of the exercise and willingness to co-operate. I thus eschewed from the outset any assumption that this set of genealogies constitutes a statistically random sample on the results of which we could safely generalize. Nonetheless I believe that they are important and typical, though unable to say how fully representative. The total population in these 25 genealogies is 517, excluding the dead and those schooled abroad.

As Table 3 shows, 53 of these individuals were schooled entirely abroad, 23 males and 30 females. Another 27, 7 boys and 20 girls, had left the island while at school, 15 while

in primary and 12 in secondary school. Thus 80 individuals in these genealogies were not schooled locally, and they are therefore excluded from further study.

28 children, 11 boys and 17 girls, were too young to go to school. 41 children, 22 boys and 19 girls, were still in primary school, and 21, 9 boys and 12 girls, in secondary. We lack information on the schooling of 12 people, 5 males and 7 females. 2 were in training, one boy and one girl, bringing the total to 104, 48 boys, 56 girls, who were either too young or still in training or school, or for whom we lacked information.

This leaves 333 who had completed schooling, 220 primary, 104 secondary, and 9 who completed primary but of whom we know not whether they attended secondary school. With the 12 on whose schooling we lack data, those who grew up in Grenada numbered 345.

This classification assumes that no Grenadian children attend secondary school without first attending primary. Of 220 who only attended primary school, 67 emigrated, 29 men and 38 women. Of these, we know that 15 men and 6 women had some local training before their emigration. Of 104 who went to secondary school in Grenada, 59 emigrated, and of those 26, 12 men and 14 women, were trained locally. In addition, the genealogies contain 81 who went to primary school and 50 who went to secondary whose training thereafter remains unknown to us. Of these, 79 emigrated, 46 from primary and 33 from secondary school. Of another 9 for whom we cannot say whether they went to secondary or were subsequently trained, only 2, both males, emigrated.

Table 3. School, Local Training & Emigration, From 25 Genealogies

	M	***F***	***ALL***
Schooled abroad	23	30	53
Emigrated in school: Primary	4	11	15
Emigrated in school: Secondary	3	9	12
Subtotal	**30**	**50**	**80**
Schooling N/K	5	7	12
Under school age	11	17	28
In Primary school	22	19	41
In Secondary school	9	12	21
In Training	1	1	2
Subtotal	**43**	**49**	**92**
Schooling N/K	5	7	12
Primary school only	103	117	220
Primary + Secondary school	51	53	104
Secondary school N/K	6	3	9
Subtotal	**165**	**180**	**345**
All schooled in Grenada	**208**	**229**	**437**
Primary only: Emigrated	29	38	67
Primary only: Non migrant	74	79	153
Subtotal	**103**	**117**	**220**
Primary + training:Emigrated	15	6	21
Primary + training N/K: Emigrated	14	32	46
Primary + training N/K: Non-migrant	16	19	35
Primary + no training: Non-migrant	58	60	118
Primary School total	**103**	**117**	**220**
Secondary School Emigrated	29	30	59
Secondary School Non-migrant	22	23	45
Secondary School total	**51**	**53**	**104**
Emigrated with local training	12	14	26
Emigrated, local training N/K	17	16	33
Non-migrant, no training	12	16	28
Non-migrant, training N/K	10	7	17
Total	**51**	**53**	**104**
N/K Secondary School + N/K training:			
Emigrated	2	-	2
Non-migrant	4	3	7
N/K Secondary School total	**6**	**3**	**9**
All in Genealogies	**238**	**279**	**517**

As far as our data go, the distribution of these people by their birth dates is set out in Table 4. For many we do not know the exact date of birth and have insufficient basis for estimation, while others are classified by dates of birth as born before 1951, in 1952-66, 1967-78, 1979-83, and 1984-90. This classification is guided by the preceding periodization of recent Grenadian history, which associates developments in education with the political changes of 1951-1967, 1979, when Gairy was overthrown, and 1983, the year the PRG fell, and so to the present. In this classification of birthdates, 1951 was the year of the strike that marked Gairy's emergence and 1966, the end of colonial rule, was the last year in which Britain administered Grenada's internal affairs; 1967 marked the beginning of associated status, and 1979 the end of Gairy's rule. Most of those born before 1951 should have left school by 1966, and most of those born between 1952 and 1966 should have left school by 1979. Those born between 1979 and 1983 went to school during the more conservative regimes of Blaize and Nicholas Brathwaite. The percentage distribution in each of these age categories is set out beside the base data. The proportions born under and after the PRG diminish as a function of their shorter time periods.

Table 4. Population Schooled in Grenada by Birthdate and Sex

(25 Genealogies)

	M	***F***	***All***	***%***
N/K	24	15	39	8.9
Before 1951	62	76	138	31.6
1952-66	51	60	111	25.4
1967-78	38	43	81	18.5
1979-83	25	16	41	9.4
1984-90	8	19	27	6.2
	208	**229**	**437**	**100.0**

The data on emigration in Table 5a, classified by the date of birth of the emigrant, make interesting reading. Of the 128 emigrants, 60 are in the USA, 22 in Trinidad & Tobago, 11 in Canada, 22 in England, and 13 elsewhere, mainly in the Windward Islands or Barbados. We do not know the birthdate for 10 emigrants to the USA; another 20 were born before 1951, 21 between 1952 and 1966, and 9 between 1969 and 1978. Of those in Canada whose birth date is known, 3 were born before 1951, and 7 thereafter. Thus emigration to North America has replaced that westwards in the Caribbean to Trinidad, Aruba and Venezuela; Canada only became prominent recently, under the PRG. In the 50s and 60s Britain offered a welcome, attracting 12 Grenadians born before 1951 and 5 between 1952 and 1966; but the British Immigration Act in the early seventies firmly shut the door.

By then, on these data, Britain ranked alongside Trinidad and after the US among Grenadian outlets, the nearby Caribbean having ceased to attract immigrants after 1967.

Table 5a: Distribution of Emigrants in 25 Genealogies
(*P* = Primary schooling only; *S* = Secondary schooling.]

Date Of Birth		*USA* P S ALL	*Trinidad* P S ALL	*Canada* P S ALL	*UK* P S ALL	*Other* P S ALL	*Total* P S
NK	M	4 1 5	3 ~ 3	~ ~ ~	1 ~ 1	~ 1 1	8 2
	F	~ 5 5	1 ~ 1	~ 1 1	3 1 4	~ ~ ~	4 7
~'51	M	4 6 10	1 1 2	2 1 3	3 3 6	1 3 3	10 14
	F	4 6 10	9 ~ 9	~ ~ ~	4 2 6	1 ~ 1	18 8
'52~'66	M	6 4 10	1 1 2	1 1 2	~ 2 2	~ 2 2	8 10
	F	5 6 11	3 1 4	~ 2 2	2 1 3	2 1 3	12 11
'67~'78	M	2 2 4	~ ~ ~	~ 1 1	~ ~ ~	1 ~ 1	3 3
	F	1 4 5	1 ~ 1	2 ~ 2	~ ~ ~	~ ~ ~	4 4
NK Secondary	M	~	~	~	~	2 ~ ~	2 ~
	F	~	~	~	~	~	~
TOTAL	M	16 13 29	5 2 6	3 3 6	4 5 9	3 6 7	31 29
	F	10 21 31	14 1 15	2 3 5	9 4 13	3 1 3	38 30
	ALL	26 34 60	19 3 22	5 6 11	13 9 22	6 7 11	69 59
	%	46.9	17.2	8.6	17.2	10.1	100 100

Table 5b: Emigrants by Destination

	Primary	*Secondary*	*All*	*Percentage*
To				
USA	26	34	60	46.9%
T'dad	19	3	22	17.2%
Canada	5	6	11	8.6%
U.K.	13	9	22	17.2%
Other	6	7	13	10.1%
	69	**59**	**128**	**100%**

Table 5c: Emigrants by Date of Birth

				Primary		*Secondary*		
	M	*F*	*All*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*%*
N/K	10	11	21	8	4	2	7	16.7
-'51	24	26	50	10	18	14	8	39.7
-'66	18	23	41	8	12	10	11	32.5
-'78	6	8	14	3	4	3	4	11.1
Total	**58**	**68**	**126**	**29**	**38**	**29**	**30**	**100%**

Besides these 128 adult migrants, another 27 emigrated while at school, 7 boys and 20 girls, bringing the total emigrating to 155, compared with 205 who remained in the island after leaving school, namely 153 from primary schools, 45 from secondary schools, and 7 for whom we lack data on their secondary schooling. As none of the emigrants were born between 1979 and 1990, those dates are omitted from Table 5. On these data, 38.4 percent of locally educated Grenadians are likely to emigrate, a figure which rises to 43 percent if we

include those who emigrate before leaving school. However, in order not to inflate the emigration data, we have counted all who had emigrated, got experience or training abroad, and returned to Grenada as non-migrants, although this probably misrepresents their situation, which is that of a mobile population that bides its time while surveying the alternatives open to it. We lack data on the age of 21 or 16 percent of those who emigrated after leaving school in Grenada. 50, or 39.7 percent were born before 1951, 41 (32.5 percent) between 1952 and 1966, and 14 (11.1 percent) thereafter. This may indicate that the emigration rate is not accelerating.

A Grenadian can leave school to seek a job, and may fail to do so. He may also leave school to emigrate, or to get trained first in some capacity. Training excluded, Table 6 indicates the numbers of school graduates and dropouts who pursued these alternatives for the school years 1985 to 1987 inclusive. Each year the numbers of students leaving primary and secondary schools are tabulated separately by the Statistics Division of the Ministry of Education, together with the reported reasons therefor, as emigration, employment, unemployment, death, or 'not known', the largest category, which may reduce to unemployment, training, etc. In the following Table these returns of students leaving school, both primary and secondary, have been collated to show their distribution between these alternatives, to yield an annual departure rate from Grenada schools for comparison with the annual intake of the primary schools.

Table 6: School Leavers, 1984-5, 1985-6, 1986-7

	1984-5			*1985-6*			*1986-7*		
Prospects	***M***	***All***	***%***	***M***	***All***	***%***	***M***	***All***	***%***
Emigration	90	233	12.3	184	371	17.3	179	375	19.8
Employment	480	604	31.9	315	495	23.0	338	575	30.4
Unemployment	171	392	20.7	221	463	21.4	180	346	18.3
Deceased	5	7	0.4	4	7	0.3	2	6	0.3
Not known	308	659	34.7	402	807	38.0	305	591	31.2
Total	**1054**	**1895**	**100.0**	**1146**	**2143**	**100.0**	**1007**	**1896**	**100.0**
Percent	**54**	**46**	**100.0**	**53.4**	**46.6**	**100.0**	**53.1**	**46.9**	**100.0**

In 1984-85, when 1895 students left the school system, 2227 entered primary schools for the first time, while 1256 transferred from primary to secondary schools, the majority by scholarship. Of these 1895, 233 or 12.3 percent, emigrated from Grenada, 81 being under 11. That year 604 or 31.9 percent, left school for jobs, while 392 or 20.7 percent did not. Another 7, or 0.3 percent died; and we lack information for 659, or 34.7 per cent.

In 1985-6 when the newcomers to primary school totaled 2705, those leaving school totaled 2143. Of these, 371, 17.3 percent, also left the island, 139 being less than 11 years old. 495 or 23 percent left school for jobs, while 463 or 21.4 percent were unemployed. 7 (0.3 percent) had died, and of 807 (38 percent) we know nothing.

As against 1896 that left school in 1987, 2468 new pupils were enrolled. Of those leaving school, 375 (19.8 percent) left the island, 140 of those being under 11 years of age. 575 (30.4 percent) left to work, while 346 or 18.3 percent were unemployed. 6 or 0.3 percent had died, and of 591, 31.2 percent, we know nothing.

It appears that as a ratio emigrants may vary between 12.3 and 19.8 percent of school leavers, a substantial fraction, especially as nothing is known about the intentions or movements of between 31 and 38 percent of the total, some of whom may well have emigrated, with or without prior training. The Table does not include training as a separate category, probably because the numbers involved are too small.

These data confirm the genealogies that emigration is an important avenue of escape for many from local unemployment and other effects of inadequate education.

Data on emigration from Grenada between 1973 and 1983 further confirm the importance of this outlet, as the Registrar-General's annual returns set out in the following Table make clear.

Between 1960 and 1972, Grenada lost through migration 4800 more than it gained. From 1973 until 1982, Grenada lost population in 8 consecutive years, gained in 1982, and lost again in 1983, the total coming to 19,900, or an average of 2,000 per year. In 1984, following the end of the PRG regime, 1,600 more Grenadians returned from abroad than emigrated; but in 1985 and 1986, on these returns, another 7,600 emigrated. The virtual irrelevance of projections of Grenada's population to its total and growth is shown by the end of year estimate for 1980, which is 109,442, and that for 1981, the census year, which is 89,280, over 20,000 less. This difference is due not to exclusions of the army and militia from the count, as officially alleged, but rather to the fact that the Grenadian Central Statistical Office seems annually to compile the estimates of population with inadequate attention to its migration flows. This results in annual overestimates of population between census years by amounts that reflect annual losses through emigration which, as we have seen from the preceding Table, almost exactly equals the difference between the 1981 census and the preceding end of year estimate for 1980 In the 1991 census the population of Grenada was 90,497, 2,409 more than in 1981, when the PRG said that various categories were not counted. In short, despite its high annual rate of natural increase, the population of Grenada expands and contracts primarily in response to outflows and inflows of migration.

Table 7: Net Migration, Grenada, 1973-1986

Year	*End of Year Estimate*	*Migration '000 increase*	*Rate of natural increase per 1000*
1973	106,219	-3.1	2.1
1974	106,031	-2.2	1.9
1975	107,779	-0.5	2.1
1976	108,594	-1.1	1.9
1977	109,669	-0.7	1.8
1978	110,394	-1.1	1.6
1979	110,137	-3.7	1.8
1980	109,442	-2.5	1.7
1981	89,280	-3.5	1.6
1982	92,013	-0.8	1.8
1983	93,427	-0.7	1.9
1984	97,134	1.6	1.8
1985	97,116	-2.3	2.3
1986	94,231	-5.3	2.5
Total		**-24.3**	
Average		**-1.74**	**1.9**

The Grenadian people respond variably to their school experience. Those who do well in the public schools, measured by exam selectivity, remain there and nowadays proceed, via the common entrance exam, to secondary school, where they have the chance to get two or more O-levels, and from which a handful may now go to GNC for A level work. Within limits set by academic success, their future is relatively assured, but generally requires further training abroad. The majority who receive no scholarships and whose families do not have the resources to send them away, will remain and work in the island, sometimes as teachers, while saving to go away, unless they have suitably placed kinsfolk overseas in Canada or the USA, Britain being now closed to West Indians.

The remainder who do not succeed, temporarily or finally, in the exams, and who have therefore been classified as 'wastage' (Fernando 1974, Brizan 1991), whether they fail at secondary level or at primary, evidently do not regard themselves thus. Those whose families have land or other resources of their own, as many do in Grenada, either find employment or some support during the unemployment which often follows school leaving. A third possibility for those with private resources is to undergo training in some skill such as sewing, carpentry, masonry, motor mechanics, electrical installation, or alternatively to seek an income through part time fishing or farming, a pursuit which may be given up as opportunity arises. Alternatively, the school leaver may, and frequently does, mix unemployment with training in some skill or set of skills from which he or she may later choose the one that they prefer, and thereafter ply that trade. Such training might be interrupted by emigration or by an exploratory spell in the police force of longer or shorter

duration, the school leaver's aim being always to select that occupation which provides the most rewarding and satisfactory alternative to unemployment. For females, this may mean secretarial training and employment, apprenticeship as a seamstress, enrollment in a 'hospitality arts' or housecraft program, or teaching, often without the qualification or the intention to make it a career. Nursing and pharmacy require career commitments and better performance in exams than most students achieve. For girls, like their school career, these alternatives may be frustrated by pregnancy; but nowadays that seems to be less frequent than before, and may at most require a year's suspension of activities.

For those who lack such prospects or opportunities, there is always the chance of finding temporary work as unskilled labor in agriculture, on the roads, in construction, or in the nutmeg and cocoa plants, which mainly employ women. For most Grenadians these represent opportunities of last resort, to which emigration is preferable, if only one has an overseas contact, and often without. Nowadays Grenadian girls can sell their labor in Canada or the USA by arranging temporary employment in domestic service through friends. In that case they simply fly to Toronto or New York to work and remain there as long as they can. Employment opportunities in the US and Canada, which are often situated where skills can be learnt, are more promising than those in Grenada. While abroad, workers who accumulate any savings may decide to return to Grenada and work on their own, often to drive a taxi, keep shop, or start building. Alternatively, disillusioned with their prospects overseas, they may return to Grenada, even though the wage rates for unskilled work there are notoriously lower than elsewhere in the Windwards, and indeed in the Caribbean as a whole, without compensatory reductions in the cost of imports, since under Blaize's indirect taxes, these now bear the full burden of financing the state.

Farming is an unlikely alternative for younger migrants. While the returned migrant remains in Grenada, he or she is constantly aware of opportunities overseas that seem the more inviting the poorer the immediate local prospects. Thus for a period which varies with his or her circumstances, the emigrant returning to Grenada and surveying the available options remains uncertain whether to set off again or not, the outcome being decided by age, health and prospects. In this way, most Grenadians, who do not accept their classification as 'wastage' by failure in school exams for which they were inadequately and inappropriately prepared, try within the limits of their resources and opportunities to do as best they can for themselves, adapting to their situation as mobile and free-floating labor while their health permits. Those who remain in Grenada either depend on their own resources and skills, which may involve activities not appreciated in school, such as farming, stock rearing, fishing, or they will depend on employment or assistance by some other, which may include the government. There is, therefore, considerable pressure on government to supply income-earning opportunities, even though little may be done in return.

It may be argued that without its high levels of unemployment the Grenadian economy could neither function nor compete, since the cost of labor would then be too high; but this assumes that everything else remains the same, for example, that the productivity and organization of labor alter little, the terms of international trade for Grenada remain constant, and much else. We cannot, in short, argue from the labor situation, which is internal to the economy, to its external or foreign aspects. The evidence indicates that at its present level of organization and development Grenada is relatively over-populated, and therefore exports

surplus people. These are to some extent self-selected, being more adventurous, and abroad they establish themselves in colonies in Brooklyn, Toronto, London and Trinidad. Though they often go with no more qualifications than they had at school, they approach the situation rather differently; and in many instances that enables them to adapt successfully to their new milieu and its opportunities. The implication is that, given similar opportunities at home, these emigrants might have done equally well; in short, that the onus is on the educational system to demonstrate that these people are 'wastage' rather than the casualties and products of its own inefficiency. Surely if they are 'waste' at home, they should be equally so abroad. That they are not, or at least not always so, is due primarily to the self-confident attitude of the Grenadian people themselves, who, regarding the state as their enemy and its school system as alien, have developed resistance to it, and are therefore relatively indifferent concerning its judgments about them, a state of affairs which responds healthily to the indifferent state of education in Grenada with its mass of unqualified teachers, its numerous open-plan schools, shortage of school books, overloaded syllabus, elitist academic bias, and unsatisfactory conditions too numerous to catalogue again. At least these data show that those who wish to, can emigrate, and that they have somewhere to go that will not assume in advance they are incapable.

b. Social Development

To ascertain whether its educational system enables Grenada to supply its need for qualified persons, I shall review the educational backgrounds of its legislators from 1951, when the first election was held on the basis of universal suffrage, to 1990, including the members of the PRG and Governor Scoon's Interim Advisory Government. Although not entirely appropriate, this measure does indicate how the educational system affects the society, on the assumption that Grenada needs a well-educated legislature. It should also indicate whether there has been any educational improvement in the legislature during those years. To supplement this survey of the legislatures, I shall then review the academic and professional qualifications of senior civil servants as of November 1990. Since Parliament and the public service together constitute the governing executive, which formulates and implements policy for the nation, their educational qualifications should indicate how well its educational system enables Grenada to meet those societal needs.

Table 8. Educational Background of Legislators, Members of Government, and Other Candidates for Parliament, Grenada, 1951-1990

Candidates			*Schooling*							*Degrees*		*Professions*				
	Election Date	*Total*	*Primary*	*Sec'dary*	*N/K*	*P + TTC*	*P + Ter*	*NK + Ter*	*Sec + Ter*	*1st degree*	*Higher d.*	*Law*	*Prof.*	*Medicine*	*Education*	*Others*
1	1951 Elected	8	5	•	•	2	•	•	1	1	•	•	•	•	•	•
2	Other cands	13	6	3	•	1	1	1	1	•	•	1	1	•	•	1
3	1951-All	21	11	3	•	3	1	1	2	1	•	1	1	•	•	1
4	1954-Elected	8	6	1	•	1	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
5	Other cands	23	11	4	3	1	1	1	2	•	•	1	1	•	•	1
6	1954-All	31	17	5	3	2	1	1	2	•	•	1	1	•	•	1
7	1957-Elected	8	4	2	•	1	•	•	1	1	•	•	•	•	•	•
8	Other cands	16	10	4	1	•	1	•	•	•	•	•	1	•	•	•
9	1957-All	24	14	6	1	1	1	•	1	1	•	•	1	•	•	•
10	1961-Elected	10	6	2	•	1	•	•	1	•	•	1	•	•	•	•
11	Other cands	19	9	5	1	1	1	1	1	•	•	1	1	•	•	1
12	1961-All	29	15	7	1	2	1	1	2	•	•	2	1	•	•	1
13	1962-Elected	10	7	3	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
14	Other cands	11	3	1	2	3	•	1	1	•	•	1	`1	•	•	•
15	1962-All	21	10	4	2	3	•	1	1	•	•	1	1	•	•	•
16	1967-Elected	10	4	3	•	1	•	•	2	•	•	2	•	•	•	•
17	Other cands	10	4	1	•	2	1	2	1	•	•	4	1	•	•	•
18	1967-All	20	8	4	•	2	1	2	3	•	•	6	1	•	•	•
19	1972-Elected	15	7	2	•	4	•	•	1	•	•	1	•	•	•	•
20	Other cands	15	2	6	2	1	1	1	2	•	1	3	1	1	•	•
21	1972-All	30	9	8	2	5	1	1	3	•	1	4	1	1	•	•
22	1976-Elected	15	6	3	1	1	•	2	2	•	1	2	•	•	•	•
23	Other cands	15	4	1	4	1	2	•	3	•	•	6	2	1	•	•
24	1976-All	30	10	4	5	2	2	2	5	•	1	8	2	1	•	•
25	1979-83 PRG	15	2	4	1	•	1	3	4	3	1	2	•	1	•	•
26	1983-84 int:	9	1	•	•	1	1	4	2	1	5	•	•	•	2	1
27	1984-Elected	15	3	2	1	•	1	2	6	•	4	4	1	•	•	1
28	Other cands	37	8	5	21	1	2	•	•	•	•	1	1	1	•	•
29	1984-All	52	11	7	22	1	3	2	6	•	4	5	2	1	•	1
30	1990-Elected	15	1	2	2	•	3	2	5	2	5	1	1	1	•	•
31	Other cands	61	16	5	25	2	4	3	6	1	3	4	2	•	1	2
32	1990-All	76	17	7	27	2	7	5	11	3	8	5	3	1	1	2

P = Prim = Primary xhool
Sec = Secondary School
Ter = Tertiary institutions
TTC = Teacher Training Colleg

Other = Engineering, Pharmacy, Optician
Prof = Other professional training (accountancy, architecture, etc.)
N/K = Not known

In 1951, of 8 elected members, 5 had attended primary school only, 2 had also attended teacher training colleges, and one a tertiary institution. The situation differed little in 1954, 1957 and 1961. In 1954, 6 elected members had primary education only, one had been to teacher training college, and another to secondary school. In 1957, 4 had gone no further than primary school, 2 no further than secondary, one combined primary school with teacher training college, and another, the sole elected planter, had been to university.

The elections of 1961, 1962 and 1967 each returned ten members. In 1961, of these 6 went to primary school only, 2 to secondary as well, 1 to both primary and teacher training college, and the planter was re-elected. By 1962 the pattern had changed. Then seven members were elected from primary schools and three from secondary, the planter being defeated. In 1967, the year of Associate Status, of 10 elected members, four came from primary schools only, three from secondary, an eighth had been to teacher training college some time after primary school, and two who were trained in law had also attended secondary school.

In 1972 the number of elected members was increased to 15. That year, of the 15 elected, 7 had attended primary school only while 4, besides primary, had gone to teacher training college. 2 had been to secondary school, and another to law school as well. In 1976, of 15 elected we lack information on the educational background of one. Six had attended primary school only, while a seventh had also gone to teacher training college. 3 are known to have completed secondary school and another 4, namely, Bernard Coard, Unison Whiteman, Maurice Bishop and another Alliance lawyer studied at universities and equivalent institutions as well as secondary school.

Of the 15 members of the PRG of 1979-83, including the secretary, I lack information on the schooling of one. Two had attended primary schools only, four had gone to secondary schools. Seven had tertiary education, one majored in engineering at a polytechnic in Jamaica (Marable, 1987, 210), two, Bishop and Kenrick Radix, were lawyers, one, the secretary, was an M.D., another three had university degrees - Jacqueline Creft from Carlton, Ontario, Unison Whiteman from Howard, Bernard Coard a BSc (Econ) Brandeis, and a Master's from Sussex, England (*ibid*.: 214). Till then they were easily the best educated of Grenada's numerous governments since 1951.

The PRG government of the NJM which followed Gairy was replaced by the Governor with an interim advisory council under the chairmanship of Nicholas Brathwaite, the present prime minister. Of these, only one had been no further than primary school, while a second had also attended teacher training college. 7 others had been to universities, one was an engineer, three had PhDs in biology and chemistry, economics and in science, a fourth a Master's in agriculture, a fifth was a Bachelor of Education and a sixth held a Master's in education from Toronto. In 1984 the general election returned the New National Party, for one of whose candidates we lack information, while another three had been to primary school only, and two also to secondary. The remaining 9 had been to tertiary institutions, 6 of those having had their secondary schooling in Grenada first, and one his primary. For two who had tertiary education we cannot say whether they went to secondary

school. Of these six elected members, four held higher degrees, two in education and economic history, one each in mathematics and law.

In the election of 1990, of the 15 elected members, for 2 of whom we lack educational data, only one went to primary school only, two to secondary schools, and the other 10 to tertiary institutions. Of these two were advocates, a third held a PhD in law and was a former university lecturer, 4 had training in education, three of these at the higher degree level, and one had been a consultant and university lecturer in that subject. One had a PhD in maths, another a BSc in agriculture, and the last a BA in social science. The example set by the PRG of a government that claimed its right to rule by virtue of the superior knowledge and education of its members had become the tradition in Grenada. Gone were the days when primary school was the educational background of most elected members of the legislature. Whether the island is any better governed in consequence is uncertain, as Blaize's decisions to abolish Income Tax and suspend debt payments make clear; but surely the financial and other kinds of malpractice of which Gairy was accused should no longer be possible. Moreover, these changing educational qualifications are not confined exclusively to elected members. They illustrate wider social processes that have reordered the society.

In October 1990, to assess the adequacy of Grenada's educational system to produce and motivate a sufficient number of qualified people to satisfy the needs of its government for skilled manpower, I decided to study the public service, which then employed 6,712 people, of whom about 50 percent held established posts There were then 216 CARICOM nationals in Grenada with work permits, of whom 95 worked in the service sector, which included health and teaching. These were not the only foreign nationals employed in Grenada, but they were the majority. With assistance from the Chief Personnel Officer of the Public Service Commission, I compiled data on the educational background and professional qualifications of some 723 senior civil servants, 377 men and 346 women. Of these, no information was available for 174 men and 51 women, leaving 203 men and 295 women for whom the data are adequate, distributed across the following Ministries: Agriculture, Finance, Labor and Social Security, Legal Affairs, Office of the Prime Minister, Education, Works, Health, and External Affairs, as shown in Table 9.

Of these civil servants, 130 had completed first degrees and 33 some higher degree. Another 58 had university diplomas and a further 15 university certificates to their credit. 14 males had professional qualifications and 180 females, almost all nurses and pharmacists in the Ministry of Health. A further 27 were then on courses overseas, mainly at universities, and 41 had passed in at least 4 A-level subjects to enter the service. Apart from 12 physicians imported from India and a few more from Europe, Nigeria and the West Indies, Grenada supplied the medical and dental personnel, technicians, pharmacists, radiographers, public health inspectors, hospital administrators and nursing staff needed to man posts in the Ministry of Health. In Education, if we include the GNC and exclude all but heads of the secondary schools, 21 staff had higher degrees, 26 had first degrees, 10 had diplomas, 13 university certificates, 2 administrative staff had A-levels, and for another 44 we lack information. The impression gained from this extremely incomplete survey of the educational backgrounds and qualifications of senior public service personnel is that, with the exceptions of teaching, medicine, computer science, electronics, civil engineering and

agriculture, Grenada can now meet most of its needs for skilled personnel from its own people, without necessarily improving the quality of its performance. For that to be assured, a rather different organization and approach seems necessary.

Table 9: Educational Qualifications of 723 Senior Public Servants,

Ministry		*Staff*	*Degrees* 1st	*Higher*	*Dips*	*Courses Abroad*	*Prof.*	*O &A levels*	*School NK*
Works:									
	M	17	1	1	1	~	~	1	13
	F	1	~	~	~	~	~	1	~
Education:									
Min.	M	21	2	6	4	2	~	~	7
	F	23	4	3	~	7	~	2	7
GNC	M	49	16	8	2	2	~	~	21
	F	19	4	4	4	2	~	~	5
2ndy Heads	M	6	2	1	1	~	~	~	2
	F	2	~	~	~	~	~	~	2
Education	M	70	18	14	6	4	~	1	30
	F	42	8	7	4	9	~	2	14
Total		112	26	21	10	13	~	3	44
Health:									
Min.	M	36	2	~	20	1	10	~	3
	F	32	1	2	15	~	12	~	2
Doctors	M	25	25	~	~	~	~	~	~
	F	17	17	~	~	~	~	~	~
(India)	M	11	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
	F	1	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
(W.I.)	M	2	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
(Other)	M	4	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
	F	2	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
Dentists	M	3	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
(G'da)	F	3	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
Nurses	F	168	~	~	~	~	168	~	~
Stud/Nurses	F	14	~	~	~	~	~	14	~
Health	M	81	47	~	20	1	10	1	3
	F	237	23	2	15	~	180	14	2
Total		318	70	2	35	1	190	15	5
Agriculture									
	M	109	13	3	6	3	1	4	78
	F	20	~	1	2	1	~	1	15
Finance									
	M	44	6	4	2	2	2	12	15
	F	16	5	1	1	~	~	6	2
Office of the Prime Minister									
	M	34	2	~	~	1	~	3	28
	F	17	1	~	1	~	~	5	10

Labor & Social Security									
	M	6	~	~	~	4	~	1	2
	F	4	1	~	~	~	~	~	10
Legal Affairs									
	M	16	2	~	~	~	1	2	7
	F	9	2	~	~	~	~	3	5
TOTAL									
	M	377	89	22	35	18	14	23	174
	F	346	41	11	23	9	180	18	51
	ALL	723	130	33	58	27	194	41	225

c. Stratification

If colonial Grenada was a pigmentocracy with the whites on top, coloreds, blacks and Indians ranked below in that order respectively, then an individual's status or place in the society corresponded roughly with his or her pigmentation. In 1953 this was amply confirmed by the product moment correlations of status and phenotypical color of 376 individuals ranked in independently for their status by 19 Grenadians, and for phenotypical color by four others. The correlation of status and phenotypical color for these 376 individuals was 0.682 (Smith 1965a: 158-164). On a genotypical scale the correlation of scores was even higher for 171 individuals whose genealogies were known in sufficient detail, namely, 0.734. The differing correlations of these mean scores for status and phenotypical and genotypical color of the ranked strata of elite illustrated the degree to which color regulated individual status placements in Grenada then.

The era to which those data relate really ended with Gairy's first strike in 1951, though the structural transformation took longer to unfold, thanks to the colonial administration's retention of executive power, which it used twice to suspend Gairy from office, first for breaking up his opponents' meetings, and second for those financial irregularities that he condoned. It was only when he returned to power in 1967 that Gairy, having shed all restraint and caution, finally uprooted the foundations of the colonial order by setting up such an unpredictable regime that property lost all value since the government, which should have guaranteed property values, had set itself against that and instead confiscated estates without compensation. Under such circumstances, neither could their owners sell their estates, nor had they any longer the confidence and incentive to invest in them. At best they could let it be known that they would break up and sell the estate on a 'first come, first served' basis, to whosoever applied. In these circumstances, while estate operations were severely disrupted, it took many years before the estate system formally disappeared. Nonetheless, though many estates survived as unbroken blocks of land even then, having merely changed hands while their former holders died out or departed the country, the 'estate system' as such had ceased long before 1990. Whole lineages disappeared, or nearly so, from the local scene.

However, while Gairy thus destroyed the traditional base for status ascription, by restricting access to higher education overseas and allowing the UWI to close its doors on Grenada, he made no effort to put anything in its place, except himself and the arbitrary power at his control. From 1967, when Gairy returned to power, until 1979 when he lost it, Grenada lost over 19,000 people by emigration, 10,109 males and 9,217 females, 9,200 of them since 1974

when it became independent, a fact which neatly expresses its people's response to their situation. Under Gairy's rule, his personal power was to be the sole arbiter of Grenada's stratification. He had no intention of substituting a principle for that power, though such a principle did hold sway, once he was overthrown, namely, the principle of relatively open access to secondary schools and institutions of higher learning on the basis of exam performance. This process has gradually substituted the principle of status achievement for that of its ascription by birth, which was basically racial.

In 1990 many people did not know their places in Grenada society, and many did not care how or where they were placed, largely as an effect of the incomplete transformation of Grenada's stratification from the basis of racial status ascription by birth to an order of status achievement on the basis of merit. Since the PRG, which succeeded Gairy, explicitly promoted doctrines of Black Power and taught Grenadians to look elsewhere for their status endorsements than to those who differed racially from them, it ensured that individuals entitled to such rewards did not in their diffidence endorse the preceding racial order by passively allowing their co-optation into it. The PRG also continued Gairy's policy of land acquisition by the forcible appropriation of estates, and so harassed landholders to leave the island. There was in short considerable turmoil and uncertainty throughout this process, which was arrested, if not reversed, when the PRG fell.

In 1990 these status changes were still incomplete, but they had already advanced so far that several light skinned Grenadians of traditionally elite lineage who remained in the island withdrew to their homes and circle of kin, away from clubs and other arenas of social life. To signify their acceptance of the new racial order which gives pride of place to blacks, and to protect their places in it, these light-skinned Grenadians consciously adopted American classifications of colored people by race - "We are all blacks now" said one, as though that eliminated totally the distinction between himself and others of darker hue. For the Creole elite this American color classification, which interferes little with their movements abroad, is a welcome gift, serving as it does to place them squarely in the same category as the mass of the population from whom they were formerly, and still are, distinguished. It also emphasizes Grenada's present dependence on the USA, which by its "intervention" in October 1983, although of dubious legality, rescued Grenada from its Marxist rulers, despite a British appeal and protest against this. This was the second time that Great Britain behaved like Judas, as many Grenadians saw it, and acted to deny their national interest, the first being when Britain suspended its commitment to hold a referendum before granting Grenada independence under Gairy, despite widespread protests and violence in the island.

For all its conservatism, Blaize's government could not reverse the processes, begun under Gairy and the PRG, by which Grenadian society was restructured so that there were increasing opportunities for people to move freely between its various levels. Once British rule had been removed and the racial barrier to such status changes had gone, that was frequently done. Indeed, Blaize's administration actually advanced the open meritocratic tendency of the society by eliminating those ideological conditions that had served under the PRG to select individuals for scholarships to universities overseas. Following the fall of that regime, many Grenadians who had trained or studied in the USA, Canada, Britain, Cuba and East Germany returned to the island with professional qualifications. Many, having obtained such qualifications, had chosen to stay abroad and work there, while others were in process of

qualifying at the universities, law schools, and similar institutions. A fair number of those qualified professional people were women of middling age, some holding dual citizenship in Grenada and a foreign country such as the US or the UK. Many were from peasant families of dark color. Those with funds to spare often invested in the tourist sector, buying or building apartments and other facilities for rental to tourists, with whom they often felt more informally at ease, as an effect of their residence overseas, than with Grenadians of light skin and old family. Managing their own assets and affairs independently, without appeal to their kinsmen, these Grenadian women conducted themselves as they had when living abroad, driving themselves to work, handling their business affairs independently, using birth control to regulate their fertility, and in all respects representing by their actions the change in gender relations which had taken place among the new elite in Grenada.

The main factor in Grenada's shift from status ascription to achievement has been the opportunities available abroad for professional training and qualification, normally in universities, for those who, having completed school in Grenada, went away, got trained, and returned, however briefly. So far they are a minority of the overseas Grenadians, who have learned skills and made good in industrial situations; but being too numerous to ignore, and of a racial stock different from the colonial elite, they represent new waves of self-made men and women who may remain in Grenada as long as they find their working situation tolerable, but who will otherwise emigrate, to be replaced by others with overseas training. The role of Grenadian educational institutions in this transformation has been indirect and qualified by migration and training overseas. It has motivated people to seek their training abroad and qualified them educationally to do so. Though there has been an important increase in upward mobility since the PRG opened up secondary schools to everyone on the basis of performance in the common entrance exam, so far that has had limited effect on status placements.

As mentioned earlier, most who win scholarships probably come from more affluent families, or at least from homes with skilled parents. Evidence indicating this derives from the answers to a questionnaire by students in the fifth forms of three prestigious single-sex grammar schools, and a fourth which is coeducational. The results are shown in Table 10.

Table 10. Occupations of Household Heads of Pupils in Fifth Forms of 4 Secondary Schools, 1990

BUSINESS:	10	CLERICAL:	14
MANAGERIAL:	14	SKILLED TRADES:	36
PROFESSIONAL:	20	SEMI-SKILLED:	6
POLITICAL:	4	UNSKILLED:	32
CIVIL SERVICE:	6		
TOTAL REPLIES:	142	NO REPLY:	13

Breakdown of occupations within each category

BUSINESS: Contractor 1, Businessman 3, Business + Insurance 1, Own travel agency 1, Restaurateur 1, Realtor 2, Owns bookshop 1

MANAGERIAL: Manager (Hotel, Business) 9, Assistant Manager 1, Bank Manager 1, NewLo Administrator 1, Public Relations Officer 1, Police Inspector 1

PROFESSIONAL: Civil engineer 1, Asst Supt., G'da Electric 1, Agronomist 1, School Principal 3, Nurse 2, Teacher/Tutor 8, 'Counselling'1, Doctor 3

POLITICAL: Government Minister 2, Diplomat 1, Trade Unionist 1

CIVIL SERVICE: "Resigned from Civil Service" 1, Government Printer 1, "Civil Service" 2, Post Office 1, Civil Service supervisor 1

CLERICAL: Clerk/Secretary 5, Bookkeeper/Accountant 2, Computer operator 1, "Credit controller" 1, Educational statistician 1, Customs Officer 1, Truant Officer 1, Salesman (inc. Insurance) 2

SKILLED TRADES: "Tradesman" 1, Builder 3, Mason 6, Carpenter 3, Plumber 1, Interior decorator, painter 2, Mechanic 4, Mechanical engineer 1, Electrical engineer 1, Electrician 1, Senior lab technician 1, Agriculturist/Farmer 2, "Captain" (?) 1, Restaurant supervisor 1, Chef/Cook 3, Seamstress 3, Hairdresser 2

SEMI-SKILLED: Straw craft 1, Taxi driver, chauffeur 2, Equipment operator 1, "Self employed" 2

UNSKILLED: Housewife 10, Domestic/Cleaner/Maid 8, Restaurant worker 1, Caretaker/Security 3, Road work/"Public work" 2, Stevedore 1 Shop assistant 2, Vendor 1, Factory 1, Policeman 1, Unemployed 2

They show that of 155 children, 142 or 90.3 percent answered the question concerning their household head's occupation, and only 32 or 21 percent, cited unskilled occupations. 48, or 31 percent, came from homes of which the head was either a professional, a manager, a politician or businessman; while another 56, or 36 percent, had guardians who did clerical or technical work such as bank jobs, accounts, journalism, radio,

airport, hairdressing, pilots, building, masonry or other crafts, or were skilled and worked as a sailor, seamstress, chef or mechanic. Six parents may have been semi-skilled and 32 unskilled to bring the total in both categories to 38 or 24.5 percent, roughly one-fourth of the parents in this sample. However, only 142 of 155 children chose to answer this question. Of all 155, 21 children had attended private schools before taking the CE exam, while 146 had attended public primary schools. Thus several children, having first attended private school, had taken the CE exam at a public primary, while others had done the opposite. 86 of the 155 lived in homes with their fathers, and presumably their mothers; the remainder, 69 or 44.5 percent, with others away from their fathers, and 29 of these, or 18.7 percent, away from their mothers also. What proportion of those living in homes with other heads had their parents in the country remains uncertain.

Students take the GCE and CXC O-level exams in the fifth form. I therefore thought it appropriate to ask their plans and expectations for the immediate future, given that when they leave school prolonged unemployment is a real possibility. They were asked to list three jobs they would like and three they would not like to do on leaving school, and not given a list of occupations from which to choose. The replies were then sorted into groups as shown in Table 11.

Of these 155 children, asked what they intended to do on leaving school, 57, 41 girls and 16 boys, said training in Grenada, whereas 81, 58 girls and 23 boys, said training abroad. Of those who replied, 155 in all, 45 chose professions and 28 rejected them. Of those who chose medicine and dentistry, 17 out of 20 were women, while of those who rejected them, 13 of 18 were. Of those who chose law, 12 of 16 were women, and of those who rejected it, 8 of 9. Two women chose to be vets, and 7 boys chose engineering while one rejected it. Of the 45 choosing the professions, 32 were women, and of the 28 rejecting them, 21.

Table 11. Preferred & Rejected Occupations of 155 Fifth Formers

Occupation	*Boys*		*Girls*		*All*	
	Yes	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*
Medicine, Dentistry	3	5	17	13	20	18
Veterinary	-	-	2	-	2	-
Engineering	7	1	-	-	7	1
Law	4	1	12	8	16	9
Professions subtotal	**14**	**7**	**31**	**21**	**45**	**28**
Social Work	-	-	1	-	1	-
Nursing	-	1	13	20	13	21
Teaching	6	9	16	40	22	49
Subtotal	**6**	**10**	**30**	**60**	**36**	**70**
Business, Management, Hotel, Realtor, Contractor	7	2	26	4	33	6
Skilled Clerical (Bank, Accounts, Computer, Journalism, Customs, Radio)	17	3	76	19	93	22
Skilled Technical (Trad. crafts, Driver, Pilot, Hairdresser)	15	6	27	9	42	15
Civil Service	-	1	3	-	3	1
Security Services	8	3	1	14	9	17
Unskilled	1	20	-	68	1	88
TOTAL	**68**	**52**	**194**	**195**	**262**	**247**

Only one girl chose social work, which can be studied at the UWI in Trinidad. Nursing and teaching were classified together, as both can be studied in the island, unlike the preceding professions, which require study abroad. 13 girls chose nursing, and 20 rejected it, as did one boy who said he did not wish to be a male nurse. 6 boys and 16 girls wished to be teachers, whereas 9 boys and 40 girls did not. Altogether 36 chose these occupations, 6 boys and 30 girls, as opposed to 70 who rejected them, 60 of whom were girls.

I divided the skilled work into clerical and technical activities. The former includes office work, accountancy, banking, journalism and computer work, and was chosen by 93 respondents, 17 boys and 76 girls, and rejected by 22, 3 boys and 19 girls. 'Technical' activities included such traditional crafts as carpentry, masonry, electrical installation, pilotage and such modern occupations as driving, mechanics, and hairdressing. 15 boys and 27 girls chose occupations in this group, while 6 boys and 9 girls rejected them. Of special

interest is the fact that although the civil service is the largest local employer of labor, with some 3,000 of its 6,000-odd posts being clerical, only 3 girls listed this as something they wished to do, while the only boy to cite it rejected it. Only 8 boys and 1 girl chose occupations in the security services, despite their recent prominence under the PRG, whereas 3 boys and 14 girls rejected them.

Of such unskilled occupations as shop assistant, domestic, vendor, housewife, road work, etc., fishing was chosen by one boy, while 20 boys and 68 girls explicitly rejected such work for themselves. The occupational culture and orientations of these high school students, of whom 50 were boys, 105 were girls, are nicely illustrated here. Such occupations as realtor, hotelier, bank manager, contractor and others demanding managerial skills, with or without prior professional training, attracted 7 boys and 26 girls and put off 2 boys and 4 girls. As their senior kin may well have done such work, these occupations were probably well known to the students.

The relative lack of sex-typed occupations in the foregoing list cannot escape attention. Besides nursing, the main exceptions were the security services prominent in PRG days, and the militia and army, unless we care to include fishing. On the whole girls seemed the more adventurous and adaptable sex, willing to try their hand at diverse activities, gender equivalence having been one of the themes of PRG educational indoctrination. Neither sex now wants unskilled jobs or those with such low rewards as teaching. Given the current state of Grenada's economy, the occupational choices of these students seemed realistic and well informed.

d. The Status Order in 1990

To model the social stratification in 1990, I compiled a list of names and addresses selected from the current Grenada Telephone Directory, soliciting criticisms and suggestions from local people who had knowledge of my work. In selecting names for the list I was guided by a person's occupation, place of residence, prominence in business and public affairs, age, and in some cases by their family name and circumstances, including their probable kinship with others on the list. I then sought classifications of all individuals included in my list from 16 persons, introducing the list as follows:

"The following list, drawn from the Telephone Directory, includes the names of many prominent Grenadians. To assist the study of contemporary Grenada, could you please place as many persons in the following list as you know, or know of, in the positions that they occupy in Grenadian society, leaving out all of whom you do not know enough to judge, together with yourself, if included in the list. To do that, please use whatever set of categories you find that best summarizes Grenada society and distinguishes its various levels or groups. This study of social change in independent Grenada is being conducted under the aegis of the Department of Continuing Studies, U.W.I. Your classification will be treated in the utmost confidence and will be collated with several others to yield a comprehensive and broadly based picture of Grenada society for analysis."

Of the 16 classifiers, three were active in business, one had retired from that and a second from the police, 5 were public officers, including one recently returned after years

overseas who was too unfamiliar with the names in the list to rank them. One was an executive director of a major local firm, another a housewife, another headed a secondary school, a fourth who had retired from the public service ran a block of tourist apartments, and the last was a government adviser. Often but not always, as indicated above, classifiers were included in the list to be classified. If so, they were asked not to classify themselves or any others of whom they did not feel they knew enough to form a judgment, and in ranking people to use whatever set of categories they found most helpful. This requirement created problems for several, including two whose classifications were rejected. One, distinguishing an 'upper class', a 'middle class' and a non-skilled 'lower class', confined himself to the 'middle class', and within it identified people by their occupations as primarily academic, business or farming, professional, field workers (of whom there were no examples), clerics, public servants and 'other', which included politicians, trade unionists and technicians.

A second classification I had to reject simply listed people by occupation as officials and parliamentarians, journalists, trade unionists; professional people, active and retired; agriculturalist; civil servants, active and retired; educationists, politicians; commercial executives, active and retired; non-executives, active and retired; proprietors, active and retired; and a miscellaneous category of four women, three of whom were widows, including Maurice Bishop's mother. Its author insisted that he could not rank practitioners of any given occupation as more or less important, much less those who practiced different occupations, denying that such differences existed, and citing recent appointments to top posts in the Chamber of Commerce and similar organizations in support. He mentioned also that when visiting friends at their homes he often met there Grenadians whom he previously did not know. This insistence on an unranked occupational classification explicitly excluded both the ascriptive and the achievement principles at the basis of stratification by simply denying the existence and relevance of rank in status placements.

With these two omissions there remained 14 classifications. Of these, one divided the population into two ranked categories, upper and middle, one into four, despite the ranker's intention to delineate a fifth, two into five classes, and one into six. The remaining nine divided the list into 3 categories. Since several classifications contained "classes" with marginal memberships, I decided to exclude as classes any categories with less than 6 representatives in the classification. This left some small classes with six, seven or eight representatives in the list, particularly in the more ambitious classifications.

All the classifiers independently agreed that the lowest category in their classification did not denote the lowest class in Grenada, those who had no telephones, electricity or water at home. All therefore implicitly recognized that the classifications dealt with the upper levels of society, whom we may call the 'elite' rather than the 'folk'. This was equally true of the earlier study of stratification in Grenada in 1953, based on an available Directory that focused on the elite (Smith 1965a, Gittens Knight 1946: 369-384). The present classification is thus directly comparable with that of 1953, being constructed on the same basis and following as far as possible the same procedures, one difference being that whereas in compiling his Directory, Gittens Knight listed individuals prominent in farming, business, administration and government, in 1990, with due attention to those political changes that had occupied Grenada in the seventies and eighties, I cast my net differently, to

include fewer farmers among trade unionists, journalists and politicians who had no place in the original list. However, though I shall frequently refer to the earlier study, this is neither the place nor the occasion for an extended comparison.

To determine the degree of consistency with which the classifiers ranked individuals, whatever their criteria and the number of their classes, I sought the assistance of Mr. Fred Brett of the Department of Anthropology, University College, London University, to whom I am most grateful for his meticulous calculations and patient explanations of their nature and meaning. I asked Mr. Brett to calculate Kendall's coefficient of concordance, W, for the individuals ranked in these classifications. That yielded a W of 0.4598 which, though lower than the W of 1953, still indicates a far higher degree of consistency between the rankers than we would expect from chance; in other words, it was a measure of their consensus. However, as the sample ranked was not random, Mr. Brett also calculated the average Spearman correlation for the rank-order of the individuals. This was .4183, which also demonstrates that, so far from being mutually independent, the several rankings were highly consistent.

The criteria by which classes were defined and divided in 1990 are central to this study. One informant, though not a classifier, said that she didn't usually think of Grenadian divisions in terms of classes, but by their color, by family or name, by occupation and wealth. Sometimes, she said, color, family and wealth go together; but even when there is less wealth, they are no less important than occupation; and education as the prerequisite of occupation was also important. Previous to 1965, when this woman left the island for over 20 years in America, people went abroad to study, get qualified, and lived overseas because they felt, like her, that there was no place for them in Grenada if they returned, no chance for upward mobility or recognition. So they stayed away, leaving the island's status structure as it was. In the early eighties when the PRG had greatly expanded the educational chances for able youngsters by sending them to universities and institutes in Cuba, the USSR or East Germany, they also insisted on black racial pride and values and rejected traditional preferences for light skin color and beliefs in black inferiority. In these respects Grenada contrasted sharply with Carriacou society, which was divided in colonial days racially, by color rather than by wealth or class, both sections of the population being equally poor and powerless until long after 1953.

One ranker divided the population into upper and middle classes. Those with high income and education she put in the upper class. Those with high education but insufficient income or wealth, and others with sufficient income and insufficient education she put in the middle class; but she claimed not to know any lower class persons in the list, i.e., those without both wealth and education, though admitting that they may well be there.

For this ranker, the most problematic group were the politicians, whose influence and roles as leaders of the country gave them high incomes and status in her eyes, even though some of them may have lacked adequate education. She treated their salaries as indices of wealth, and so faced the problem of their acute status reversals as a result of elections. Unlike the classifications of 1953, when the Governor and Administrator, being both expatriate, were not included in the society and so not ranked, in 1990 the Governor

General, a black Grenadian, regularly ranked at the apex of the status system, demonstrating black pre-eminence.

While recognizing that race and color mattered now much less than in 1953, together with such ascriptive criteria as family, kinship and descent, all classifiers except the preceding ranked the population in three or more strata; yet all who placed people in either of three strata explicitly recognized another residual category into which the many layers of the folk population all fell. As most of the folk were poor and ill-educated, and many were functionally illiterate, the preceding criteria of education and wealth also guided these more complex classifications. However, as one classifier said, it was "the social standing of individuals, i.e., their prestige, rather than education, money or wealth, that determined their place in the status order." Formerly there was a small, exclusive, powerful and dominant class of light skinned people, planters, businessmen and administrators. To some extent these still retain high "social standing", though now they often lack both wealth and education, as well as power. Many who rank below them in the middle class are darker and better educated. This implicitly recognizes that in certain circumstances color, if associated with descent in an old influential family, may still determine social rank. That is indeed the case, as shown by the correlations of status scores, that is, the scores assigned to individuals as an average of their aggregate status scores, and their color scores, i.e., those that represent the average of an individual's color ranking as white, fair or red, mulatto or brown, dark or *dogla* (i.e. half-caste), and black or Indian. On four classifications that ranged from 0.2 for white to 1.00 for black or Indian, individuals scored 0.4 if classified as red or fair, 0.6 if classified as brown or mulatto, and 0.8 for dark or *dogla*.

By excluding from the status classification all individuals who were ranked less than five times, I reduced the population classified in 1990 from 386 to 274. In 1953, with 19 classifications, I had included only those 403 individuals classified 6 or more times (M.G.Smith 1965a: 36-8). Of these 274 individuals ranked for status, 269 were also classified on a color scale which effectively ran from 0.2 to 1.00, whereas the status scale ran from 0.3 to 1.00. There was thus a certain measure of difference, but not much, in the relative lengths of the current scales, which is greater than it was in the 1953 study when the theoretically highest possible rank was 0.155 as against 0.33 in 1990, corresponding to an upper limit of 0.2 on the color scale (ibid., 40). In fact in 1953 the most highly ranked individual had a status score of 0.18 and the 1953 correlation between phenotypical color and social status for 376 individuals was +0.682, that between status and genotype for 171 classified males being +0.734 (*ibid*.: 164-168). On this occasion time did not allow me to collect the genealogies and code their ascendant generations racially; therefore I could not construct any genotypes and had to rely instead on correlations of status score and phenotypical color, which were none the less +0.351, far higher than would be expected, in view of the fact that almost everyone strenuously denied the relevance of color, even those who were concerned to reverse the old color values and relations of previous years.

The relative significance of color in status placement suggests that kinship or family may be equally important. The following Table therefore sets out the correlations of kinship and status for agnates of the first and second degree, for spouses and in-laws.

The correlations obtained in 1990 can be compared with their equivalents from 1953 to ascertain the degree of continuity or persistence of such ascriptive relations in Grenada today, although the number of pairs involved in 1990 are always less than those of 1953, due partly to the length of time in the field. Even so, such differing numbers merely highlight the similarities of the correlation. For example, in 1953, 78 pairs of full brothers, 7 pairs of sisters and 17 pairs of brothers and sisters had status correlations of 0.86, 0.99 and 0.90 respectively. In 1990, 24 pairs of siblings, including three pairs of brothers and sisters, had a correlation of 0.83. In 1953, 16 fathers and their legitimate sons had a status correlation of 0.94, and in 1990, six pairs had a correlation of 0.838. However, while in 1953 27 pairs of male agnatic first cousins correlated at 0.80, in 1990 11 pairs correlated at 0.392, which is much less. The status scores of 6 married couples had a correlation of 0.885, while those of 8 sets of affines in 1990 had a positive correlation of 0.699. Altogether, the evidence that kinship persisted as a factor of status ascription in 1990 is impressive.

Table 12: Correlations for Social Status of Kinsfolk Classified by Mode of Relationship, 1990 and 1953

	1990 data		1953 data	
Kin Correlation	**No.of pairs**	**Correlation**	**No. of pairs**	**Correlation**
Fathers & children	6	.838	16	.94
Siblings	24	.83	78	.86
1st coz., agnatic	12	.392	27	.80
Uncle/nephew	5	-	16	.94
Husband/wife	6	.885	-	-
Affines	8	.699	-	-

On the assumption that kinship also correlates closely with color, and that both are status ascriptive, we can further test this by examining the status and color scores of occupational groups in Grenada in 1953, and by comparing the occupational scores for status and color in 1990 and 1953 where possible. In 1953, "familial identity overrides differences of sex, occupation, income and other attributes" (*ibid*.: 171). Nowadays it is certainly qualified by differences of occupation and official position, as well as income. For instance, the sample contained an eminent surgeon, who outranks both his daughter, a physician, and his brother, a PhD. A second pair in our list of siblings includes a wealthy businessman and his retired elder brother, a former senior civil servant, who now ranks below him by 16 points on the scale. These unusual examples illustrate the degree to which differences in wealth and position may affect the status scores of first-degree agnatic kin.

The mean status scores in this status sample of 274 individuals was 0.658, and the status range was 0.67, from 0.33 to 1.00. The mean color scores of 269 individuals classified by color was 0.668, the range of the scale being 0.8, from 0.2 to 1.00. Thus the means of the status and color samples are very close, as is their range. We should not therefore be surprised that the color and status means of occupational groups bunch and cluster in 1990 by comparison with 1953, when an occupational group with a high status score generally had light colored personnel. However, in the 1953 sample I only distinguished 21 occupational categories as against 41 in 1990, when active and retired civil service and commercial executives were distinguished from one another, and merchants from businessmen and civil servants by their status in the organization and activity.

On these data the most striking differences in the occupational establishment of Grenada now and then relate to the decline of the agricultural sector (occupations 39 to 41 in Table 13), the recent rise of professional politicians and unionists (occupations 5 to 7), the rapid expansion of the business and tourist sectors associated with hotels, restaurants, realtors, car rental agencies and the like, and the increase of professionals in medicine, law

and education, the latter being still accorded low status. There has indeed been a rapid expansion of the tertiary or service sector in Grenada since the PRG, as economic activities have shifted from country to town, and from agriculture to commerce and tourism.

In 1990 more than in 1953 the mean status scores of the holders of these occupations varied independently of their color. Those with the lowest mean ranks for status were as follows: Trade Unionists, .95; farmers .85; surveyors .82; civil servants of administrative grade, .77; middle management and manufacturers, .76; lecturers .75; pharmacists, .75; apartment owners and insurance agents, .71; and some businessmen, .7. Those with the highest status were active commercial executives, .51; planters, .52; engineers, .54; auctioneers, .57; doctors and dentists, .58; some businessmen and lawyers, .59; journalists, civil service executives and some merchants, .6; followed by hoteliers, .61. Unfortunately I do not have the color scores of the occupational groups for 1953. However, comparison of the 1990 occupational scores with those of 1953 where available, suggest that their notable differences may be due to a complex mixture of ascriptive and achievement values which I cannot deal with here. Once their differences are carefully studied it is clear that more is involved than the simple ranking of occupations.

Table 13. Occupation, Status and Color, 1990 and 1953
(Data on 1953 from M.G. Smith 1965a ,pp. 104-129, especially 114-115)

	1990			*1953*	
Occupations	***No.***	***Color***	***Status***	***No.***	***Status***
1. All Civil service execs	21	.75	.60	24	.42
2. Active civil serv. execs	9	.81	.61	•	•
3. Retired civil serv. execs	12	.7	.60	•	•
4. Civil service administrative	17	.72	.77	37	.67
5. Politicians	32	.71	.67	•	•
6. Government Ministers	9	.8	.65	•	•
7. Trade Unionists	3	.73	.95	•	•
8. Engineers	5	.59	.54	•	•
9. Clergy	5	.66	.66	11	.29
10. Lawyers	25	.71	.59	13	.4
11. Doctors & Dentists	24	.69	.58	10	.34
12. Secondary Sch. teachers	6	.62	.64	3	.42
13. Lecturers	9	.8	.75	•	•
14. Pharmacists	2	.86	.75	9	.63
15. Accountants	1	.73	.65	7	.35
16. Auctioneers	1	.55	.57	2	.54
17. Surveyors	2	.83	.82	•	•
18. Journalists	3	.48	.60	•	•
19. All Merchants	26	.59	.65	26	.52
20. Merchant only	22	.57	.66	•	•
21. Merchant plus other	4	.72	.60	•	•
22. Business only	27	.69	.70	•	•

23. Business plus other	10	.68	.59	•	•
24. All business	37	.69	.67	6	.52
25. All Commercial executives	17	.53	.54	16	.43
26. Retired comm. executives	5	•	.62	•	•
27. Active comm. executives	12	•	.51	•	•
28. Manufacturers	5	.72	.64	3	.8
29. Middle managers	10	.6	.76	•	•
30. Hoteliers only	10	.69	.61	4	.54
31. Hotels & apartments	15	.66	.64	•	•
32. Apartments only	5	.6	.71	•	•
33. Restaurateurs	4	.51	.62	•	•
34. Shop and store keepers	6	.82	.69	40	.78
35. Contractors	9	.7	.68	2	.44
36. Insurance agents	4	.57	.71	•	•
37. Car rentals	2	.7	.68	•	•
38. Realtors	10	.64	.62	•	•
39. Planters & Farmers	11	.62	.61	87	.52
40. Planters only	8	•	.52	40	.37
41. Farmers only	3	•	.85	47	.74

GRENADA TODAY

The Ministry of Labor conducted a survey in July and August 1988 which perhaps most neatly illustrates the effects of Grenada's economy and educational system on its adult population, by showing how it affects their lives. However, we have seen that in its annual estimates of population the Grenadian CSO overlooks emigration. As a consequence, its estimates of labor force participation rates and unemployment ratios of the aggregate population are best treated with reserve. The survey estimated the Labor Force in 1988 at 38,920, of which 28,022 or 72 percent were employed, with participation rates of 76 percent for males and 65 percent for females (see Table 2, page 6). Less than 20 percent of the employed labor force then worked in agriculture, an equal number were employed in the wholesale and retail trade, and another 24 percent in social, personal and business services, the remainder being in transport (6 percent), manufacturing (10.1 percent), utilities (0.4 percent), and construction (12.6 percent). Of those employed, 2,530 worked for less than 24 hours weekly, another 1724 less than 32 hours, that is, 15.2 percent were underemployed. In 1988 agricultural labor was the worst paid category of wage work in Grenada, the daily rate for men's work being EC$13.00 (US$4.98 or £2.50), 50 cents (EC) more than women earned.

Of the employed labor force on this reckoning, 28.1 percent were in the public service and statutory bodies, a total of 7,867. As we know that there were 6,712 employees in the public service in October 1990, on this estimate 1150 were probably employed by the statutory bodies in 1988. Of the employed labor force, 67.9 percent had passed no examination, less than 5 percent had passed common entrance, and over 4 percent the school-leaving exam at the end of primary education. 889, or 3.2 percent had passed one or two GCE O-level or CXC subjects, a further 1307 had passed in 3 or 4. Those with 5 CXC or GCE O-level or 2 A-level passes totaled 1473 or 5.3 percent. 1167 persons in the employed labor force had diplomas or degrees, and 1141 or 4.1 percent chose not to answer. Of these

28,022 persons in the employed labor force, more than one quarter had less than 8 years in school, which gives a measure of the dropout rate.

Of 10,898 unemployed people, including 1,029 who made no effort to seek employment but said they wanted work and were therefore included, 49 percent or 5,338 were aged 15 to 24, almost equally divided by five-year groups, but unequally by sex, there being 3198 females to 2140 males. Of the 10,898, 8,090 or 74.2 percent had passed no exam, 1613 or 14.8 percent had passed the school leaving or common entrance exam, and another 696 or 6.4 percent had passed GCE O-levels or CXC in 1 to 4 subjects, 111 had passed in 5 subjects or an A-level, and an equal number were reckoned to have a diploma or degree. Of the lot, 22.5 percent had less than 8 years in primary school, and 2.8 percent were apprentices. Less than 10 percent of the unemployed had passed any subject in an external exam. Less than 20 percent were trained, 7 percent on the job, 8 percent vocationally, 2.8 percent by apprenticeship and 3 percent had professional or technical training. Over 3,000 of 10,898 unemployed, that is some 30 percent, felt that they needed training. 2,000, or approximately 20 percent, headed their own household, 862 men and 1140 women, which means that those at least were independent and had to make do as best they could. In these circumstances, emigration would be very appealing.

While agriculture as a percentage of GDP at constant factor cost had declined from 20.9 percent in 1980 to 15.3 percent ten years later, in absolute terms it has increased its value from EC$40.6 million in 1980 to EC$47.5 million in 1989, despite a steady decline of banana production during the period masked by increases in export price. No such windfall supported cocoa exports, which fell from over EC$18 million in 1980 to EC$10.5 million in 1987, the last date for which I have figures. By contrast the price of nutmeg and mace improved materially in 1987 to 1989, thanks to an agreement with the other major exporter, Indonesia, to suspend competition. Unfortunately in 1990 that agreement was cancelled and the export revenue from nutmegs declined steeply. Even so, export agriculture has maintained its average levels of performance during the 1980s, while the urban sector of the economy grew rapidly following the fall of the PRG in late 1983. Thereafter hotels, transport, communications, manufacturing and especially construction expanded rapidly as the economy was restored by relatively large American transfers. Recent attempts to develop the manufacturing sector under the Caribbean Basin Initiative have so far concentrated mainly on assembly of imported articles, carried out at low cost in non-unionized factories by exploiting the labor of local women. At the same time there has been some expansion of the tertiary sector to service tourism, in transport and communications, banking, accommodation, insurance and real estate, most of which remains in Grenadian hands, and to construct hotels, apartments and restaurants. How long this local ownership and control of the tourist sector will continue remains uncertain, since the current government, to expedite development, is keen to construct some large hotels which would have foreign owners. Big jets now call at Point Salines International Airport. As part of these processes, Grenada is caught up in the modern electronic age, the transnationals, the IMF, the ideology of monetarism and the debt trap, the international drug trade, environmental degradation, the computer revolution, satellite TV and a shrinking global village with less and less room for the Third World. It has to cultivate markets abroad by systematic advertisement of its unusual tourist facilities, and must try to keep drug dealers at bay.

By an unwritten rule the past, especially the recent past, is rarely discussed, and then only among close friends without encoring too closely what others did during the PRG regime. Almost every family fears that it contains some PRG supporters, but the islanders have to live together, sharing the same limited space, facilities and resources, and some extent they depend on one another for assistance. Nonetheless people sometimes wonder where the missing arms and ammunition are hidden, and whether or when the long expected rising will occur. In this mood uncertainties about one's neighbors are made more acute by awareness that, instead of knowing all in a society and thus feeling secure, one knows only a very little. Fears persist, and from 1794 Fedon still casts his shadow among the wealthier classes.

The Grenadian people have been swept by different ideologies during the last thirty or forty years. First there was the homegrown ideology of Gairyism, which sanctioned Black Power as the force that overthrew white rule, but personified it in Eric Gairy and his regime. By vicariously identifying themselves with him, his followers could identify with one another. Thus they became the accomplices and tools of Gairy, who justified his regime by their support but used that for his own ends. Protesting vigorously against such egotistic perversions of Black Power, the NJM proposed a radically different doctrine under which workers ruled the island collectively in "democratic" fashion under the leadership of Black Power Marxists, and stood fast against imperialism, dependency and capitalism, all represented by the USA. In consequence Grenada had to look urgently to itself and its friends for effective defenses. Hence the patriotic appeals to youth to enroll and serve in the militia, where they were taught to believe in themselves and to have courage and confidence, assured that they were right to train to defend their country and its independence. In the process they were also taught to uphold the values of the Creole society that was their ambience, beginning with the Creole language or dialect, and proceeding through the work-study approach towards the entire culture, seen as their own creation, the work of their own hands, the source and object of their motivation. Altogether the NJM ideology had little place for Christianity, the church and other pillars of the old regime. Perhaps for this reason the PRG decreed that instead of holding Carnival on Shrove Tuesday like other New World Catholic countries to mark the beginning of Lent, from 1980 onwards Grenada would celebrate Carnival at the Cropover festival on August 1st, thus sundering the bonds between Catholicism and that folk festival. Nonetheless, being aware of the people's deep attachment to their churches, although suspicious and opposed to denominational preference for single sex schools, insistence on their autonomy, and the use of school time to teach religion, the PRG took no direct action against the churches beyond removing Wesley College from Methodist control. However when, shortly before the end of their regime, the PRG suddenly transferred 18 principals and teachers out of their schools, without consulting the mainly church-affiliated school boards, the churches anxiously awaited the next move (Staniford & Vigilante 1984: 74).

There followed the unexpected debacle of the split in the NJM, Bishop's execution, the RMC's island-wide curfew, the "intervention" of American troops with Caribbean support, and Governor Scoon's appointment of the Interim Advisory Committee under Nicholas Braithwaite to administer the government of Grenada until general elections could be held under a restored constitution. By then, under the influence of the USA, on which Grenada gladly became dependent, a new ideology had taken shape. Dreading Marxism and

unconstitutional, undemocratic government, this ideology proclaimed the values of the traditional society, including Christianity, freedom of access to secondary schools via the common entrance exam, and the irrelevance of color values for individual status placement, holding that with free education to and beyond secondary school, status in Grenada either already was or should be allocated on the basis of merit, irrespective of condition at birth. Taken for granted without any proclamation, was the right of its people to freedom of movement, to leave Grenada and return as opportunity and need arose. Such freedom of movement had prevailed without restraint since colonial days, under Gairy and the PRG. It simply continued in the years that followed the American intervention, with North America as the new Grenadian Mecca.

The current state of Grenada's economy is not primarily due to its educational system, although the economy has a great many needs and opportunities for people with different and specialized educational skills. The dynamic factor in Grenada's recent development has been political. Ever since Gairy first emerged in 1951 there has been prolonged turbulence in its political structure, as Gairy struggled first to convert his power into executive control, and then to repress and silence his opposition when he could not eliminate it completely. In the context of decolonization the light skinned planter class lacked any external support to maintain their power, and Gairy forcefully broke the people's lifelong habit of automatic obedience to the planter's commands. While they still held estates, many sold them for what they could get and departed the island. The PRG's policy of reform completed the process that Gairy had begun, and left Grenada's agricultural sector in grave need of secure tenure and capital investment. Since then government has tried to meet those needs by restoring estates to their original owners, if the latter wish to have them. With such security of tenure, lands can be bought and sold at realistic values and investments can once again be made in agriculture.

These developments have proceeded without reference to education; but the decisions of the PRG to increase free access to secondary schools by granting scholarships, to import few qualified teachers from abroad for the primary schools and to put all their untrained teachers in NISTEP to be trained at once, and to initiate a mass literacy program under the CPE, were political decisions, which created new opportunities and imposed new demands on the educational system. With the fall of the PRG, NISTEP disappeared and the CPE was transformed into the CEP, but all subsequent governments have upheld and further widened free access to secondary education by exam and scholarship.

Migration provides the most immediate link between the political and economic context in which the educational system operates, and the nature and content of the education it actually conveys. Migration enables people to seek work and training overseas or to return home as and when appropriate, at their own expense rather than the public's. Those who now attend universities and other institutions of higher education on government scholarships are probably a small fraction of the students overseas, most of whom are privately financed. The large number with lower levels of education who work and train abroad, but return to the island, bring their acquired skills and capital with them, and sometimes settle. Many of these have been persuaded initially to emigrate by a combination of unemployment and lack of educational qualifications. In migrating they show a measure of self-reliance that may hopefully enable them to acquire a marketable skill, which was

more than school did for them. Undoubtedly many who go away, work overseas at unskilled jobs and return little better materially than they were when they left; but they have at least had work and experience abroad and to that extent are richer persons. The brain drain may have worked to the disadvantage of most poorer nations, but in Grenada's case it has brought quite unexpected relief for those Grenadians whose needs, aspirations, or abilities outstripped their opportunities or resources at home, and for others who faced unemployment without qualification or training. This is evident in the genealogies that I collected, in the improved education of recently elected members of the legislature and the academic qualifications of senior public servants, many of whom had their professional training while working abroad, as well as the more casual and random experience of daily life.

By comparison with 1953, when Grenada's sole newspaper, *The West Indian*, appeared biweekly, the Grenada newspapers nowadays are superior both in number and in quality. In 1990, there were four newspapers which appeared weekly on Thursdays and Fridays, one for each of the parties, the GULP, Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), the NNP and the ruling NDC. All make an effort to report local news while concentrating on political stories favorable to them. Regional and international news received less attention, perhaps because they were more frequently and effectively broadcast on radio and television. In presenting the news, Grenada radio and TV generally reflect a North American viewpoint, normally that of the U.S. On TV, besides broadcasting local news, there is a daily newscast at 7 p.m. by the American network, CNN, Canadian newscasts appear at other times, and once weekly there is a supplement of regional Caribbean news. By these and other media means, mainly through the tourist trade, radio and TV, the Americanization of Grenadian culture has advanced greatly since 1953, when there was no communication of any kind with the USA, and Grenada depended entirely on Britain for its news and views. Perhaps the would-be American accents of the Grenadian announcers illustrate this most convincingly; but the enthusiasm with which Grenadians now invoke divine attention and help in any undertaking may certainly owe something to American TV evangelism. Grenada now subscribes with relief to its current status as a US overseas dependency, nominally independent while looking to the USA for the resources and guidance it needs to sustain itself and pursue development, and officially celebrates October 25th each year with a Thanksgiving service and parade to commemorate its rescue by the U.S.A. on that day in 1983 from the PRG and its directors, the NJM's Marxist-Leninists.

In late 1990 the country still awaited the decision of the judges appointed to review the appeal of Bernard Coard and thirteen others against conviction for the murder of Maurice Bishop, Jacqueline Creft, Unison Whiteman, Fitzroy Bain, Norris Bain and others on October 19th, 1983, following a long-drawn-out trial in which Grenada guaranteed to meet the fees of defense lawyers as well as the prosecution. When that finally came, and after delays the capital sentence for all 14 accused was commuted to life imprisonment by the prime minister, ostensibly in response to appeals from overseas, his decision was equally unexpected and irreversible, and closed the affair in a way that might bring peace to the country at last, without further bloodshed.

Grenada also faces a future full of ambiguity and hope as it negotiates union with the Windward Islands, namely, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Dominica, and simultaneously supports the initiative of Sir Sridath Ramphal and the W.I. Commission from CARICOM for

greater regional integration. Provided both programs are compatible and do not interfere with Grenada's open economy, or with the emigration on which its current adjustment rests, there should be no objections, least of all perhaps because of its lost identity. Otherwise they would be accommodated with difficulty. Thanks to Marryshow's legacy, positive attitudes to regional integration are shared by all political parties. They should therefore prevail, whichever party governs.

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Education and social change

in

Barbados

Josep R. Llobera

in collaboration with Ann MacLarnon

METHODOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION

This field research, the first results of which are presented in this report, was undertaken with the intention of ascertaining the appropriateness and usefulness of the anthropological perspective in the study of the educational systems conceived as part of the wider social totality. Unfortunately, there is no agreement in the scholarly community as to what the expression "anthropological perspective" means. Traditionally, the term was associated with a long-term, first-hand piece of research in a small community, of which participant observation was the defining feature. The anthropologist was conceived as a specialist of the totality, no matter how small this totality might be. Dealing usually with non-literate, simple types of societies, the discipline came to rely almost exclusively on the personal collection of data through the observation of and participation in the life of the community under study. It has been rightly said that in anthropology a technique of research - fieldwork - determined the scope and character of the discipline.

In recent times, the identity of anthropology has been undermined as the result of a number of developments. Perhaps the single most important factor has been the weakening of the boundaries between anthropology and the other social sciences. Neither theoretically, nor methodologically, nor substantively is anthropology clearly distinguishable from say sociology or human geography. The practitioners of these two disciplines often trespass into the "territory" which in the past was tacitly reserved for anthropologists. To start with, the traditional distinction between sociology as the discipline of industrial, complex, Western societies and anthropology as the discipline of non-industrial, simple and non-Western societies has collapsed as a result not only of the fact that there is not such a clear-cut distinction between societies today as existed in the past (since most societies tend to be complex and have suffered the impact of industrialization and of Western culture), but also because the roles of anthropologists and sociologists are blurred. At the level of theory, anthropology and sociology have come to share more and more a common theoretical background (traditionally Durkheim but more recently Marx and Weber). Finally, participant observation, which was the distinctive trademark of anthropologists has lost its diacritic role: sociologists and other social scientists often engage in it and, in addition, anthropologists have come to rely increasingly on surveys, statistics, historical data, etc. as part of their common practices, or at least they incorporate the existing results into their research.

From the antecedent, it is obvious that the expression "anthropological perspective" is not without problems. It is true that some form of particpant observation is often considered as a condition sine qua non for a piece of research to be labeled "anthropological"; and yet the expression is not as unproblematic as many anthropologists have considered it to be, particularly in the context of complex societies where the very concept of "community" - often defined as the sociocultural unit that the anthropologist/ethnographer can encompass - is non-existent or is an idealized construct with limited empirical validity. To say that the so-called "community" of the anthropologist/ethnographer is part of a wider whole without which it is only meaningful in a very limited sense, is perhaps to enunciate one of the great problems of contemporary anthropology.

I, personally, do not consider that fieldwork is or should be the characteristic trait of anthropology. Why a research technique came to dominate a discipline is a long story, but

surely a scientific discipline has to be defined in terms of its subject matter, its field of application, and not by a data collecting procedure. There is only one science of society, as Durkheim clearly indicated, and, at any moment in time, it is the discipline that tries to grasp the ongoing social totality. What in my view is distinctive about anthropology, whether in its organicist, structural-functionalist or Marxist approaches, is the attempt to capture the evolving totality of social life. Institutions cannot be understood in themselves, but only in the context of their history and of the way in which they relate to other institutions.

The anthropological study of the educational system of Barbados since Independence and its interrelationship with other areas of society is not a simple task when undertaken by a non-Caribbean specialist in a period of one year. The researcher had to accomplish three major objectives: to have a working knowledge of the past and present of Barbadian society, to have a detailed knowledge of its educational system and to be able to relate the latter to the former. It is obvious that the brief of the project and the size of the island excluded a research methodology based exclusively or even mainly on participant observation. Settling into a small village and participating and observing would certainly have provided the researcher with a rich and detailed picture of the village in question, but hardly of the workings of the educational system as a whole or of Barbadian society in its entirety. The point is not whether in depth, segmental studies of a society are scientifically worthy - and I have no doubt that they are, provided that they fit into a scientific design - but to what extent they were appropriate to the purpose of the present research. In other words, how could the research overcome the ethnographic fallacy par excellence, that is, the belief that the study of a "village" or similar unit is a microcosm of the whole society? The truth is that none of the major objectives indicated at the beginning of this paragraph could have been achieved by using what, for lack of a better expression, we could call the received version of the "anthropological method". A possible alternative within the same framework of intense participant observation would have been to dedicate most of the research time to the detailed study of one or perhaps more schools. Needless to say this is again an acceptable proposition, but it is vastly inadequate to the requirements of the research project.

The challenge of an island of the size of Barbados, too populated to be accessible to the traditional "community" treatment of anthropology, but at the same time small enough to be subjected to an attempt at totalization, is obvious. The problem is fundamentally one of deciding a) what kind of data are essential for achieving the agreed general objectives and b) how to obtain them. An additional issue was that of the reliability of data; although no attempt was made to use triangulation techniques in any systematic way, it was felt that dependency on one single source of information was, if possible, to be avoided.

At the centre of the project was the educational system of Barbados. If we except some (very few) detailed studies of the colonial period in the form of Ph.D. theses, not much has been written, and even less published on the topic. In connection with the recent period, there are no monographic treatments of the area or even of parts of it, though a few specialized articles have been published in scholarly journals. As to unpublished papers, dissertations and reports, the dearth of material is surprising and, when combined with its inaccessibility, makes it an extremely poor source. The Ministry of Education publishes more or less elaborate statistical aggregates, but they are often several years behind schedule and do not always form a continuous sequence. Additional information on education is found in a

variety of official publications, particularly the Economic Plans and the Economic Reports of the governments, but the knowledge acquired through these sources is very limited.

It was obvious, then, that the main bulk of information concerning the educational system, particularly the qualitative type, had to be obtained by other means. Three major sources were selected to that end: interviews with a sample of the educational establishment, participant observation in public educational discussions and ceremonies, and monitoring of the media (particularly the press) for educational views. In relation to the first source of information, two different groups of informants were approached and interviewed: leading educationalists and teaching practitioners at all educational levels were interviewed one or more times following freely a questionnaire prepared for the occasion. The latter group were often interviewed in their place of work (schools, etc.) so that a chance would exist to view the institution, talk to the students, collect internal written information, etc. Participant observation in public discussions and ceremonies was an ideal way to tune in to the contemporary educational concerns and to see at first hand the educational rituals, respectively. Finally, the paramount importance of education in Barbadian society is reflected in the considerable attention paid by the media, particularly the daily papers, to educational issues.

The same pattern was applied *pari parsu* to the study of Barbadian society as a whole. Of course, in each different sector of society the existing written sources varied tremendously: from quite a few good economic and political studies, both historical and contemporary, to practically nothing on religion, somewhere in the middle on racial and class issues and relatively little on culture. Given the different sizes of the issues, one had to be much more selective in the choice of informants and in the participation in public acts in some areas than in others, but it was possible to monitor the media intensively. Last but not least, data were also obtained through the normal process of "socializing" in Barbadian society, participating in everyday life activities, as well as in more formal occasions.

The present study has inevitably operated with a somewhat elitist conception of knowledge in so far as it has assumed that to achieve the predetermined objectives of the research, it had to rely mainly on knowledgeable specialists rather than on the man in the street. The "ordinary" person has a limited and subdued voice in the discourse of this report, this being the unavoidable consequence of the methodological assumptions adopted. However, as has been suggested before, this was the only way to proceed given the scope of the research project, and the time constraints. Inevitably, lacunae and imbalances occur in the report reflecting those constraints. Furthermore, although it would be an exaggeration to suggest that Barbadian society is secretive and its people suspicious of foreign researchers, information is certainly not always easy to obtain.

INTRODUCTION: THE SETTING

Barbados is the most easterly of the Caribbean islands; it is one of the Lesser Antilles, centre-east of the Windward Islands. It is located at a longitude of 590 37' W and a latitude of 130 4' N. Its nearest neighbors are St. Lucia, 160 km to the northwest, and St. Vincent, 160 km to the west. Barbados lies northeast of Venezuela and Trinidad, 430 km and 322 km, respectively. Barbados has an area of 430 sq km and a triangular shape; it is 33.7 km long

and 22.5 km wide, and the total coastline is 101 km. Unlike most other Caribbean islands, Barbados consists mainly of coral limestone (85 percent of the surface rock) rising slightly from south to north. Only in the Scotland District has the coral been eroded to expose underlying chalky rocks. The island has no good natural harbors (except perhaps for Carlisle Bay on the southwest coast) and very few surface streams, but it has abundant underground water for both domestic and industrial use, as well as for some irrigation. The highest point is Mount Hillaby in the centre of the island, with an altitude of 335.5 m. The coast is surrounded by coral reefs. The position of the island, with its northeasterly winds, meant that, until steamships were available, shipping coming from Europe had to approach the western coast of the island while sailing westwards; the prevailing winds made eastward navigation very difficult. This may explain why the island was practically an inexpugnable fortress and has not changed hands since the first English settlements in the seventeenth century.

Barbados has a tropical climate with a mean annual temperature of 260C. During the rainy season (June-November) temperatures oscillate between 230C and 320C and humidity is high. It feels hot and unpleasant. This is also the hurricane season and although Barbados is at the southmost extreme of the hurricane zone, it has been badly hit several times in the past, notably in 1780, 1831, 1891. In this century, the 1955 hurricane, Janet, produced extensive damage in the meridional area. During the rest of the year, temperatures oscillate between 210C and 300C, but it feels cooler due to the northeast breeze. The rugged Atlantic coast tends to be cooler than the flat western part of the island which, with its sandy beaches and safe bathing, accommodates most of the tourist industry of the island. Annual rainfall ranges from about 1000 mm in the coastal areas to 2300 mm on the central ridge, with an annual average of 1500 mm.

The remaining area of original forest in Barbados is very small because most of the island was cleared for sugar cane fields. The most common tropical trees are the palm, casuarina, mahogany, flamboyant and frangipani. Shrubs and flowers are also abundant. Wildlife is limited to a few mammals including the introduced mongoose and African green monkey, and birds, including hummingbirds, blackbirds, and egrets. In terms of fishing resources, the most common and popular species of marine life is the flying fish, although the dolphin and kingfish are also caught and eaten in quite large numbers.

With a population of 254,000 in 1988, Barbados is one of the most densely populated countries in the world (in the top ten) with a density of 591 inhabitants per sq km. The annual net increase in population has declined noticeably in the past few years and was 0.5 percent in 1986. In this respect Barbados compares favorably with the average for developed countries, which was 0.6 percent in 1980, and it has one of the lowest figures for the Caribbean along with Cuba and Puerto Rico.

The population of Barbados increased at an annual average rate of 1.5 percent between the 1946 and 1960 censuses. It then slowed to an average of a mere 0.1 percent between 1960 and 1970, when the population reached 232,000, and increased again slightly to an average 0.4 percent per annum between 1970 and 1980, when the population stood at 244,000. The projected population for the year 2000 is 261,000, assuming relatively little change in fertility, mortality and migration rates, giving an average rate of increase of 0.2 percent in 1990 and 0.1 percent by 2000.

In 1988 48 percent of the population was male and 52 percent female. This sex imbalance has been typical for many years, although it is gradually decreasing. In 1946 the population was 44 percent male, in 1960 45 percent, in 1970 and 1980 47 percent, and in 1985 48 percent. It is projected that by the year 2000, males will make up 49 percent of the population. Essentially the skewed distributions were caused by differential migration rates.

The mortality rate for 1987 stood at 8.1 per thousand, compared with a world average of 10, thus placing Barbados at the upper end of the figures for the developed world. The mortality rate has shown a fairly steady slight decline since 1960 when it stood at 9.2. The major decline took place before this period. The mortality rate was 33 in 1921-25 and 18.5 in 1941-45. Between 1946 and the period 1980-85, male life expectancy increased from 49 to 70 years, and female life expectancy increased from 53 to 76 years. Along with the mortality and life expectancy figures of a developed country, Barbados now also has a first world mortality pattern, its major causes of death being circulatory diseases and cancer.

In 1987, the birth rate was 15 per thousand, compared with a world average of 26, and comfortably within the range for developed countries. There was little variation in the birth rate between the early 1920s and 1960 when the figure fluctuated between 32 and 35. During the 1960s the birth rate declined swiftly and by 1970 it was down to 20, continuing downwards to a figure of 17 by 1980 and to the latest available figure of 15. A similar trend can be seen using the total fertility rate for women in the childbearing age range, which dropped from 5 in the mid-1950s to 2 in the 1980s.

The recent low rates of population increase in Barbados have been achieved through two major factors, a family planning campaign coupled with the provision of services, and fairly large scale emigration. The latter has lost its importance since the 1960s, with the closure of many of the traditional migration routes by the receiving countries. The family planning service, which started as a private concern in 1955, has been of particular importance since the government became actively involved in 1967. Since the early colonial period there has been an awareness in Barbados of a population problem in one form or another. Rapid emigration was initially the worry, but this later received official encouragement in an effort to reduce the unemployment problem in the island. As improved health and living conditions lowered mortality in the second quartile of the present century, Barbados became increasingly aware of population pressure. Following this, the family planning movement developed quickly and strongly. Its considerable success has been hailed as a model for the developing world.

Barbados has one of the lowest marriage rates in the world, with a figure of 2.8 per thousand in 1984, when the divorce rate was 0.6. The island's illegitimacy rate is very high, being 73.3 percent in 1980, compared with a world average of 15 percent. The Barbadian pattern is typical of many Caribbean islands.

In 1985 the Barbadian population was 42 percent urban and 58 percent rural. There is only one major conurbation, the capital, Bridgetown, which has a metropolitan population of about 100,000.

The census of 1980 gives the island's ethnic configuration as 92 percent black, 3.3 percent white, 2.6 percent mixed, 0.5 percent East Indian, 0.2 percent other and the rest unstated. The figures from earlier censuses suggest there have been quite major changes in the make up of the population. In 1946, for example, the census classified the population as 77 percent black, 17.5 percent mixed, 5.1 percent white and 0.1 percent East Indian. Several different factors underlie the differences. The changes in the relative proportions of the black and mixed categories are mainly the result of major changes in self-perception, took place between 1946 and 1960. In addition, the white population has declined and the East Indian population increased, largely because of migration.

Except for small groups of Hindus, Moslems and Jews and 18 percent of the population who describe themselves as non-religious, the majority of the population in Barbados is Christian. Anglicans comprise 40 percent, Pentecostalists 8 percent, Methodists 7 percent, the Church of God 3 percent, Seventh Day Adventists 3 percent and the remainder belong to smaller sects. Other sources may quote up to 70 percent of the population as being Anglican. The discrepancy is the result of different methods of data collection, for example attendance figures versus self-reporting. Catholics number about 5 percent of the population.

Standard Caribbean English is spoken in the island along with a local dialect, Bajan. Taking into account ethnic, religious and linguistic factors, Barbados can be considered quite an homogeneous society in a standard international comparison.

Barbados has few natural resources and it is often said that its only resource is its people, and yet it has become one of the most prosperous countries of the Caribbean. In 1988, per capita GDP was US$5250, putting Barbados on a par with countries like Portugal and Greece, and representing an annual increase of 3.5 percent compared with the previous year. For the period from 1983-87 the average rate of economic growth was 2.6 percent, which is a small but reasonable growth rate in the context of a difficult world economic period. The growth occurred mainly in tourism and the commercial sector, whilst relative to these sugar production and manufacturing declined. Major contributing sectors to the GDP in 1987 were the wholesale and retail trade 20 percent, business and general services 17 percent, government services 14 percent, tourism 13 percent, manufacturing 10 percent, sugar and other agriculture 8 percent, and transport, storage and communication 8 percent. The unemployment rate remained high in the 1980s, at about 17 percent, while inflation remained at a moderate 5 percent. In 1987 total economically active population numbered 120,000, which corresponds to 47 percent of the total population. In 1986 75 percent of the population between the ages of 15 and 64 was economically active, including 47 percent of the female population.

ECONOMY TO 1960

Barbados, like most other Caribbean islands, was a plantation economy for most of its history, and was rigidly divided along class and racial lines: it exhibited a close relationship with the metropolis. Unlike other islands, by the time of Emancipation Barbados had a population surplus, and no land available for black peasants. During the nineteenth century, the sugar industry thrived in Barbados, and the planter class, for the reasons given above, had no difficulty in recruiting cheap labor. By the mid-nineteenth century the number of small owners was not much different from that in the previous century. However, there was a change in that the number of small holdings roughly trebled between 1840 and 1847, though the total area occupied by small holdings of 0.4 to 3.6 hectares was still only about 2100 hectares, while the average size of the 500 large plantations was about 75 hectares. Taking into account large and medium size plantations, 37,000 hectares were still divided among 850 planters. Absenteeism of large landowners, although a problem, was not as acute as in the rest of the Caribbean. The fact that about 50 percent of the land was owned by people who lived in the UK, was compensated for by expert management of the farms by local planters.

The turn of the century period saw a major economic crisis in the sugar industry of Barbados due to the competition of beet sugar and low-priced Cuban sugar imports into the British markets. This showed Barbados how vulnerable an economy is that is based on a monoculture. Sugar prices started to fall by the early 1880s and did not recover until World War II, but local production of sugar stabilized at around 50,000 tons. While in other parts of the Caribbean plantations were subdivided, in Barbados such changes were minimal, to the extent that by 1914 there were still 33,000 hectares in the hands of the larger and medium size planters. However, property prices collapsed by the end of the nineteenth century to one third of what they had been in the early 1880s. Planters became heavily indebted, though they were buffered by financial help offered by the British government. Plantations often changed hands and though the old landowning class was displaced, the new incumbents were still local whites. The new Barbadian plantocracy responded to the crisis by employing fewer people and cutting salaries, so as to reduce costs. In addition, they rationalized production and introduced fertilizers. At the same time, there was a merger of commercial and agricultural interests, which in the long term resulted in the consolidation of a powerful class - the agro-commercial bourgeoisie. Unlike other Caribbean territories, foreign corporations did not enter Barbados at that time. The British commercial firms which went bankrupt were acquired locally. In this context, it is essential to emphasize the role played by the Barbados Mutual Life Assurance Society, established in 1840 by Barbadian merchants, in providing the financial backing for the sugar industry. This also facilitated the accumulation of Barbadian capital, which was used to consolidate and mechanize the industry, as well as to buy bankrupt estates.

The sugar crisis of the turn of the last century created a major disaster among the black laboring masses. The level of unemployment and part-time employment soared. The quality of life of the majority of Barbadians diminished substantially, to the extent that health was adversely affected (not only infant mortality increased, but severe undernourishment was

common as a result of a vegetable diet). Social malaise was reflected in thefts of food (both praedial and other) and social disorder in general. There was a noticeable migration from rural to urban areas (St. Michael) and there was a small diversification of employment from agricultural to other activities (artisans, petty trading etc.). The major bulk of the surplus population, though, either essentially starved or migrated to Panama to help in the construction of the Canal. Most of the migrants were unskilled young laborers, although artisans and others also joined. Perhaps up to one third of the population left Barbados for Panama between 1904 and 1914, and most of them failed to return home. Migration had been part and parcel of Barbadian life in the second half of the nineteenth century, first to Panama, later to Cuba and the USA, but the effects of migration in the first quarter of the twentieth century were quite important for the island. For one thing, the remittances and the money the migrants brought back - usually referred to as "Panama money" - gave many migrants and their families the chance of acquiring small holdings (usually of approximately 1 hectare). About 1600 hectares were sold to small proprietors from plantations which had gone bust. The Panama money also had an impact in generally improving the quality of life of those with relatives abroad. Demographically the large outflow of males from the island created a pronounced gender imbalance of 6 or 7 males for every 10 females in the period under consideration, and a total decline of population from 180,000 in 1890 to 150,000 by 1914, in spite of a high intrinsic rate of growth. Panama money was also used to give many Barbadians better educational chances. B. Richardson (1985) considers that the redistribution of land in Barbados during this period was considerable. The resultant social and economic mobility created the conditions for full confrontation between the white corporate powers and the black working classes in the 1930s, culminating in the 1937 rebellion.

The realization that an economy based on a single crop was extremely vulnerable to the vagaries of international prices, led Barbadian planters to a first attempt at diversifying the island's economy, particularly in the direction of cotton and an incipient tourist industry. Furthermore, they considered developing the production of sugar derivatives. Unfortunately, with regards to its long term effects, during World War I the price of sugar rose again and planters abandoned their plans to diversify the economy and returned massively to sugar production. At the same time, in 1917, the planters created a company, Plantations Limited, with the aim of resisting the pressures against them from the mercantile sector by offering a united front which could successfully compete even at the commercial level. In response to such a move, the largest traders (the "Big Six") constituted the Barbados Shipping and Trading Company in 1920. Commercial confrontation between these two quasi-monopolies lasted for several years but in 1934 they joined together in the Barbados Produce Exporters Association. By the late 1930s there was a corporate economy. But sugar prices tumbled down again in 1920, reviving later only to fall again after 1925 and remain low until 1939. At a time in the late twenties when sugar represented 80 percent of exports income, the Great Depression brought a new collapse to prices, which stood at a level of about $40 per ton for most part of the thirties, about half that of 1929. The international economic crisis not only closed emigration outlets, while population was rising again, but also forced the early return of many Barbadians who had gone to Panama, Cuba and the USA in search of better opportunities. Unemployment and underemployment were rife in this period, salaries were depressed and even the food allowances given by planters to their workers were discontinued. Prices of basic food items increased during this period, while money

remittances from abroad diminished. Although there was some governmental relief and there were some public works, the standard of living of the majority of Barbadians took a severe downturn. The 1937 riots were partly a response to the situation of extreme misery of the working people of Barbados, but also the only political response open to the disenfranchised mass of black people.

Until about 1960, the economy of Barbados in the post-World War II period continued to be predominantly agricultural. Sugar was still the King Crop. No major changes in the ownership of land took place over the period. Sugar was cultivated on large, locally owned plantations, while the peasants were small-holders, mostly cultivating crops other than sugar on lands with poor soils. Sugar production increased notably, from about 135,000 tons in 1946 to 205,000 tons in 1958. However, by 1960 sugar accounted for only 20 percent of the GDP, whereas in 1946 it had comprised nearly double that percentage. Colonial policy essentially encouraged agricultural policies, though some support was also offered to industry. The developmental philosophy of the time was that progress could only come through an increase in the productivity of the primary sector. A decennial Economic Plan was introduced in Barbados in 1946, and quincennial Plans were introduced in 1953 and 1955. These Plans had modest objectives: to improve the infrastructure of the country and to assist agricultural developments. No attempt was made to restructure the economy. However, while the first Plan paid little attention to industry and tourism, in the 1950s the stated policies were to encourage the development of industry and to attract foreign capital. Major infrastructural work was undertaken in the construction of the Deep Water Harbour in Bridgetown. The creation of the Barbados Development Board (1956) was the state's first step towards the development of a manufacturing industry in Barbados. In addition, the establishment of the Barbados Tourist Board (1958) encouraged a sector which first became economically important in the late fifties. The number of tourists doubled in five years, to a total of 35,000 by 1960. At that time, foreign investors dominated the tourist industry at that time, which aimed mainly to attract affluent North Americans. Between 1946 and 1960 unemployment in Barbados was under 10 percent. Migration to the UK, mostly by unskilled workers destined to man public services, was essential in the face of limited local employment opportunities, and in spite of a decreasing rate of population growth and a reduction of normal working hours. By 1960, 125 years after Emancipation, the ratio of white to black population had changed from 1:6 to 1:20, largely as a result of white emigration.

POLITICS TO 1960

In 1989, Barbadians celebrated the 350th anniversary of their Parliament. The Old Representative system was based on a number of principles that had developed in England the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was the result of a struggle between the English Crown and the planters; the latter were claiming rights of free-born Englishmen, which meant that they should either be allowed to nominate representatives to the English Parliament or to have a Parliament of their own. The agreement reached early in the period - 1639 - was a local victory, but it was not easy to implement and it did not function without major frictions. The system comprised three layers: the governor (representing the Crown), the Council (nominated by the Governor from among the most influential men in the island) and the Assembly (22 members, increased to 24 in 1643) elected by free, white, property-

owning males over 21 years of age). That imperial desires often clashed with the interests of the planters is not surprising. The main weapon of the freeholders was to obstruct imposed legislation by withdrawing taxes. The increase of black slaves in the island, after an initial period in the seventeenth century in which whites were the majority population, meant that in the long run the white planters developed a siege mentality, fearing a slave rebellion, and closing the political system to the European newcomers who had no political rights whatsoever. About 30,000 small white freeholders left the island between 1650 and 1680 in search of a better living in other parts of the Caribbean or in the English colonies of the North American mainland. By 1680 the number of black slaves had grown to about 55,000. Working conditions and the system of punishments were so severe that in 1674 a slave uprising was planned, but it was nipped in the bud by the planters; again in 1696 and 1702 the slaves tried to free themselves, but with no success. The Assembly then created a militia to defend against possible invasion and to suppress slave revolts. In 1807, the slave trade was abolished by the British Parliament and in 1815 the importing of slaves was banned. The Barbados Assembly consistently opposed these measures, as they later opposed Emancipation. In 1816, a major slave insurrection finally took place, the so-called Bussa Rebellion. Inspired by successes in Saint Domingue and by the philanthropic movement in Britain, the slaves faced the combined forces of the militia and of the British garrison. Only one white person was killed, but about 400 blacks and coloreds were either killed in battle or executed.

The Emancipation Act of 1833 hardly changed the Barbadian political system in practice. The Assembly, which had declared the unconstitutionality of the freeing of slaves until the British Government put pressure on them, continued to be the exclusive hunting ground of the island's ruling white oligarchy. With the introduction of the Crown Colony System in the West Indies in the late 1860s, Barbados was one of the few islands that maintained the old representative system. Attempts by Prescod - a colored politician - to change the system were largely unsuccessful, except for the enfranchisement of the colored people. The attempts by the British Crown to create a Confederation of the Windward Islands that included Barbados were vigorously opposed by the white planters because, among many other things, it would have meant the end of the old parliamentary system and thus constituted Barbados as a Crown Colony controlled directly by London. The Governor, Pope Hennessy, tried to enlist the support of the black masses for British policies, with a degree of success, claiming that such changes would bring prosperity to the most dispossessed group. There followed in 1876 some riots, although it is not clear how they related to the Confederation issue. In the end, the crisis subsided and the Assembly put pressure on the British Government to abandon plans to force Barbados into the Confederation, which it did. A few years later, in 1881, a compromise was reached between London and the Assembly. The Executive Committee Act created an institution to negotiate on various legislative and financial issues. That institution, the so-called Executive Committee, was formed by four members of the Executive Council, which was created by Hennessy, four members of the Assembly and one of the Legislative Council. However, the Executive Committee only had an advisory capacity; the governor had the final word. This system remained more or less unchanged until 1944.

The basic political philosophy underlying the old representative system was the conviction that essentially the democratic institutions, which had been imported from

England, were not appropriate for people of African descent, who had neither the intelligence nor the knowledge to operate the system. After World War I, there emerged a local movement for political democracy with the avowed objectives of raising the level of political consciousness of the black masses and reforming the political system to accommodate their just demands. The establishment of the Herald newspaper in 1919 founded by Clement Innis, with the financial help of a rich white Barbadian, Charles Haynes, and edited by the socialist Clennell Wickham), and the launching of the Democratic League in 1924, led by Charles Duncan O'Neill, highlight the first effort to democratize the country. The Democratic League was ideologically liberal and stood for the raising of the standards of living and education of ordinary Barbadians. However, the limited franchise, despite increases in the number of propertied and salaried people who met the required qualifications, meant that these reformers often had to look for support in the colored middle class, who were far from committed to the enfranchisement of the bulk of the black population. Although some amelioration was achieved, the results were unimpressive. More than anything else, it was through this political agitation that the working class began to be mobilized.

The 1937 riots in Bridgetown mark a dividing line between the oligarchic politics of the past and modern mass politics. Out of the turmoil there emerged a class alliance between black middle class professionals and the working classes which in the 1940s and 1950s would successfully challenge the political monopoly that the planter class had exercised in Barbados for 300 years. In this respect, the two crucial events that should be mentioned are the formation of the Barbados Progressive League (BPL) in 1938, renamed the Barbados Labor Party (BLP) in 1946 (actually this was its original name in the first few days of its existence) and the establishment of the Barbados Workers Union (BWU) in 1940, a year after the Trades Union Act had been passed giving more rights to workers. Grantley Adams was to emerge as the leader of the BPL and Frank Walcott of the BWU. In 1940, the BPL managed to win 5 seats in the Assembly, though it lost one in the 1942 election. By 1942 the Assembly was dominated by the white dominated Conservative Electors Association (established in 1941), with 20 out of the 24 seats. The BPL struggled to have the franchise widened. In 1943 the pre-requisite for voting, which had been an income of 50 pounds, was slashed to 20 pounds; in addition, the franchise was extended to women. In practical terms this meant that the number of those eligible to vote tripled to about 20,000, representing 18 percent of the adult population. By the time of the 1944 election, the BPL won 8 seats and a splinter group from the BPL, the National Congress Party (NCP), under the leadership of W.A. Crawford also obtained 8 seats. This was the first time that there was a majority of blacks in the Assembly.

The post-war process of decolonization began with the so-called Burke Experiment, which was an exercise in semi-ministerial government introduced in 1946 by the Governor, Sir Gratton Bushe. Under this arrangement, the Governor would call on the leader of the party which could command a majority in the Assembly and ask him to nominate four members to be appointed to the Executive Committee, which became a rudimentary ministerial government. In the event of a defeat at a vote in the Assembly, those the members had to resign. Under the chairmanship of the Governor, the Executive Committee decided public policy. This arrangement, although an improvement on the past, did not work smoothly due to the veto exerted by the Legislative Council and disagreements between the leaders of the BLP (as it now was) and the NCP. In any case, the latter lost progressively to

the BLP in subsequent elections and disappeared in the next decade; the conservatives also lost ground quickly. By 1948 the powers of the Legislative Council were limited, while the number of seats increased from 10 to 15, of which the BLP had 12, while the NCP only had 3.

The BLP was committed to a number of radical measures including universal adult suffrage, agrarian reforms and self-government, but Adams was a gradualist and rejected violence and extreme forms of agitation; in this way he distanced himself from the more militant members of the NCP, particularly Crawford and Seale, to the extent of diluting his socialism and conniving with the establishment. A major breakthrough in the process of democratization was the abolition of property and income qualifications, i.e. the introduction of adult suffrage (voting age 21) in 1951. In the elections of this year, the BLP obtained an absolute majority with 15 seats, the CEA won 4, the NCP 3 and the remaining 2 went to independents. No doubt the close alliance between the BLP and the BWU was an important factor in this resounding victory. However, by 1955, the alliance had come to an end and as of that year the BWU worked closely with the new Democratic Labor Party (DLP). By 1954 the move towards self-government had become firmly established in the ministerial system of government, with a Premier and five ministers. In this year local government, in the form of the Vestry system which administered the island's 12 parishes, was abolished. However, it was not until 1958 that full Cabinet government was introduced, replacing the Executive Committee as the policy-creating body. Thereafter, the Assembly, by controlling the Cabinet and the Premier, controlled the island's public expenditure. Nonetheless, the Executive Committee was not abolished until 1961. However, the conflict between the mainly black and coloured Assembly and the mainly white Legislative Council persisted until the latter was transformed into a Senate in 1966. In 1955, the DLP, a splinter from the BLP, was created under the leadership of Errol Barrow. In the 1956 elections, the new party won 4 seats as against 15 for the BLP, 3 by CEA and 2 by independents. In 1958, Barbados embarked, along with the other English-speaking West Indian islands, on the ill-fated Federation of the West Indies; Grantley Adams was chosen as the first Prime Minister of the newly born Federation.

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EDUCATION: THE COLONIAL ORDER

Barbadians are, on the whole, proud of their educational system and boast of the high rates of literacy of their country. In the 20th century, Barbados has exported teachers and educated people to the rest of the West Indies and elsewhere. And yet, for most of its history, the majority of its population has had no formal education of any sort. Only with Emancipation did a concern for education develop, spearheaded by the Anglican Church.

The history of pre-Emancipation education cannot be understood without previous reference to the four major racial and class groupings of the period: the rich white planters, poor white peasants, colored freedmen and black slaves. Plantation owners, whose own children were sent to English schools, actively opposed the education of their slaves; they were even reluctant over their evangelization. As early as the 17th century, the timid attempts by the Anglican Church to convert the heathen Africans were successfully obstructed. The planters reasoned that if the slaves became Christians they could no longer be kept as slaves; with very few exceptions their attitude did not change until after Emancipation. The maintenance of the status quo rested solidly on keeping the slave population ignorant. It was felt that education would bring the desire of freedom, and hence challenge the established order. As late as 1816, on the occasion of the Bussa Revolt, the planters expressed their belief that what made the upheaval possible was the fact that some of the leaders were educated slaves.

While in the early period the Anglican Church did next to nothing to antagonize the plantocracy, and hence avoided giving religious instruction to the black population, other denominations tried to spread the Gospel among the blacks but with very limited success - the main reason being the staunch opposition of the landowners. While the radicalism of the Quakers may explain their demise in Barbados by the end of the 17th century, the failure of the Methodists and others to establish a bridgehead on the island is more difficult to explain. Only the Moravians managed to achieve a certain success after their arrival in the second half of the 18th century; they often proselytized on plantations. An important exception to the negative attitude of the planters towards the education of their slaves was Christopher Codrington. He left provisions that after his death his estates would be given to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel so that a missionary college could be established and plantation slaves undergo Christian instruction and basic education.

Poor whites fared somewhat better in educational matters, at least in the 18th century. In spite of some early attempts in the 17th century to provide schooling for poor whites, none of the establishments was long lasting. In 1733, however, what would later be known as Harrison College was started with the bequest of a local merchant. It provided free education for poor whites, but also took fee-paying students. Similarly, the school, later to be known as the Lodge School, was opened by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) with Codrington's money. Originally it was launched as a grammar school to prepare students before they enter the missionary college. By the early 19th century it had become a fee-charging establishment which catered for the well-to-do. No other British West Indian colony had a grammar school before 1833. Other charity schools followed in Barbados, including

Foundation School in Christ Church and the central schools in Bridgetown, one for boys', Combermere School, and one for girls', which later in the century became Queen's College. These schools, particularly Harrison for boys and Queen's for girls, would become the most prestigious secondary schools of the island. By the 1820s they began to receive financial help from the government in addition to voluntary contributions and student fees. It is very difficult to assess how many poor whites benefited from these charitable schools, but the number was probably very small. In addition, though some church schools existed, they were only able to provide a smattering of instruction and only a few poor white children profited from them. Their extraordinary poverty made it difficult for poor whites, or 'Red Legs' as they were also known, to take advantage of the few educational facilities offered by the parishes. When the first Bishop of Barbados, William Hart Coleridge, took possession of the See in 1825, he was shocked at the state of the educational facilities for poor whites (who at that time comprised about two thirds of the 15,000 whites of the island). In any case, it was obvious that by the late 1820s, the political authorities were concerned about the high level of laziness, delinquency and degeneracy of the poor whites, while praising the industriousness and general demure of the colored freedmen. This contrast was blamed on the inadequacy of the educational institutions, which failed to enroll and instruct the poor whites in large enough numbers. The immediate task then was to provide useful, practical training to the poor white community which had sunk to the lowest possible level of social morality.

Freedmen, who in the 18th century constituted a negligible part of Barbadian population, namely about 0.2 percent in 1750 and 1 percent in 1785, numbered about 5 percent in the late 1820s (2,300 coloreds and 2000 blacks), at a time when slaves were about 80 percent of the total population. It is a well established fact that the freedman learned early to appreciate the importance of education as a tool of economic success, as a means of achieving a higher social status and as an aid to the struggle for civil rights. There were no public school facilities for freedmen in Barbados in the 18th century and even as late as the 1820s only one institution of this sort existed. Yet a good number of freedmen were basically literate by the 18th century. They were those who had taken advantage of private schools and personal tuition, sometimes even of boarding in English schools, since, as blacks or coloreds, they were barred from the white schools of the island. Some freedmen became teachers. In 1818 the Colonial Charity School was created to educate poor black and colored children. It was the first West Indian government school that catered to non-whites. The rolls for the 1820s show the number of freedmen pupils was roughly the same as that of slaves. The education offered in these schools was rather elementary, emphasizing repetition and the exercise of memory over anything else. The emphasis on religion was obvious, not only in the curriculum but also in the obligation of pupils to attend religious rituals throughout the year. The social morality that permeated the teaching was very much one of obedience and respect for the status quo as divine ordained.

In conclusion, for the duration of slavery, Barbados was a rather uneducated society.

"The majority of slaves were excluded from educational facilities, there were many illiterate whites and freedmen, and, for those who were referred to as "educated", education by and large meant possession of basic literacy skills and an awareness of scriptural precepts. Even by local standards for the period, relatively few freedmen of either racial group were considered well-educated, but some

freedmen had opportunities to acquire educations which surpassed most of their peers and many in the white population." (Handler 1974: 187).

The arrival of Bishop Coleridge in 1825 was momentous for the development of education in Barbados. Coming to Barbados at a time when the abolitionist tide was flowing strongly in England and being committed to the improvement of the slave population, Coleridge found that local provisions made for the education of blacks were dismal, there being only one school for blacks and coloreds, while that for poor white boys was deficient. By 1842, when he retired, primary schooling had been set on a sound footing, several secondary schools had been reorganized and were running reasonably efficiently, and Codrington College had become what the original bequest had intended: a tertiary educational institution for missionary instruction. The most remarkable developments were in the area of primary education. By the date of Emancipation the number of public schools in Barbados for whites and nonwhites had risen to more than 30, just over half being for whites. Clear racial segregation was maintained in all types of school both public and private, whites being educated separately from blacks and coloreds. There were also secondary schools operated by different religious denominations, mostly Anglican and some Moravian, which were mainly catered for slaves. With the change of heart of some planters, who now believed that religious education might after all produce submissive slaves, schools were also established on the estates. However, what was taught in Sunday and estate schools was mostly religious instruction by oral means; the teaching of reading and writing was not common practice.

At the time of Emancipation, the imperial government decided to make available the so-called Negro Education Grant for the West Indies with the aim of promoting the Christian education of the black population. Barbados obtained 1000 pounds in 1835 for a population of approximately 82,000 ex-slaves. This grant continued for ten years. Bishop Coleridge made good use of it and under his influence the educational program proceeded apace through religious bodies (the SPG in particular). He made sure that teachers were properly trained and that new schools were opened. As Blouet (1981) has noted, education followed closely the English pattern, both in content and in form. The moral emphasis was paramount and was clearly aimed at maintaining the economic and social order. The system was one of mass education in which religion was taught along with the elementary skills of literacy and accounting. Next to nothing was done about vocational training. In 1838, Latrobe's Report for the Windwards and Leewards (1838) suggested that the impetus for education in Coleridge's period was remarkable and presaged a quick spread of popular education in the island. In that year, 7000 pupils attended Anglican and other religious schools. However, the retirement of Bishop Coleridge in 1841, and the cancellation of the Negro Education Grant in 1845, education in Barbados suffered a serious setback.

In the decades following 1830, Codrington College formed a point of contention between the Church and a powerful interest group headed by the Chief Justice of Barbados. At stake was the old issue as to whether the College should be a missionary college or a grammar school for the sons of the well-to-do. The Principal of the College from 1847, Richard Rawle, managed to fend off the attempts of the island oligarchy to prevent the implementation of Codrington's original will. That the island needed a first class secondary school, as the Lodge School had been until recently, was not in doubt, but Rawle

convincingly argued that it was the duty of the planters to provide one for their sons or else to send them to England, as many were doing anyway. Rawle also introduced the rudiments of teacher training. It can be said that all sectors of education benefited from Rawle's initiatives.

By 1850 the House of Assembly had created a Board of Education and had budgeted 3000 pounds to help public education. While the majority of the population profited from primary education, the secondary school system was only open to a very small minority, including no blacks prior to 1870 and only a few thereafter. In 1858 the Education Act determined that public primary schools connected with the different Christian denominations would teach the Bible as well as the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic; in addition the curriculum should contain: grammar, geography, history and music. The 1858 Act was also concerned to provide government assistance for education for the middle class.

The next major education initiative came during the years that John Mitchinson was Bishop of Barbados from 1873 to 1881. Whether he was a champion of education and the well-being of blacks, as sometimes has been presented, is arguable, but there is little doubt that the present day educational system of Barbados was shaped during the time of his stay. Mitchinson was a man of his time, in tune with the educational reforms that were taking place in England, which included primary education for all among other things. As for secondary education, in Barbados it was essentially to be the prerogative of the middle class, except for the few who managed to obtain a scholarship. Mitchinson presided over a committee of people interested in education which produced a Report in 1876 that made a wide range of comments and recommendations. With respect to primary education the principle of public education for all was inscribed and a number of criticisms were advanced concerning the existing school conditions. In the first place, it was noted that the rich people of Barbados contributed very little either financially or in any other way to the running of the schools. Secondly, the existence of a poorly trained and badly paid teaching body was an obstacle to the progress of education. Thirdly, it was observed that for a variety of reasons such as poverty and indifference, a good many of parents resisted compulsory education of their children. Fourthly, it was noted that planters were often unconvinced of the benefits of education for the work force. Finally, it was pointed out that educated people had higher expectations of employment which were in fact only available to the very bright of the lower classes. The Report established a distinction between second and first grade secondary schools based on the length of the courses, up to sixteen and eighteen years of age, respectively. The Education Acts of 1878 and 1890 enshrined tri-partite school divisions: elementary, second-grade and first-grade. Second-grade schools were aimed at both the academically and vocationally oriented pupils of the middle classes and prepared them both for public service and the professions. First-grade schools were exclusively academic and prepared their pupils for professional training or university abroad. The exams taken at both the first and second-grade schools were English public exams. The Report did little to facilitate the entrance of black pupils into the secondary school system despite its rejection of color distinctions in education. As most Barbadians were born illegitimately, the requirement that pupils awarded scholarships for secondary school had to prove their legitimacy excluded the majority of black children (Gilmore 1987: 70). As for higher education, the Report recommended that the ablest scholars should be given the chance to attend Oxford or Cambridge Universities, and to that end the Barbados Scholarships were established in 1879, medicine and law being the most popular subjects. Mitchinson also negotiated an agreement

for Codrington College with the University of Durham which brought about the affiliation of the College with this University and it was then able to offer English degrees in Divinity, Classics and Maths.

The Barbados Census of 1891 stated that about 50 percent of children under 15 years of age were in elementary schools (38 percent in public school), although these figures are probably not very reliable. That there was room for improvement was openly acknowledged by the Bree Commission Report of 1896, but the House of Assembly was reluctant to indulge in more expenditure. The commission was keen that children under 12 years should attend school, that some form of compulsion should be found and that employment for this age group should be banned. There was a growing pressure in Barbados for more equitable distribution of the government funds between primary and secondary education, but the House of Assembly, which represented exclusively the interests of the oligarchy, resisted change and favored the status quo. By the end of the century there were voices in Barbados criticizing the bookish nature of the instruction received by pupils. It was obvious that primary schooling neither prepared nor encouraged children to become manual workers. The planters were worried that fewer and fewer people would be willing to engage in laboring in the fields. Generally speaking, agricultural instruction at the elementary level was considered impractical despite metropolitan insistence on this matter. However, instruction in trades or handicrafts was not introduced either. The perception that the education provided did not relate to skilled manual employment will reverberate again and again in the press and reports during the twentieth century. In any case, the majority of migrant workers who had gone to Panama or other parts of the Caribbean as laborers were illiterate. However, those who made some money made sure that their children had a better education even if this meant sending them to fee-paying schools and providing coaching for them.

The Marriot Mayhew Report of 1933 on Trinidad, Barbados and the Windward and Leeward Islands found that only Barbados and Trinidad had made adequate financial provisions to allow for an ordered expansion of the public system of primary education. Barbados had the highest proportion of "certificated" teachers of the area, one in 37. It also had the largest number of secondary schools (11), as well as the largest number of secondary pupils as a percentage of the number of primary school pupils (4 percent), and the highest percentage of pupils paying neither full nor part fees (36 percent). One of the most momentous recommendations of the Marriot Mayhew Report was the suggested creation of Secondary Modern Schools, intended to provide a more vocational and technical secondary education, but this was not implemented until many years later. It also recommended better training for teachers, a more community oriented curriculum and the appointment of a Director of Education (Gordon 1963).

After the first quarter of the twentieth century the Anglican Church ceased to be a major influence in educational matters. The reasons are varied, but the most important one is the progressive extension of governmental control over the educational system. The political and social climate of the thirties, particularly after the 1937 riots, produced a small but articulate political group of educated blacks who agitated for compulsory and better education for black Barbadians. Both the Marriot Mayhew and the Moyne commissions recommended the closure of the teacher training college run by the Anglican Church, the Rawle Training Institute, and proposed that a new one should be set up separately.

Vocational training in Barbados began with the creation of the Board of Industrial training in 1928. The government of the day acknowledged that it was their duty to provide a well-trained labor force. The Board awarded a number of yearly bursaries, chose the teachers, regulated the training, and set the examinations. The numbers of trainees were at first small, but had doubled to about 24 by 1940. In the 1930s, some voices had suggested the creation of a proper training institution but this would have to wait until the mid-fifties.

We have a number of testimonies of the colonial schools in the late thirties and early forties in the writings of Barbados' most famous literary figures: George Lamming, Edward Kamau Brathwaite and Austin Clarke. They all attended local primary schools and then joined the most prestigious schools of the island, being in this sense exceptions to the rule. There seems to be general agreement on a number of points. The main function of the school system was to perpetuate a colonial order based on the domination of the white minority over the black majority. Primary schooling offered only a smattering of education for the immense majority of blacks; only a small minority of blacks had access to secondary education and were trained to serve as intermediaries between the white minority and the rest of the population (which it was hoped would stay in agriculture). The primary school system offered a very traditional education, with very little concern for the realities of the island or with offering practical instruction. The secondary schools were aimed at the middle classes and prepared for the civil service and the professions. Generally speaking only those with an upper middle class origin could have access to university education abroad. The whole school system was geared towards accepting colonial domination; cultural dependence on the United Kingdom was total. The emphasis on Empire was highlighted in a number of ways both in the curriculum and in special ceremonies. The ideology of Barbados as a "little England" was emphasized again and again. The role of the established Church was essential in conveying values of submission and subservience. Christianity was extremely suspicious of anything that smelt of African superstitions (obeah) and condemned the non-sanctified sexual unions of the Barbadians. All three writers deplore the passing out of the traditional community life of the black Barbadians under the joint pressures of State and Church.

In *The Pleasures of Exile*, Lamming maintained that the Afro-Caribbean was brought up with a split personality; his daily experiences were denied by the Eurocentricity of the educational system. Things African were felt to be alien and dangerous. At all levels of education, the knowledge of Africa, its past and its present realities, was non-existent. Whatever little was known of Africa came through rumors and myths. Until the time of Independence, the Barbadian intellectual elites were not aware of the African cultural inheritance and of the colonial past in the Caribbean.

The curricula offered in Barbadian schools in this period were replicas of those offered in the UK. Barbadian children had to learn about the plants and animal of a distant country, to be familiar with English medieval history, to read English literature and to study English society. No reference was made to the slave system that had dominated Barbados for three centuries, to African cultures, to the workings of the economic system or to racial issues. Bajan, the language spoken by the majority of the population was despised as "bad English". It was left to the elders of the community to teach about the past and present conditions of life of the black population in the island, about their miseries, struggles and illusions. It was from them that the young Barbadians learnt about social justice, about what

was happening elsewhere in the Caribbean and the USA, and about people like Marcus Garvey and Arthur Cipriani.

Education was rightly seen by ordinary Barbadians as the key to social mobility. But a high price had to be paid in terms of hard work and deprivations by parents and children for them to have access to a good secondary education. Only a very small minority of black children made it, and for them it meant that they would forever be alienated, uprooted from their village communities, and that they would have to accept the ideology of the oppressor.

In 1945, Howard Hayden, incumbent of the recently created post of Director of Education, which substituted the Education Board in all except an advisory capacity, prepared a Memorandum on Educational Policy for the House of Assembly. Approximately one hundred years had elapsed since the Barbados Legislature gave the first government grant of 750 pounds for education. The most impressive achievement in this century was that fact that there existed facilities for the schooling of all children between 5 and 14 years of age. Out of a total of 34,281 children in this age group, 29,695 were enrolled in primary schools, but only 1095 were enrolled in secondary schools. Around 3000 children did not attend, or only partially attended school, and the rest were in private schools (these were not registered and the Memorandum recommended that they should be).

The Memorandum pointed out the narrowness of the curriculum (which it suggested was due to the fact that the pupils had to work in harsh climatic conditions); furthermore, teaching was aimed only at those few pupils who were able to pass the examinations of the Oxford and Cambridge University Examination Boards, British academic examinations constructed for narrow band of pupils. Their use in Barbados showed no concern with Caribbean culture. The Memorandum noted that vocational education was largely absent (only 7 percent of girls in elementary schools were taught housecraft), and that there was no provision for adult or continuing education. Some developments were in hand to improve the situation with regards to vocational education and some suggestions were put forward for the initiation of developments in the area of adult education.

The 1095 pupils enrolled in secondary education comprised a mere 12 percent of boys and 3 percent of girls in the relevant age group. Tests carried out in primary schools showed that many more pupils could benefit from secondary education, but that they were unable to because of a lack of scholarships. Only 83 secondary school pupils were recipients of scholarships and the rest paid fees. However, it was known that parents made enormous sacrifices to ensure that their children could have access to secondary schooling, with the hope that their children would become white-collar workers. Between 1935 and 1945, the number of pupils in secondary schools more than doubled. It was also noted that there was a clear hierarchy of secondary schools, with differential fees.

In order to improve upon the situation regarding access to secondary education, the Memorandum proposed firstly that the system of awarding scholarships should be regularized. Monies provided by the Government, the Vestries etc. should be pooled; the same number of scholarships should be available each year; a single island wide scholarship exam should be instigated; and the scholarships should be apportioned as a set percentage of the entrance roll of each of the schools. The top 12 candidates (7 boys, 5 girls) would be

allocated a place of their choice in the First Grade schools, while the next 71 candidates (45 boys and 26 girls) would be given a place in the Second Grade schools. The distribution of scholarships would then be as follows:

First grade:	Harrison College	5
	Lodge School	2
	Queen's College (girls)	5
Second grade:	Combermere School	28
	Foundation Boys' School	8
	Coleridge School	4
	Parry School	2
	Alleyne School	3
	St. Michael's Girls' School	16
	Foundation Girls' School	7
	Alexandra School (girls)	3

In addition, the Memorandum proposed the creation of new scholarships for late developers and for the transfer of some Second Grade pupils to First Grade schools at 16 years.

The Memorandum recognized that most of the expenditure on education went into paying the salaries of the teachers and that both buildings and learning equipment (books etc.) bore the brunt of such a policy; schools were overcrowded and lacked basic facilities. A major concern was the poor training of the teachers; only six teachers (3 women, 3 men) were trained at the time. Consequently, most teachers were in need of professional improvement. As a result the schooling of children followed the traditional pattern of memorization of facts, but pupils were taught little of how to think by themselves or how to solve practical problems. The fact that, as of 1944, primary school teachers became civil servants and hence depended for appointment, transfer, promotion and dismissal on the government should be noted, but most important of all, the need was exposed to create a teachers' training college. It was suggested that the Rawle Training Institute should be discontinued because of poor facilities and that a new institution should be established at Erdiston to accommodate 32 students, with adequate facilities for teaching practice. This recommendation was implemented in 1948 with the opening of Erdiston College.

Hayden's Memorandum felt that there was no need for changes in the provisions for higher education, particularly since there was a plan for the creation of a West Indian University. The government was offering three scholarships of very different value. The Barbados Scholarship allowed one student per year to study at Oxbridge (1,000 pounds); the other two, which were much more modest, allowed two students to study at Codrington College (40 pounds).

Developments in the late 1940s and early 1950s followed the guidelines put forward by the first Director of Education. By 1949 it was felt that there was a need to integrate the elementary and secondary systems of education. Elementary schools were free, though fees

were charged in pre-preparatory sections of aided secondary schools and in independent schools. Teaching at the secondary level was offered in a variety of types of schools, including the senior departments of the elementary schools, in some independent schools and in the aided secondary schools. At that time it was felt that the government was in no position to provide education for all children between 5 and 14 years of age, but the objective was to introduce compulsory education whenever possible. The postwar period saw some changes in the first grade schools of the island; they all tended to recruit more black pupils and members of staff. However, when in 1946 Grantley Adams proposed in the Assembly that private secondary schools should not be allowed to exclude pupils on the basis of color, race or religion, the Legislature rejected the bill. It was pressure for more places in the secondary school system that prompted the flourishing of the private schools. The Modern High School, for example, had seen its number of pupils increased tenfold from 1946 to 1950, to a total of about 1000. The need for more scholarships has already been mentioned. In 1950, an attempt was made to ensure equal educational opportunity by introducing the Common Course. The objective of this was to create a homogenous curriculum in all schools for pupils between 11 and 14 years of age. Because elementary schools did not have enough qualified teachers, the aims of the measure - to facilitate the entrance to secondary schools of a higher number of pupils - never came to fruition. The scheme was abandoned in 1953.

By 1953 there were 124 public elementary schools funded mostly by the government, with little help from the Vestries. One third of the schools were for boys, one third for girls and one third co-educational. The total pupil roll was 32,010 (16,301 boys and 15,709 girls). Each child received some medical treatment and a daily snack. In addition to the head teachers, the total number of elementary school teachers was 683. By the mid-1940s elementary teachers had become civil servants. In 1952 the first two Secondary Modern Schools were opened (the St. Leonard's Boys' and Girls', in St. Michael). One thousand five hundred pupils were enrolled in 1952-1953. The philosophy behind this new type of school for 11+ pupils was to provide for a more vocational, work-oriented training, hence the emphasis on practical courses (woodwork, metalwork, home economics etc.). There were also provisions for training in commerce, which could later be continued at the Barbados Evening Institute. This type of school was mainly aimed at the growing demand stemming from black children, by offering an alternative to the certificate-oriented types of secondary schools. In the long run, it constituted a second rate type of secondary school, which often frustrated the employment hopes of those who attended it.

The division between first grade and second grade secondary schools was still extant in 1953. The former (Harrison, Lodge and Queen's) had a combined roll of 382 girls and 967 boys (a total of 1,349 pupils). These schools still aimed their pupils at the academic "O" and "A" level British certificates, and hence they offered almost entirely traditional subjects; only Queen's (the girls' school) had provisions for commercial training. The other 10 secondary schools, with 641 girls and 1029 boys (a total of 1670 pupils) aimed mainly at the lower "O" levels. And of these, only Coleridge and Parry offered agricultural subjects for boys over 13 years. Both the first and second grade schools were government-aided. In addition, there were a number of independent schools, some run by religious orders. Erdiston Training College offered one-year courses for 36 teacher training students a year (of whom 32 were from the elementary sector; the remaining 4 were from the aided secondary schools). In 1953, 42 percent of head teachers had a training college certificate, as against only 26 percent

of the teachers. In the secondary schools, there was difficulty in recruiting graduate, qualified teachers, and the government decided to award scholarships for candidates to be trained in foreign universities. Finally, the provision for scholarships was enlarged in 1959 to five Barbados Scholarships, two Exhibitions for the University College of the West Indies and two scholarships for Codrington College.

By this period a number of institutions offered vocational training. The Board of Industrial Training gave 48 bursaries for students to be prepared for industrial trades. In 1953 there were about 180 apprentices in training in a variety of skills. The government contributed directly through the Department of Science and Agriculture and the Department of Medical Services to train people in their respective areas. The Housecraft Centre, which depended on the Director of Education, provided a variety of ordinary and intensive courses in home economics. It catered for 264 day and 608 evening students. Finally, The Barbados Evening Institute (BEI) also offered a variety of classes in technical, commercial and domestic areas. In 1953 the BEI employed 94 tutors, conducted a total of over 2700 classes and enrolled 1600 students. These institutions prepared some of their students for the examinations of the City and Guilds of London. To complement these institutions, in 1953 the government also created the Barbados Technical Institute (BTI). In addition, adult education was offered both by the BEI and the Extra-Mural Department of the University College of the West Indies (UCWI).

With the introduction of the Ministerial system in 1954, a Minister of Education and a Chief Education Officer were appointed, thus completing the evolution of the Barbadian educational system from one of voluntary bodies and a system of government aid to schools, to a system in which the state controlled the majority of the schools. The policy of creating new secondary schools was pursued and in 1955 Princess Margaret and West St. Joseph (now Grantley Adams Memorial) Schools were opened, and in 1960, Parkinson. The fact that the government was paying a large part of the costs of the grammar schools (the old first and second grade schools) led the authorities to introduce a unified system for entrance to these schools, to replace the separate exams and interviews for each of them that had been used for many years. This new system was intended to reduce both the stress on examinees and the potential for racial and class discrimination. This is how the Common Entrance Exam was introduced in 1959 to select the best qualified pupils for the few places which were on offer at secondary school. How fair and meritocratic the CEE system was in practice will be discussed later.

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THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM FROM THE INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

a. Overview

In Barbados, formal education comes under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, while the legal framework in which the system operates is encapsulated in the Education Act (1981) and Regulations (1982). The official philosophy of education of the Barbadian state is that "the potential of every citizen should be developed so as to enable him/her to live harmoniously in his/her environment and to make a useful contribution to the economic life of society" (Ministry of Education 1988: 2). To achieve these objectives the Barbadian state offers a wide range of educational facilities from nursery school to university education, which is free to all Barbadian citizens. Only 5 percent of Barbadian pupils attend private schools. The formal educational system of Barbados can be represented as in figure 1:

As can be seen from the figure, there is no clear-cut division between the different educational levels. Pre-primary education is offered in a variety of schools: from specialized nursery schools (ages 3-5), to nursery sections of infant schools (whose pupils range from ages 3-7), to nursery sections of primary schools (ages 3-11) and sections of composite schools (ages 3-16+). Public provision for separate pre-primary schooling is still considered deficient, with 3 only nursery schools and 5 infant schools with nursery sections, while there are 12 private nursery schools.

Primary schooling runs for 6 years, from ages 5 to 11, and takes place in both primary and composite schools. There are 105 primary schools and composite (all-age) schools, with a combined roll of 28,500 in 1986/87; the private sector in the same year comprised 20 primary schools with 2850 pupils.

Secondary education lasts 5 years from ages 11-16 and is provided in public secondary schools ('older' and 'newer') and in assisted private secondary schools. There is an entrance exam to the secondary school system (the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination or the Common Entrance Examination) which takes place at age 11+. On the basis of its results and parental preference, pupils are allocated to the public secondary schools or they may be awarded a bursary to assist with private school fees. There are 21 public secondary schools (mostly co-educational, except for 2 girls-only schools and 1 boys-only school) and 15 private secondary schools. Pupils who are not admitted into secondary schools remain in the senior sections of composite schools or they transfer to senior schools, both of which are publicly funded. In 1986/7 there were 21,160 pupils in public secondary schools, 900 of these in the senior sections of composite schools and senior schools, and 4180 in the private secondary sector.

In addition, the government has made provision for special education in a number of areas. There is one school for the deaf and blind (ages 5-18), one school for the mentally retarded (ages 5-18), plus two annexes in primary schools for the same purposes. There are also two government industrial schools (one for boys and one for girls) for juvenile offenders.

To enter tertiary-level education, students must possess a minimum of either the Barbados Secondary School Certificate, Stage I, or 4 to 5 subjects at CXC (grades 1 or 2 at General level). Tertiary level education varies in length and is offered in a variety of types of institution: Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic (technical and vocational), Barbados Community College (technical, vocational, managerial and academic ['A'-levels]), sixth form

sections of secondary schools ('A'-levels), Erdiston College (teacher training), and the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill (university education). The figures for enrollment in 1986/7 were as follows: Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic 2045, Barbados Community College 2040, Erdiston College 80 and UWI (Cave Hill) 1730.

Expenditure on education is quite high by world standards and has been so for the past 20 years. It currently accounts for about 20 percent of the national budget, corresponding to about 9 percent of the GNP, compared with 6 percent in 1970 and 8 percent in 1980). In 1980, the education expenditure per capita was US$ 154, placing Barbados at the same level as developed or oil-rich countries, while the world mid-point expenditure per capita was US$56. In the same year, Barbados was spending nearly double the world mid-point on education as a percentage of the GNP. In this last figure, the low defense expenditure of Barbados is an important factor. Educational expenditure in Barbados is distributed in the following way (Shorey 1987):

	%
Primary	28
Secondary	32
Technical/vocational and adult	5
Subsidiary	9
University	18
Other	8

Educational costs per capita vary tremendously from primary to university level; a student at UWI costs the government 10 to 15 times as much as a primary student and twice that of a student at the Community College (Shorey 1987).

Traditionally, the Barbados educational system reflected closely the English model both in structure and curriculum. The former has hardly changed and Barbados in this respect greatly resembles the England of 30 years ago. The curriculum, however, particularly with the introduction of the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC), has become much more oriented towards the Caribbean. History exemplifies this well, although the Caribbeanization of the syllabus began prior to the introduction of CXC, with the main thrust for a more Caribbean and Barbadian orientation occurring more recently.

b. Primary Education

Schooling at the primary level (ages 5-11) was practically universal by the early 1960s. Including pre-primary schooling, there were only 13 all-boys and 10 all-girls schools; the rest, 82 schools, are co-educational. In recent times Barbadian educationalists have expressed concern that co-educational teaching might stifle the formation of desired gender differences. The teacher-pupil ratio in primary schools is 1:27.

At the primary level, private education represents about 10 percent of the total, a proportion that has changed little in the past ten or more years. A few of the private schools have a religious base, though they may accept pupils who do not belong to their religious denomination. The government sets certain standards for private schools before they gain the necessary approval.

Primary schools offer a wide range of subjects: mathematics, English, religious knowledge, science, history, geography, art, social studies, agriculture, health education, physical education, and music. Because primary schools tend to orient their pupils towards high scores in the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination (SSEE), it is predictable that they should pay inordinate attention to English and maths. In terms of the allocation of time, on average pupils spend 5 times more periods on maths and 8 times more periods on English than on the other subjects. From primary level onwards, the main emphasis is on academic achievement, while the chance to develop the pupils' individual abilities are less encouraged. Furthermore, pupils are not inclined to be original or critical in their thinking, because their teachers suppress anything which is not geared towards the objective of succeeding in the 11+ exam.

The practice of grouping students in primary schools into two or three streams (depending on the size of the school) according to perceived academic ability was in existence prior to the introduction of the SSEE in 1959, but it became really important as the impact of the exam was felt throughout the education system in Barbados. It suits teachers well to start streaming pupils as young as 7 years of age, although they may describe it as a 'necessary evil'; many teachers would rather avoid the teaching of 'backward' pupils altogether and certainly do not want them within a class of achievers. Surveys show, however, that parents are much more reluctant to accept the idea of streaming because they fear that in this way the chances of a child to develop at a later stage are thwarted. It is a well known fact that after pupils have been placed in a lower stream, they tend to perform according to the well known law of the self-fulfilling prophecy. Some educationalists have suggested that an intelligence test should be administered at an early occasion to introduce a more scientific system of streaming to replace the decision of one or more teachers.

Because there is strong competition among primary schools to place as many pupils as possible in the desirable few places of the 'older' secondary schools (previously called grammar schools), streaming seems to be here to stay. That this practice perpetuates the rigid stratification which exists in the system, there is little doubt, but it is a price that most Barbadians seem to be willing to pay in the hope that their children may have access to the top secondary schools of the country. In practice, however, the rigidities are self-reproducing due mainly to two factors: children of educated parents tend to do better than children from working-class backgrounds, not only because of their home environment and parental encouragement, but also because they are more fluent in Standard Caribbean English, while working class children on the whole have less propitious environments, limited parental encouragement and they speak Bajan. In addition, better educated parents tend to send their children to certain primary schools which are well-known for achieving the best results in the SSEE. This is the case, for example, of Westbury and Charles F. Broome Schools in the public sector and St. Gabriel's in the private sector, which belongs to the Anglican Church.

It is obvious from what has been said in this section that primary schools have prepared and still prepare their pupils for the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination, rather than providing them with a good background to proceed to secondary schooling. Early streaming between those pupils who appear to have academic abilities and those who appear to lack them, has created a two-tier system, which, as we will see, the secondary school system reaffirms.

c. Transfer from Primary to Secondary Education

It is useful for this and subsequent sections, to clarify the terminology and school types to be discussed. The terms "secondary schools" and "secondary schooling/education" are used here to refer only to the schools now called "secondary schools" and the education received at them. Traditionally, a few students went on to grammar schools (now called "older" secondary schools) at about the age of 11, but most remained at their primary schools, which were therefore called all-age schools. Some schools of this latter type still persist, now called composite schools, and the pupils in the senior forms of these schools, aged 11-16, essentially receive an extended primary-type basic education. With the expansion of secondary education from the 1950s, a second type of secondary school was created, originally called secondary modern schools, later renamed comprehensive schools, and now known as "newer" secondary schools. Officially, all ex-grammar and ex-comprehensive schools are now entitled secondary schools, but the terms "older" and "newer" are widely used, most people regard the schools as somewhat different, and the distinction is useful in analyzing the variation in provision for secondary education. In 1976 when the school-leaving age was raised to 16 years, vocational centers were created to provide technical/vocational-style education for the 14-16 year olds from the senior forms of composite schools. In 1984, these vocational centers became senior schools, providing the same type of education as previously, but now for 11-16 year olds. All the institutions described so far are government or public institutions. In addition, there are a number of private or independent secondary schools. Since 1965, when the government began to provide financial assistance and bursaries to some of these, they have been officially divided into approved or assisted schools, and non-approved or non-assisted schools, although the collective terms private or independent schools are still widely used, and the distinction between the two categories is not always made.

At about 11 years of age, virtually all Barbadian children currently sit the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination (SSEE; previously known as the Common Entrance Examination) on a single spring day. On the basis of the results of these exams in English, arithmetic and an essay paper, places are allocated in secondary schools from the least to the most prestigious, and a few children are denied entrance to secondary schooling. It has been said that the exams are designed to select a fifth of children as successes and four-fifths as failures according to whether or not they gain places at the "older" secondary schools which are considered the most prestigious. The importance of the outcome of the exams to parents, primary schools teachers and the public at large places enormous strain on the examinees. In addition, their access to future educational resources is greatly affected by the day's outcome. The more prestigious schools have, on average, better qualified teachers, greater financial resources per child, better facilities and higher social standing. Few topics related to education have generated as much discussion amongst both specialists and the general public in recent years, than the transfer of pupils from primary to secondary schooling. The SSEE is alternatively seen as the great equalizer, giving all Barbadians an equal chance of becoming a Harrisonian (Harrison College is the most prestigious secondary school), or as the great social reinforcer, piling additional advantages on the offspring of the well-educated, cultured, comfortable middle classes at the expense of those from poor and rural backgrounds. The exam was first introduced as the Common Entrance Examination in 1959 to replace the individual exams for the limited number of secondary schools then available, and as such it

was probably an equalizer within the limited resource base of the time. Currently, one additional secondary school is being built and this, combined with falling numbers in secondary-age cohorts, will result in sufficient secondary places becoming available for all. With this, one of the main defenses of the SSEE system will be removed, as there will no longer be the need for a means of selecting out those who will not be given places in secondary schools. The debates concerning the functioning of the SSEE will then acquire a clearer focus.

Since the inception of the Common Entrance Examination or SSEEin 1959, the system of transfer of pupils from primary to secondary schools has undergone a number of changes, but these have mostly been fairly minor in their effects. In 1972, a committee was appointed by the government to report on the whole process of pupil transfer. The resultant wide-ranging Shorey Report, published in 1974, essentially recommended the abolition of an exam for the purposes of selection at 11+ after a period of 5 years during which the facilities and resources of secondary schools should all be brought up to the standards of the best, and sufficient places should be created for all secondary-age pupils. A system of feeder schools was proposed, grouping together the primary and secondary schools within zones. The allocation of secondary school places would then be based on informed parental choice between the schools of a zone, for example, on the basis of the particular specialist facilities of different schools.

At the time of the Shorey Report, the secondary schools were divided into two groups, grammar schools (now known as the "older" secondaries) and comprehensive schools ("newer" secondaries). The Common Entrance Examination was used for selection for places at the grammar schools, other pupils reaching the required standard went on to their local comprehensive schools, and those below this level either remained in the senior forms of composite schools, or went to senior schools. A more academic education was given at the grammar schools, more vocational and technical education at the comprehensive schools, and continued elementary education in the senior forms of composite schools or senior schools. Following the Shorey Report, the differentiation between grammar and comprehensive schools was removed (at least in name) and all were renamed secondary schools. Instead of only the grammar schools being on the list from which parents of children sitting Common Entrance stated their preferences, all the secondary schools were now listed. Thereafter, children from any part of the island could gain access to any secondary school. Amongst other effects, this resulted in some children travelling for many hours each day on buses to and from school, and so for a few years in the mid-1980s there was an experiment with a partial zoning system, but it was later abandoned. Most importantly, the placing of all secondary schools on the choice list achieved the very opposite effect from one of the major long term aims of the Shorey Committee. Today, instead of the hierarchy of schools in terms of public prestige (and resources) being formed mostly amongst the grammar schools, while all comprehensive schools are considered more or less similar, the hierarchy now extends over all secondary schools. Each school now tends to receive pupils who score within a narrow percentage range in the SSEE. For example, in 1988, all those scoring 85 percent or above went to one of two schools, out of a total of twenty-one schools, and none of their entrants scored less than 80 percent; all those who scored averages of between 10 percent (the lowest score for entrance to secondary school that year) and 25 percent went to one of four schools where the average scores were less than 30 percent. Research commissioned by

the Shorey Committee showed that the major determinants of success in the Common Entrance Examination were social background, whether a child had been to a public or private primary school and the child's sex. Looking at the most extreme difference, boys from "non-manual" homes who had attended private primary schools stood a chance of three in four of gaining a place at a grammar school; girls from "manual" homes who had been to public primary schools stood a chance of less than one in fifteen. The Committee believed that innate ability was distributed equally between the sexes and between the social groups and they saw the examination as a measure of attainment rather than potential ability as it was purported to be. Hence, they saw the academic advantages given to those who scored highly not as the efficient use of resources differentially allocated to those who would most benefit from such fertile ground, but merely as the further distribution of stony ground to those who had already suffered from it, and of fertile ground to those who had already benefited from its advantages. They therefore concluded that the only means of achieving equal educational opportunities for all was to end the selection gave at 11+ which produced the false impression of selecting for ability and which provided the basis for excusing unequal distribution of resources amongst secondary schools. This, too, appears to have continued, and even worsened as a result of the changes since the Shorey Report; it has been shown that there is quite a close correlation between the average marks of entrants in the SSEE and the per capita recurrent expenditure on pupils at the different schools. Far from increasing equality of opportunity, the changes in the system of allocation of secondary school places, which were only intended as interim measures by the Shorey Committee, have actually increased still further the importance of the SSEE for the future of the island's 11 year olds.

Apart from the effects of the Common Entrance Examination on the futures of examinees, the Shorey Report also highlighted its detrimental impact on the education they had received in primary schools. Primary schools and their head teachers were (and still are) widely judged according to the number of their pupils who "passed" the SSEE and went on to grammar schools. This encouraged the biasing in the distribution of resources within schools towards pupils viewed as more likely to pass. Streaming from age seven or younger was common, with little opportunity for later changes. And the research commissioned by the Shorey Report showed further that more experienced teachers, better teachers (as judged by head teachers) and better physical facilities were usually given to the top streams. This situation largely persists, still encouraged by the selection system and the attitudes of the general public and educational practitioners alike. It was recently shown that in one primary school there was no overlap at all, and even a fair gap, between the SSEE results of the A and B forms. Some may say this vindicates the streaming division made four or so years earlier; others would say that accurate prediction of academic ability at the age of seven is not possible and that this case merely demonstrates the dangers of self-fulfilling prophecies.

A few other changes have been made in the system of pupil transfer between primary and secondary schools following the Shorey Report, including changes in the format of the exams themselves, and the extension of the option of a bursary for private secondary school at an approved school to all those scoring above the minimum level for entrance to secondary school. However, the basic system remains in place and despite the sense of urgency of the Shorey Committee, the political will to bring about fundamental changes has been lacking. There is fear in some quarters that removing selection at 11+ would inevitably bring down

the standards of all secondary schools to the lowest common denominator. The successes of the most prestigious schools in fostering high educational standards amongst the future leaders of the nation in government and the professions cannot be denied. However, others would say that in a true democracy it cannot be that only an elite is given the opportunity to develop to its fullest potential. And, further, in a modern world of increasing technical complexity, the country cannot afford not to produce a well-educated work-force.

At a meeting in 1988 called to discuss publicly the impact of the Shorey Report fourteen years on, one teacher suggested that the Central Bank in Bridgetown (a high rise office block and the island's tallest building) should be commandeered to form a single secondary school for the whole island; it should be called Harrison College so that all children could go to the most prestigious school in Barbados. This was, of course, in joke, but the proposal encapsulated some serious issues as far as most Barbadian educationalists are concerned. Eighty percent of the parents of SSEE entrants currently put one of two schools as their first choice, and until the old mould of selection for access to secondary schools is broken and not merely tinkered with, the vast majority of the Barbadian public will not believe that all secondary schools are equal, will not make a "newer" secondary school the first choice for their children, and will not believe that Barbados can ever have a Prime Minister who was not educated at Harrison College. Furthermore, the educationalists say, the stated aim of successive governments to provide educational opportunities for the best development of all individuals will not be fulfilled without major changes in the system of transfer of pupils from primary to secondary schooling.

d. Secondary Education

To many Barbadians, the greatest development in their country since the time of Independence has been the increased availability of secondary education. To the present grandparental generation in particular, the opportunity this now presents to all young Barbadians is quite fantastic in comparison with the very limited numbers in their age group who could even aspire to secondary education, and for most of whom their families had to pay fees. To today's younger generation, secondary schooling is, more or less, the norm, and there are the inevitable frictions between their elders who see some of them frittering away their great opportunity, and the secondary pupils themselves, some of whom feel they cannot live up to the expectations made of them. Secondary schooling is no longer the simple passport into a white-collar job it used to be, and even those who leave with quite a good set of qualifications may not feel that the employment opportunities open to them live up to their aspirations or even their expectations. In the near future enough secondary school places will be available for all 11-year olds, and then all jobs, including those traditionally done by those with only limited primary schooling, for example in agriculture and manual laboring, may have to be done by those who have been to secondary school, barring a significant increase in immigrant labor. For Barbadian society to adjust to such great change within roughly a generation has not always been easy. However, the considerable benefits of the tremendous increase in the provision of secondary schools, both for individuals and for the nation as a whole cannot be denied.

In 1932, the Marriott-Mayhew Commission recommended an increase in secondary schools in Barbados. However, it was not until 1952 that the first of the newer schools, St.

Leonard's Girls and St. Leonard's Boys, were built, to join the 10 grammar schools of the time (now comprising 9 older secondaries with the amalgamation of Foundation Girls and Boys). The increase in the provision of secondary education continued slowly with three more new schools opened by 1960. In 1962, fees for the grammar schools were abolished, thus further opening secondary education to the population as a whole. By 1963, more than 15,000 students, or about 70 percent of all those attending school over the age of 11, were attending secondary schools. About 4,400 of these went to grammar schools, 5,100 to comprehensive schools, and 5,600 to independent secondary schools. As well as the increase in the public sector, the numbers at independent schools had also been increasing, including an 5 percent increase between 1961 and 1963 alone, and in its report for the period 1960-1963, the Ministry of Education pointed this out as demonstrating the demand for secondary education. The building program continued, and in addition, in 1965, the government began to give financial aid to 16 approved independent secondary schools, further demonstrating government commitment to the increased provision of secondary schooling. In 1971, there was a large increase in the number of bursaries for students at these schools from 500 to 2900. Then in 1976 the school-leaving age was raised to 16 years increasing further the post-primary education for the majority of students who had previously left school at 14. By 1979, when the last of the present secondary schools was built, thus bringing the total to 9 older secondaries and 12 newer secondaries, the total number of pupils receiving secondary education was nearly 25,000 of whom less than 5,000 attended independent schools, and comprising 86 percent of all students at school above the age of 11. Only 200 of these attended non-assisted independent schools. In the senior forms of composite schools there were by 1979 only 2900 students and 940 attended vocational centers. These figures had changed very little by the time of the most recent official Ministry of Education report for 1983-84 which reported that there were 20,500 pupils at government secondary schools; 4,200 in assisted independent secondary schools; 140 in non-assisted independent secondary schools; 2209 in the senior forms of all-age schools and 675 in senior schools). Figures for 1987-88 show a slight increase in those at government secondary schools (21,200) and increases in the senior forms of composite schools (5113) and senior schools (960). Essentially recent changes reflect relatively minor changes in the population cohort. Barbados has certainly been helped to increase its secondary school provision by having only a slowly increasing secondary age cohort followed by a decreasing one in the period considered here. The secondary-age cohort will decrease again in the next decade, so helping the fulfillment of government plans to create places for all the island's 11-16 year olds in secondary schools.

A further general point to be noted is the relative importance of the independent schools in the 1960s in the proportion of all secondary school students who were attending them, and their decline in absolute and particularly relative importance in recent years. Indeed several of these schools have closed for lack of pupils, including the prestigious Catholic boys' school, Presentation College in 1989. In general terms, at least the grammar or older secondary schools have been considered more desirable than most of the independent schools. Bursaries used only to be available to students gaining marks in the SSEE below the cut-off level for government secondary schools and parents who choose an independent school in preference to a government school place had to pay fees. In 1987, this was changed and bursaries became available as an alternative which parents position as they like in their

list of secondary schools. This should boost the academic levels of at least some of the independent schools, and is seen as an important increase in choice for parents in some quarters, particularly for religious reasons, as some independent schools, for example the Seventh Day Adventist School, have a particular religious basis. However, since the abolition of fees at grammar schools in 1962, all government secondary schools have been open to all Barbadian children. Entrance to the most prestigious schools of the island, such as Harrison College and Queen's College, has not been denied to anyone on financial grounds, and is decided in open competition. In addition, as well as the provision of places in secondary schools, several other government measures have reduced the financial burden of secondary schooling on parents. These include the textbook loan scheme introduced in 1975, whereby all secondary school texts are loaned free to pupils covered only by a returnable deposit, and a uniform grant, payable to the parents of all new secondary school students.

The curricula offered at all secondary schools today are fairly similar. There is a central core of subjects available virtually everywhere, which includes English, Maths, Spanish, French, History, Geography, Sciences, Religious Studies, Art, Music, Physical Education, Industrial Arts and commercial subjects. The sciences offered vary from Integrated Science, Biology and Agricultural Science only at one newer secondary school to a wider range that includes Chemistry at many schools, Computer Science at an increasing number of schools, and Physics at a limited number of mainly older secondary schools. In contrast, under the general heading of creative and practical arts, the most prestigious secondary school, Harrison College, offers only art, music and the three common industrial arts, namely metalwork, woodwork and technical drawing, whereas the newer secondaries in particular offer quite an extended range of such coursed including clothing and textiles, home management, food and nutrition, needlecraft, auto-mechanics, electronics, craft, ceramics, printing etc. In commercial subjects, too, there is a general tendency for the older secondaries to offer fewer than the newer secondaries. Harrison College offers only one such subject, principles of business, whereas other schools offer up to eight, including typewriting, office practice and principles of accounts. However, it notable that the older secondaries which were traditionally girls' schools, especially Queen's College, the most prestigious, mostly offer more of such subjects than the former boys' schools. The tendency for the newer secondaries to offer more of the non-traditional academic subjects, and fewer of the traditional academic subjects than the older secondaries, is actually more accurately described as a spectrum which correlates with the marks gained by school entrants in the SSEE. The newer secondaries with the lowest average entrance marks tend to offer the most non-traditional subjects and the fewest traditional academic subjects, followed by the newer secondaries with higher entrance marks, then the older secondaries with the lowest entrance marks for this category of schools, and finally the older secondaries with the highest entrance marks of all. This loose correlation between SSEE marks and type of curriculum tends to be replicated in the first three forms (11-14 years) in schools where streaming is in force, and in all schools in the fourth and fifth forms (14-16 years), when students make their first major choices between subjects. These patterns of valuing academic success above success in more practical and vocational subjects, and encouraging those considered of greater ability to pursue a mainly academic curriculum and those of lesser ability to pursue more vocational and technical subjects, strongly reflect the English influence on the Barbadian education system. However, the degree of variation in the school curricula should not be exaggerated;

most secondary school students follow a basically academic curriculum and the variation is within a fairly narrow range. When the secondary modern and later the comprehensive schools were first opened they were intended to offer a rather different curriculum from the university-oriented curricula of the grammar schools. But the value placed on academic learning by society at large and by teachers and officials reflecting these values, meant that the top streams in the new schools followed curricula almost identical to those of the grammar schools and that the curricula of lower streams were seen as second best, and appropriate only for those who could not cope with the traditional academic program. Whilst some within the teaching profession are now quite outspoken in their belief that all pupils should study a broad range of academic and practical, traditional and non-traditional subjects, others, especially some from the older secondaries remain convinced that the intellectual rigor of academic training should not be sacrificed, at least for those who can be expected to become national leaders in public and professional life. Underlying this debate are basic questions about the purpose of secondary schooling. What to some is a good "general" education is to others irrelevant academia; and similarly, training in schools for employment has also been described the creation of factory fodder. The rapid expansion of secondary schooling in Barbados has thrown these issues into the arena rather abruptly.

As the number of students for whom places are not available at secondary schools decreased, the idea of creating special Vocational Centres (later renamed Senior Schools) developed with the intention of providing a much more practical and work-oriented education for those deemed the least academically able. This was intended to be a significant improvement on the extended primary education available at composite schools, and it would require considerable facilities both physical, in terms of suitable buildings and equipment, and human, in terms of teachers with the required expertise. However, such plans have never really come to fruition, and government policy has now changed to a commitment to create sufficient secondary school places for all. Thus, instead of purpose-built premises and the investment necessary for vocational, and particularly technical training, vocational centers and senior schools in Barbados have generally been located in old, run-down buildings, that lack basic modern conveniences. The teachers assigned to these schools have mostly gone there very unwillingly, seeing their postings as some kind of slight or even punishment. There are notable exceptions amongst these teachers of individuals who have striven against the social and professional stigma of teaching in this sector, and have made tremendous efforts on behalf of their pupils. However, the teachers themselves largely have no particular training for the circumstances in senior schools. Their students are those who gain the lowest marks in the SSEE and many score zero. And, apart from basic problems with literacy and numeracy which render any education difficult, the students also view themselves as complete failures and are often very antagonistic towards the educational system. If for no other reason, the recent expansion of the secondary schools is welcomed by many because such students will no longer have to suffer the stigma attached to attending senior schools and wearing their uniforms. Most students at senior schools come from the lowest socioeconomic levels and they often have considerable family problems, including lack of stability and simple poverty. Both persistent and intermittent truancy are common, either because schooling seems to offer no benefits or because of the need to earn money. There is widespread hope that when this section of 11-16 year olds is absorbed into the secondary school system, their special needs will be given due attention.

Besides the students partitioned off into senior and composite schools, many of those who gain places at secondary schools now have fundamental educational problems which many Barbadians feel are not being adequately addressed. A 98 percent literacy rate for the Barbadian population is usually quoted in worldwide surveys. Whilst this is a fair figure given the data collection techniques used, it does not reflect a growing anxiety in Barbados about poor levels of functional literacy and numeracy among school leavers. Such levels are harder to define, if potentially more informative, but one analysis (Shorey, 1987) suggested scores of 30 percent in English and 25 percent in Maths in the SSEE as cut-off points for functional illiteracy and innumeracy. By these measures, in 1987 more than 20 percent of girls and 40 percent of boys aged 11 were illiterate, and 45 percent of girls and about 55 percent of boys were innumerate. It is widely agreed that the problems of functional illiteracy and innumeracy developed before students enter secondary school and that changes in primary schooling are the main key to future improvements. The SSEE, streaming, the distribution of teachers, and the assessment of primary school success according to the numbers of their pupils gaining entrance to older school, are all interrelated factors that have been suggested as contributory causes of the problems at primary school level. Similar factors also operate at secondary level, where resources also tend to be distributed in favor of those achieving better in the SSEE and later assessments. Remedial teaching for the development of vital basic skills and the provision of such necessary resources as books, have long been called for and the government has in recent years given them some attention. There are particular problems amongst the large proportion of students for whom Standard English may be as foreign as a foreign language, and the need to show parents how to help their children has also been pointed out as an area for future improvement. Some argue that pupils should not be allowed into secondary schools without an adequate level of basic skills to enable them to benefit from secondary education as it is usually defined; other say that it is socially more desirable to have the total range of secondary-age pupils under one roof. However, wherever the pupils are placed, there is a widespread call for greater resources to be allocated to deal with their problems; and, as well financial will, somehow a greater sense of vocation and of self-worth must be developed amongst the teachers of pupils who currently achieve poorly in the educational system.

In addition to the CXC exams which have now more or less replaced "O" levels, and offer qualifications for a wider ability range, secondary schools enter pupils for the Barbados Secondary School Certificate (previously the Barbados School Leaving Certificate) examination at age 14, and for exams of the London Chamber of Commerce, which are of a lower level than CXC, and for some specialist exams such as those of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, and Pitman's examinations. For most of the older secondaries, CXC General plus some entries at Basic, suit the ability ranges of their pupils, as did "O" levels in the past. Four to eight passes at General Grades I and II are fairly typical of these pupils. In the newer secondaries with fairly high level entrants, the best pupils may also sit for 6 or 7 CXCs at General, whereas weaker pupils sit for a range of Basic level exams. In addition, in the newer secondaries, students may spread their CXC exams over two years, the lower and upper fifth forms (ages 15-17) allowing extra time for development. At the newer secondaries with mostly weaker students, exam results can be very disappointing with low pass rates amongst those entered, and many students who are not entered because they have no chance of passing. Although Basic level was intended to expand greatly the range of

students who could gain good, well respected qualifications, this has not really been achieved; such qualifications are not widely accepted for employment and many teachers say the exams are too difficult, they aim too high and are not very different from the General level papers. Similar problems afflict the acceptance of the Barbados Secondary School Certificate exams.

In general terms Barbadians value the attainment of certificates very highly. This attitude extends to certificates of virtually any kind from university degrees to certificates for satisfactory attendance on a short training course, but the value is weighted significantly towards well-known, higher level, academic qualifications. Whilst striving for certification has had positive effects, encouraging hard work and providing goals for achievement as well as a publicly accountable basis for the selection of employees etc., it also has negative aspects. One of these, as if often pointed out by school teachers, is that subjects on the school curriculum that do not lead to certification, such as physical education and music (for most students), tend to be greatly undervalued by students and their parents alike, and hence they have been squeezed into smaller and smaller portions of the timetable in recent years. In addition, the many hours that some Barbadian children spend being coached to pass exams outside the normal school day clearly reflects the drive for certificates. The extent of coaching, which is often carried out by the same persons who teach the children at school, is a symptom of some problems in the school system which should be addressed, because a full school day plus the hours spent on homework are already very demanding of children.

The SSEE produces a hierarchy amongst the secondary schools according to the academic achievement of their entrants at age 11. As described above, this hierarchy is loosely correlated with a spectrum of curricular variation. It is also correlated with variation in a range of other factors. Firstly, the students entering the top older secondaries on the basis of their SSEE results feel a sense of achievement and confidence (some would say superiority) most others feel at least some degree of failure. Even teachers at some of the most favored newer secondaries, whose entrants score above average in the exams, say that they have to spend a great deal of time trying to convince their pupils that they are not failures, and in building up their confidence. This is a very negative aspect of the selection system which is also very public as all secondary school pupils wear distinctive school uniforms that display their "success" or "failure" to the world at large. In addition, there is evidence that many parents treat their children differentially according to the secondary school they attend - a Harrisonian may be relieved of household chores whereas his or her less successful sibling may not, and they may also be fed differentially.

As described in the section on the SSEE itself, the socioeconomic background of pupils is a major factor in determining their success in the exam. The majority of pupils at older secondaries are from middle class backgrounds and there is a spectrum down to a predominately working class background for those at the least desired schools. This means that social mixing at school is not as successful as is generally considered desirable and it can also make school life socially very awkward or painful for some, particularly those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds who find themselves alone amongst middle class classmates. In addition, middle class parents have the financial means and more often have the awareness to help their children benefit fully from their education. They are also more likely to be supportive of their children’s' schools, whether it be in the raising of funds to buy

additional equipment, or attending school functions and displays of work. In contrast, working class parents may find schools strange and forbidding places where they do not feel they have anything to contribute. The Parent Teachers' Association is strong in many schools in Barbados, though particularly in schools with a higher proportion of middle class parents. In some schools, a degree of success has been achieved in involving a broader spectrum of parents by organizing social events to break down barriers. However, because of the uneven distribution of the family backgrounds of pupils across the secondary schools, encouraging parental involvement is a much more difficult task in some schools than in others.

Since grammar and comprehensive schools all became plain secondary schools in 1976, it has been the stated intention of governments that they should all make equal provision for their students. However, analyses of a number of factors have suggested that this is still not the case in practice. Most important amongst these are the teacher and physical resources of the schools. It has been shown, for example that the per capita recurrent expenditure on older secondaries is almost always higher than that for newer secondaries, the sole exceptions being the two newer secondaries with the highest scoring entrants at SSEE, Roebuck and Ellerslie, and that there is a correlation between SSEE marks and expenditure across all the secondary schools. The school with the highest expenditure receives 60 percent more per capita than the school receiving the lowest. Critics of these analyses say that they do not take into account the fact that four of the older secondaries have sixth forms with smaller groups of students studying for "A" levels which require more resources, but this cannot completely account for the difference. In addition, older secondaries have a higher proportion of graduates amongst their teachers than new secondaries (86 percent compared with 53 percent in 1987), and a higher proportion of trained graduates (55 percent compared with 42 percent). In these two measures of the differential resource provision in schools in 1987, the newer secondaries were still well below, or only just at the level of the older secondaries in 1976. Newer secondaries do, however, have a higher proportion of trained teachers (81 percent compared with 63 percent in 1987) (Shorey, 1987). To interpret these figures it has to be decided whether trained non-graduates, who comprise a higher proportion of the teaching staff in newer secondaries, are a more or less valuable resource that untrained graduates, who are more numerous in older secondaries. Overall, however, it seems fair to conclude that the older secondaries are better provided with teacher resources than the newer secondaries, although the gap has been narrowing recently.

In terms of physical facilities, the older secondaries are also generally better provided, although such statements bring wry smiles to the faces of the staff of Queen's College who will finally be abandoning their old and dilapidated buildings for completely new ones in the near future. However, in terms of laboratories and special facilities for recreational pursuits, playing fields etc. the older secondaries are generally better endowed, although the newer schools probably have the upper hand when it comes to special facilities for the industrial arts and some vocational subjects.

Although the range has been narrowed in recent years, the older secondaries tend to have fewer pupils than the newer secondaries. Many feel that smaller schools of 700-900 pupils, like most of the older secondaries have significant advantages in terms of collective spirit and teacher-pupil contact over the larger schools of 1100-1200+, which are all newer secondaries.

A number of other differences between older and newer secondaries have been removed in recent years. These were largely associated with the greater autonomy of older schools, which was the result of their different history. Older schools, for example, employed their own teachers, whereas those at newer secondaries have always been civil servants; older schools always officially admitted their own pupils whereas newer schools had to accept the pupils assigned to them. However, not all signs of the hierarchy have been removed from the structuring of the present-day secondaries. As an example, the representative of the Ministry of Education on the governing bodies of the three most prestigious older secondaries is a Deputy Chief Education Officer, for the other older secondaries it is a Senior Education Officer and for the newer secondary schools it is an Education Officer. Whatever this means in practice, it seems to suggest that hierarchical thinking has not been eliminated from the central authorities themselves.

Four of the older secondaries, Harrison College, Queen's College, the Lodge School and Combermere, have sixth forms in which students study for "A" levels in 2 or 3 subjects over two years. Most of these students are 16-18 years of age, though some start later and so stay until they are 19. "A" levels can also be taken at the Barbados Community College, but as yet it is generally considered preferable to go to one of the four schools. They are older, with long-held prestige, and also for many students who are not particularly mature at 16, they provide a more familiar, protected and regulated environment. There is now open competition for admission to these sixth forms, based on CXC results, whereas previously the schools could choose their own students at this level, and were seen to favor their own former pupils. The competition is stiff, and although the Barbados Community College has relieved this bottleneck in the educational system, it is still not possible for all students who wish and who might be considered suitably qualified, to continue with their academic studies to "A" level.

Expansion of secondary education to the great majority of the population has been a considerable step towards the goal of providing education for the best development of all. Despite some reservations, and the ever-present possibility of improvement, it is fair to say that an excellent secondary education is provided for many of the academically most able, and a reasonably good and sometimes excellent education is provided for many others. Most of the problems are concentrated in the provision of education for the less academically able, or at least those deemed to be so at age 11. In this, the Barbadian education system is not alone, and the current debates in the island mirror those in many parts of the developed world.

e. The Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC)

The Caribbean Examinations Council was founded in 1972 by CARICOM governments, although the idea of an all-West Indian Examinations Council had been contemplated as early as the time of the ill-fated West Indies Federation. The original aim of CXC was to provide an alternative to the English-oriented examinations of the "O" level type. More specifically, its purpose was to offer relevant syllabuses to meet the needs of the Caribbean region; knowledge, it was felt, had to relate more to the environment and the problems of the area.

Fifteen English-speaking Caribbean Commonwealth countries participate in the scheme (Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Belize, the British Virgin Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad & Tobago, and the Turks and Caicos Islands), which started to operate in 1979. At that time only 5 subjects were available, English, Geography, Maths, Caribbean History and Integrated Science. By 1988, CXC offered 31 syllabi and was considering others. Syllabi are developed by subject specialists from the teaching profession, the universities and the Ministries of Education. The number of students entered for the exams has increased from 30,000 to 72,000 in 10 years; in a relatively short period of time, then, the majority of school leavers in the area have opted for CXC examinations. CXC has two examination schemes: Basic Proficiency and General Proficiency. The former requires self-contained knowledge in a specific subject and is designed for students going straight into the job market, while the latter provides a foundation for further study at the tertiary level and is the full equivalent of the English "O" levels. Students are expected to offer a combination of subjects at Basic and General levels at the end of their secondary schooling. Within each type of examination, candidates are awarded Grades I to V as well as Profile Grades (A,B,C,N/A). Grade I indicates comprehensive knowledge of most aspects of the syllabus, Grade II indicates working knowledge of most aspects of the syllabus, Grade III indicates working knowledge of some aspects of the syllabus, Grade IV indicates limited knowledge of a few aspects of the syllabus and Grade V indicates that no judgement is possible on the basis of the evidence provided. The Profile Report provides additional information in relation to particular areas of performance (A = above average; B = average; C = below average; N/A = no assessment possible)

The headquarters of CXC are in Barbados. The highest administrative and policy making organ is the Council which is composed of 40 members representing the participant governments, the universities and teachers' associations. In addition, there is a Schools Examinations Committee, which is the main professional and technical body. Both bodies meet annually. CXC is funded by the different governments that participate in the scheme, as well as from examination fees. In the past, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Overseas Development Agency (ODA) of the British government and the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Development (CFTD) have provided financial and technical help for specific projects. The 1986 budget indicated a projected expenditure of about Bds$5 million: of the revenues, 40 percent come from the participating governments, and 60 percent from examination fees.

CXC was created with a number of mandates in view. The first was to replace the existing "O" levels; this has been achieved quite successfully although at the beginning a number of teachers opposed the scheme for a variety of reasons (they feared it would involve too much additional work, and that some lacked the qualifications to do the work etc.), students were worried about the unknown (they believed the exams would be more demanding) and some of the most prestigious schools believed CXC would lower general academic standards.

The second objective of CXC was to produce school qualifications, rather than just to prepare students for university. In Barbados "O" level preparation was undertaken by only 20

percent of secondary students, mostly from the older secondary schools and from the assisted independent schools; the rest took the Barbados Secondary School Certificate, which was easier but much less prestigious. Basic level at CXC was introduced to encompass a wider range of ability than the original "O" levels. In Barbados, as elsewhere in the West Indies, Basic has not been totally successful. To start with it is not widely accepted by private employers, because as a qualification it is considered inferior and because employers are unclear about its status. As a reflection of this uneasiness with Basic, the number of students taking it has been falling to the extent that at present only 20 percent of all students take Basic in each subject. There were only 44,000 subject entries for Basic level in 1987, which compares poorly with the 62,000 of 1984. Of the 5400 candidates for Basic in 1987 a large number, 3277, did not achieve either a Grade I or a Grade II in any subject. These figures suggest that only the less able students are taking Basic. At General level, there were 41,000 subject entries in 1987 of which 18,600 did not achieve Grade I or II in any subject. Finally of 18,400 double entries of students for both Basic and General levels in the same subject, 7000 did not achieve Grade I or Grade II at either level. It is the general feeling of examiners that too many of the students who are entered at General level should have been entered for Basic, and many of those who are entered at Basic level should not have been entered at all. (Perhaps an additional exam may be needed for about 25 percent of the secondary school population.) Teachers, too, complain that they are under considerable pressure from parents to enter some students for General level even though the teachers assess that they stand no chance of obtaining a satisfactory Grade, and to enter others for Basic level whom the teachers believe should not be entered for CXC at all.

The third mandate of CXC was to develop syllabi which better reflect the environment, the problems and the needs of the Caribbean. All subjects offered at present are in one way or another connected with the region and its needs, and some of them (English, history, geography, social studies and integrated science) have been specifically adapted to Caribbean realities rather than reflecting purely English perspectives as "O" levels did in the past. Because CXC caters for a much larger group than those who will attend university, it places much more emphasis on technical subjects, including technological subjects and the industrial arts. Syllabi are revised every 5 years. In all of these areas the successes of CXC have been notable. In fact, Grades I and II at General level are accepted as equivalent to "O" level Grades A, B, and C (or their equivalent) by the UK, Canada and the USA. Caribbean governments accept Grades I-III at General and Grades I and II at Basic for employment purposes, but the private sector, as indicated before, is unhappy with Basic. There is no official (i.e. CXC declared) system of equivalence between Basic and General, although most people tend to equate Grade III General to Grade I Basic. It is obvious that there is some controversy about the Basic and General levels, and that CXC will have to define both levels of proficiency with more detail in future.

CXC has been working since 1986 on future plans to offer "A" level equivalent exams for the Commonwealth Caribbean. They have taken soundings, advice and comments from a variety of interested bodies (Ministries of Education, tertiary educational institutions, 5th and 6th form students, industrialists and other potential employers etc.). Most of these reports were submitted in 1987. In general those consulted ere not in favor of a simple substitute for the "A" level exam, but preferred training to be moved out of secondary schools and a wider range of subjects to be available (including technical and business

studies). In addition, it was strongly felt that the old "A" levels have been too much under the influence of university requirements. It is envisaged also that the new system would encourage 5 subjects to be taken instead of the usual 2 or 3 which are now taken at "A" level. Teachers have not expressed their opinions on the proposed changes yet. The original system was that the new "A" levels should be introduced in 1991, but it is unlikely that they will go ahead without future public discussion. In addition, to develop 10 new "A" levels in three years will cost around Bds$1 million. In the final instance, it will be up to the governments to decide whether they are willing to back the scheme. In any case, having changed the system at 16+, sooner or later it will have to be modified at other stages, at least for 18+.

f. Tertiary Education

f.1. - Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic

Between 1966 and 1970 demand for employment in a variety of non-professional occupations (building, motor mechanics, catering etc.) grew substantially. Neither the Barbados Technical Institute nor the other facilities for technical and vocational training (the Hotel School, the Barbados Evening Institute, the Housecraft Centre and the Industrial Arts Wing) could satisfy the upsurge of demand in these areas (in excess of 6000 places in this period). A further increase in demand of about 4000 was expected between 1970 and 1975. In the context of this anticipated growth in employment requirements, the DLP government of the day decided to create the Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic (honoring a 19th century colored Barbadian, who, a joiner by trade, became a journalist, a representative in the House of Assembly and a judge) in 1969 with the help of the British and German governments. In 1972 the Barbados Technical Institute was discontinued, and in 1982 so was the Housecraft Centre, to become integral parts of the Polytechnic. The Polytechnic which was originally located at various different sites and operated different branches, finally moved to its present location at Wildey, St. Michael in 1982; except for Agriculture at Eckstein, all its sections are at the new site.

According to the constituting document of 1969, the main aims of the Polytechnic are the following:

1) To train students to be useful, effective and good citizens.
2) To meet the requirements of the labor market for skilled, operative, craftsmen and technicians.
3) To develop trade skills and occupational competence.
4) To prepare students for direct entry into employment.

The Polytechnic has programs in a number of trades (construction, electrical, engineering) and in commercial studies, agriculture, human ecology, printing and shoe repairs. In addition to its own students, it also helps to train apprentices from the National Training Board, students of secondary and senior schools, and teachers of the Ministry of Education. Courses are offered on both a full-time and a part-time basis, the latter both during the day and in the evening. Students applying to the Polytechnic have to be at least 16 years of age and students registering full-time should possess a Barbados Secondary School

Certificate Stage 1 (which requires passes in four subjects including English and Maths) or CXC Basic English and Maths Grades 1 or 2. Students with 'O' level (a higher qualification) Maths or Physics, but not English may also be acceptable for most technical courses except for commercial studies for which 'O' level English is compulsory. There is also an entrance examination for those who lack the above qualifications. Most full-time courses last two years, except agriculture, masonry and plumbing which only last one year. Those students who have successfully completed the prescribed courses in their program area are awarded a local certificate; if they reach adequate standards they may opt to sit for the examinations of the following external examining bodies: Caribbean Examination Council (CXC), City and Guilds of London Institute, Pitmans Examination Institute and Associated Examining Board and the London Chamber of Commerce. Evening courses mostly have different entrance requirements, namely work experience in the field and the passing of a competence test. In general, the Polytechnic aims at training students up to the level of skilled craftsmen; once they have completed Polytechnic courses, students who want to proceed to higher levels may then apply for entry to the Division of Technology at the Barbados Community College.

Class sizes at the Polytechnic are usually 18 students for technical subjects and 20+ for commercial subjects. First year courses are 15 percent practical and the rest theory; in the second year courses are one third theory and the rest practical. Students also do a 4-6 week industrial attachment. Very few students drop out and the discipline problems are few. In the 1980s only three students were expelled.

Figures for 1987/88 show a moderate increase in student numbers compared with 1982/83 from 1,500 to 1,800. This was mostly achieved between 1982 and 1985 with little increase from 1985 to 1987. The gender profile of the Polytechnic shows a pronounced bias in favour of male students (1,400 males and 400 females in 1987/88). In addition, female students constitute an overwhelming majority in a number of trades: 160 students out of a total of 170 in commercial studies, 165 students out of a total of 190 in human ecology (home economics, cosmetology, tailoring, sewing machine), and they are very poorly represented in the traditional technical male preserves (only 69 females to 1,765 males). Although the popularity of courses varies with local demand, in the past decade the best recruiting subjects, with over 100 students each, were carpentry, electronics, auto mechanics, machine shop and welding, and commerce. Agriculture recruited relatively poorly (around 65 students) for a country still depending heavily on sugar and hoping to increase self-sufficiency in a range of agricultural products. In 1985/86 of a total of 300 students enrolled for the Polytechnic certificate, 250 passed, with the highest proportion of failures in agriculture (9 out of 21). In the same year, of 79 entries for different CXC subjects, 62 passed (11 at General level and 51 and Basic level), with the highest proportion of failures in book-keeping (5 out of 15). In terms of results, perhaps 113 of the 603 students could go on to further education, but at least half of them could go on to National Training Board Level.

An internal socio-economic questionnaire administered to full-time students in 1985-1986, offers a picture of the Polytechnic students as young (17-18 years old), most of whom (80 percent) attended public secondary schools. The students have either the BSSLC or "O" levels, in about equal proportions. Two thirds of the students were religiously affiliated (Anglican, Pentecostalist, Adventist and Methodist being the most common denominations). Half the students belonged to recreational associations of one type or another (mostly

sporting). Students came from families of about 5-6 children on average, with parental occupations suggesting lower middle and working class backgrounds. The most common occupations for mothers were housewife (34 percent) and maids (23 percent), while the fathers were carpenters (8 percent), masons (8 percent) and drivers (8 percent). Fifty-two percent of parents had had only primary education, for 29 percent the highest-level education was secondary and 13 percent had had some post-secondary education. Most fathers (72 percent) had some technical education, compared with only 34 percent of mothers. Indicators of the quality of life suggested that most students came from families with a good standard of living.

In accordance with its requirement to create not only technicians but also well educated citizens, the Polytechnic has a compulsory general studies program for all full-time students, comprising English, Maths, Science, Drawing and Civics; a large number of students find these subjects an intrusion, an unavoidable nuisance in their vocational and technical pursuits. The training offered by the Polytechnic is generally considered good, but the supply of and demand for skilled people does not always match well. Industry feels that graduates from the Polytechnic are trained in rather rigid moulds, and that they cannot easily be transferred from one area of specialization to another. The idea of producing lower-level multispecialists (or jacks-of-all-trades) for the hotel industry is now being considered. Another problem, which is being tackled at present, is the extreme dependency on City and Guilds Certificates, though the system has had its advantages when Barbadians migrate to North America and the UK where the qualifications are recognized. It is now felt that syllabi and exams should better reflect Caribbean conditions. Although detailed follow-up data are not yet available, it would appear that graduates in a number of trades (electronics, auto mechanics, building) have little difficulty in finding jobs, mostly in the tourist and tourist-related industries. The same could be said about human ecology graduates (particularly in the garment area and cosmetology), although here the students mostly become self-employed.

f.2. Barbados Community College

The Barbados Community College (BCC) was established by an Act of Parliament in 1968 to be a tertiary educational and training establishment in as many fields as the government deemed necessary for the development of Barbadian society. The proposal for such an institution came from the DLP Minister of Education at the time, Erskine Sandiford, but was opposed by the opposition BLP and part of the educational establishment (particularly schools with sixth forms). However, the Community College, which roughly follows the model of American Junior Colleges, was an immediate success and was widely accepted by most Barbadians. The philosophy of the BCC has been re-articulated over the years by the staff of the college, in an attempt to adapt an American-style institution to local realities and needs. The general philosophy behind the College at present is that an increase in education in the population at large will benefit the country. Because the College is free, open and wide-ranging, it has been able to appeal to layers of the population which were traditionally deprived of tertiary education because of its class character.

Sited on the "Eyrie" campus at Howell's Cross Road in St. Michael, the BCC started with only three divisions (commerce, liberal arts and science) and 300 students, while today it has seven divisions (adding fine arts, health sciences, hospitality studies and technology),

plus a department of computer studies and a language centre, and a total of over 2,000 students (1986/87). The former Hotel School was incorporated into the BCC in 1980 and Nursing Studies in 1981. In the 1970s, the BCC grew at approximately 25 percent per year, but in the 1980s, growth was more moderate and erratic as the following enrollment figures indicate:

1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85	1985/86	1986/87
1764	1600	1648	1806	1750	2040

Currently the BCC operates in three main areas: "A" levels, technical and vocational training, and general education. The college started with "A" levels only, because these were more familiar to Barbadians, though, for example, the "A" level in Fine Arts was a novelty to the island. Not surprisingly, schools with sixth forms were unhappy at first with the BCC because of the potential competition for students, but in fact their worst fears were not confirmed, and the BCC did not become the only institution to teach "A" levels. Four secondary schools continue to have sixth forms, though their growth has stopped. However, there were, and still are, voices of well-known educationalists who support the idea of concentrating all "A" level teaching in a single institution, for economic reasons amongst others. In any case, "A" levels at the BCC became very popular, to the extent that about 800 students are entered for the exams each year. Thanks to the BCC, "A" levels, which were traditionally seen as elitist, are now seen as being available to the wider public. Because of the larger numbers of students per class (20-25), it is also possible for the BCC to offer better facilities in the area of science than in some of the schools that may cater for very few candidates in some subjects. The range of "A" levels offered at the BCC is very wide, including Accounting, Economics, Politics and Government, Art, English, French, Geography, History, Spanish, Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Maths. These are two-year course, full-time or part-time, and students must have 4 or 5 CXC passes at General Level (Grades 1 or 2) or 4 or 5 GCE "O" level passes (Grades A, B, or C or 1-6). Although the "A" level results at the BCC are good, and there are Barbados Scholars and Exhibitioners amongst its graduates, Harrison College still persists in attaining the best results, and consequently tends to get the pick of prospective students.

Technical and vocational training at the BCC is predominantly aimed at producing technicians and para-medical professionals (health specialists). It is designed to satisfy the employment needs of the country and to some extent of the region. Prior to the existence of the BCC, local technical training had been good at the high levels provided for by the university, but it had been lacking at support levels, such as technicians, people to work in commerce and the hospitality industry. Those people who were trained to this level had been trained abroad at great cost. In this area, unlike the "A" level teaching, the BCC aims at vocational training and not on preparation for further study. The figures available for the past few years show steady increases, particularly in the area of health:

Division	1984/85	1985/86	1986/87	1987/88
Professional &				

Business Studies	142	166	142	127
Health Studies	62	82	125	120
Hospitality Studies	56+160*	51+175*	53+198*	+191*
Liberal Arts	13	--	28	40
Technology	66	65	65	67
Total	499	538	611	602

* 4 month evening programs for hospitality employees

The BCC also provides courses in general education. These are community based and do not require the students to have prior academic qualifications, so that the BCC can reach the community at large. Courses last between 8 and 15 weeks and are taught in the evening. There are also summer courses. Fees are charged for these, unlike the other courses at the BCC, averaging Bds$75 = US$37.5). Initially, this area of the college's work was very small, but it grew rapidly and now the BCC has a Division of General and Continuing Education, which covers advertising, interior design, art, home economics, health, maths, marketing, computing, law, management, psychology and sociology. Some college students attend these courses as well as their "A" level and vocational studies. Continuing education funds itself at the BCC and is very popular. At present, courses in computing and videos are recruiting particularly well, as are introductory courses to the basic social sciences. In general these courses are followed by two groups of people, those who want to broaden their outlook and education, and those who want to acquire specific work skills such as typing or word-processing.

The range and types of qualifications offered by the BCC has been enlarged over the years. As well as "A" levels, the BCC prepares students for City and Guilds Certificates, the Private Secretaries Certificate of the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Pitman's Certificate etc. The College has also started to establish its own exams, starting with Health Studies in 1976. Two years later, the BCC certificate was started, and it did not have any difficulty in being accepted as an entrance qualification for American universities.

The wider aims of the college in education are now being built into programs of Associate Degrees. These will involve three parts. Firstly, the students will study major subjects in depth at "A" level. The other two parts of the degree will be set by the College itself. These will involve a core area, covering English and communication, ethics and citizenship and Caribbean politics and sociology. The inclusion of ethics and citizenship is intended to give students a sense of responsibility, the realization that just because education is free in Barbados does not mean that they do not have a debt towards society. Caribbean politics and sociology are intended as tools to increase a knowledge of society, in particular the history of the area; it is hoped that important issues such as slavery and racism will be

discussed and hence help to generate a better perspective through knowledge, awareness and pride. The third main part of the degree will consist of elective minor subjects; students majoring in science subjects will have to do electives in the liberal arts and vice versa. The philosophy of the Associate Degree, which began in 1987/88 is to give students educational breadth as well as depth. It will also provide some qualifications for students who fail their "A" levels who previously had nothing to show for their two years at the College. In future, all "A" level students will be obliged to follow the Associate Degree program. In creating this, the BCC will increase its own involvement in certification and is trying to ensure that important areas to a good general education are not excluded at this level.

f.3. Erdiston College and the teaching profession

Barbados was the first Eastern Caribbean Commonwealth country to establish a teacher training college - Erdiston. It has been in existence since 1948 and for many years has served the needs not only of Barbados but also of other neighboring islands. At present it caters mainly for Barbadian students. It is a co-educational institution financed by the Barbadian government and it is one of the constituent colleges of the UWI School of Education. Erdiston pursues the following program: -

1) The training of teachers for primary schools
2) The training of non-graduate teachers for secondary schools
3) The provision of post-certificate training for trained teachers
4) The provision of pedagogical training for adult teaching
5) The organization of vacation courses for teachers

The College offers three types of courses: a two-year, full-time, non-residential, in-service course for the training of non-graduate teachers for public primary and secondary schools, post-certificate courses for trained teachers, and short courses in different areas to cater for specific needs within the education system or elsewhere. Students require four CXC General Proficiency passes at Grades I or II (one of which must be English) or the equivalent "O" levels, to be admitted to the two-year in-service training program. More specific qualifications are required for the different subject areas. "A" levels are required for secondary school teacher training. The only prerequisite to enter the post-certificate courses is that the teachers must already have been trained. To be awarded a UWI School of Education Certificate, students must pass the following subjects with at least a C grade: Teaching Practice, Use of English, Education Theory, and one specialized subject. In addition, they have to pass: Individual Study, one specialized subject and Social Issues.

While in the late 1960s Barbados had a shortage of qualified and trained teachers (for example, in secondary schools only 32 percent held degrees and 46 percent had been professionally trained; the figure for graduate teachers with professional training was 12 percent), by 1984 the majority of teachers in public primary and secondary schools were trained (92 percent). This had an immediate effect on the number of students enrolled at Erdiston: from 260 students in the early 1980s numbers fell to 186 in 1984/85, 87 in 1985/86 and 79 in 1986/87. In addition, the majority of primary school teachers are now relatively young, the numbers of those resigning and retiring is comparatively small. It is for these reasons, and because of changing requirements, that in the past few years Erdiston has been

cooperating with the Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic and the Barbados Community College in offering additional technical and commercial training for trained secondary school teachers. A number of post-basic courses have been put forward to satisfy certain specific needs of the educational system; in particular it is worth mentioning one-year in-service part-time remedial courses in the teaching of reading, as well as one-year, full-time courses in physical education and nursery education. The College is also offering a great variety of community-oriented courses for the wider public, for example an introduction to psychology, ceramics, and Spanish.

When students enter Erdiston they have already been teaching in schools. At present their average age is between 23 and 26 years, which is younger than it was in the past. After completing secondary school themselves, the prospective teachers apply to the Ministry of Education for a teaching job in a primary school, and may be given one. After one or two years teaching they can apply to Erdiston to do the two-year training course. The minimum entrance requirements, as described above, are rather low, and criticisms are often voiced at the quality of trained teachers, particularly when compared with the standards of the past. These injunctions are often compounded with the issue of whether contemporary teachers have the 'moral fiber' of their past colleagues. Competition for places at Erdiston varies according to subject area. Student umbers also vary from subject to subject. For example, every two years Industrial Arts has an intake of 12, Business Education of 7, Physical Education of 14. At any one time there are also 19 teachers in teaching/vocational training and 32 primary school trainees (spread over two years). The post-certificate course has about 30 students, with entrants every year. There are plans by the Ministry of Education to introduce an Associate Degree program, but these developments will require collaboration with the university. Teachers from the public sector come to Erdiston on full pay, but suggestions by the government that training should be extended to three years found opposition from the teachers' union on the grounds that the training should then be considered equivalent to a degree, and hence that trained teachers should receive the higher salaries of graduate teachers. Teachers from the private sector have to be sponsored by their schools to receive training at Erdiston. As part of the re-orientation of Erdiston, one of the new aims is to offer programs of continuing education for the teaching profession so that they can improve their skills for classroom management, update their knowledge and achieve their career objectives.

Adult education has been expanded at the College in the past few years. This is a new role for the College, in which it competes with many other institutions (the Polytechnic, the Community College, the Extra Mural Department of the UWI). It aims mainly at providing a framework in which interested individuals or couples can improve their parenting and child rearing skills and at the provision of general knowledge and more specialized skills for the public. Erdiston has tried to aim for a particular niche within adult education. The first type of courses (child-rearing, abnormal psychology, counseling etc.), although open to everybody, has aimed at solving certain needs that people may have when raising their very young children.

Erdiston has no difficulty in attracting qualified staff. However, the main problem facing it at present is that the staff it has tend to be too specialized for the needs of a small

institution which now really requires people to teach in more than one subject area because of falling student numbers.

Barbadian teachers mostly belong to one of two unions: the Barbados Union of Teachers (BUT) and the Barbados Secondary Teachers' Union (BSTU). The former was originated as the Barbados Elementary Teachers Union (BESTA), founded as a division of the National Union of Public Workers (NUPW) in the 1940s. All BESTA teachers were civil servants. For many years the union was dominated by head teachers and high public servants, and the rank and file teachers were compromised. From the 1960s onwards there were major conflicts between teachers and other civil servants and by 1974 the teaching division opted out of the conglomerate public service union. Membership of the BUT is around 2000. The BSTU is a much smaller union (membership about 400) and is typically the union for teachers in the older secondary schools.

The 1981 Education Act tried to change the conditions of service in the older secondaries, forcing their staff to become civil servants, among other changes. The way in which the legislation was introduced was not tactful and it alienated many teachers in those schools, creating serious problems (for example the successfully contested dismissal of the headmaster of the Lodge School). In the end, the government had to backtrack, and the teachers already in post in these schools continue to enjoy certain privileges compared with other teachers (for example, better leave arrangements and numbers of free periods in the teaching week).

The BUT has unsuccessfully tried to convince the government that the salaries of graduate teachers in the newer secondary schools should be on a scale above that of the ordinary civil servant with a degree. The union insists that their teacher training is a further qualification. Even when a teacher has a Masters Degree, his or her salary is only one point higher on the same scale as other graduates, which just means that they reach the top of the scale sooner. There are separate scales for untrained teachers, trained teachers, graduates and trained graduates, although there is some overlapping. Most teachers do their two-year training first and then go on to do a degree, usually part-time. At present about 40 percent of graduate teachers in secondary schools are at the top of their salary scales. As an attempted solution to this situation, new posts have been created within schools such as senior teachers, welfare officers and guidance counselors.

Head teachers have their own organization and are not as active in the union; their salaries are higher. It is difficult to know the extent to which the creation of new posts has increased mobility. By all standards teachers are not badly paid in Barbados, although of course they desire better pay. In fact, they are better paid than comparable people in employed in banking and insurance in the private sector. They also receive better pay than nurses and the police, but their career structure and chances of promotion are worse. Although the present salaries allow teachers to maintain a reasonable quality of life, the profession is now finding it more difficult to attract the better qualified people who would be necessary to raise the standards of teachers. People who in the past might have gone into the teaching profession now prefer to be accountants, or lawyers or to work in tourism. In this context, although an increased financial reward might help, the issue of the present low status

of the profession cannot be solved easily. Teachers are regarded as middle class, but they have lost their traditional status and authority.

Barbadian teachers are acutely concerned with the aims of education, the quality of teaching, the role of the teacher in society and the status of the profession. In the great social debate concerning the aims of education, most teachers give preference to teaching for adulthood rather than for manpower, for good citizens rather than just good workers. In any case, they maintain that the governments have never clearly spelled out that their main objective is to have education closely linked to economic development. Perhaps, Tom Adams, Prime Minister from 1976-1985, came closest to this philosophy. The problem is how to achieve the right combination of academic and vocational subjects, and this is an issue in which teachers concur that the present situation leaves much to be desired. As expected, however, teachers in the newer secondaries are more inclined towards giving education with a technical and vocational bias than teachers in the older secondaries who favour a more academic outlook. Being a conservative and stratified society, Barbados, or at least most Barbadians, abhors change and the attempts to introduce an alternative, more homogeneous, more democratic and egalitarian, more work oriented model of education have hitherto largely failed.

f.4. The University

In 1965, two years after classes began in temporary quarters, the campus of the University of the West Indies in Barbados - Cave Hill - was established in 1965, though its permanent buildings became available only in 1968. The construction of the Cave Hill campus was financed by British aid, although the Barbadian government provided the site.

The UWI is a regional institution, constituted as a corporation and a council of representatives of the 12 governments financing it governs it. It began in Jamaica in 1946 as a college of the University of London and its present Mona campus there was opened in 1948. In 1962 the UWI become an independent institution. Barbados was the site of the third campus to be established after St. Augustine in Trinidad in 1960. In 1984, the UWI was internally reorganized, with a certain loss of autonomy to the host governments of the three local campuses.

The UWI Cave Hill campus offers courses leading to a variety of degrees in Arts and General Studies, Law, Natural Sciences, Medicine, Theology, Social Sciences and Education, both at undergraduate and postgraduate levels; in addition diplomas and certificates are also awarded. There is also a Department of Extra Mural Studies (now known as the School of Continuing Studies) concerned with adult and continuing education. Degrees are based on the English model, and although admission is flexible, entrants must normally have at least two "A" levels, except for mature students. In this way, access to the university is closely correlated with access to sixth forms, and as we have seen previously this is limited and elitist, although the establishment of the Barbados Community College has partly alleviated the situation.

The government of Barbados pays the tuition fees of all Barbadian students at any campus of the UWI. In addition it offers every year up to 20 scholarships and exhibitions for

university study which are known as Barbados Scholarships and Exhibitions. Applicants for these awards usually sit for three "A" level papers (plus General Studies) of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate. To be eligible for an award students must have at least 2 passes at grade A and one at grade B for a scholarship, and 2 passes not lower than grade B and 1 at grade C for an exhibition. Scholars are currently entitled to choose their country of study, though the course of study must be acceptable to the Ministry of Education. In the past scholars were for a period required to study at the UWI unless their chosen course of study was not available there, but this only resulted in scholars opting for increasingly obscure courses. Exhibitioners are still normally expected to attend a campus of the UWI. Both scholars and exhibitioners have their tuition and other course costs paid, as well as part of their maintenance costs. In addition to these awards, the UWI offers 5 annual exhibitions for Barbadian students who, having obtained "A" levels at least grade C, have also come top of the open examination competition arranged by the university. Finally, some bursaries are offered by the Barbadian government to encourage students to pursue UWI courses in areas deemed crucial for national development.

Cave Hill started with a very modest enrollment of 118 students in 1963-64; by 1972-73 the figure had increased to 843 and by 1982-83 to 1564; in 1987-88 the enrollment figure was 2103. Growth in the most recent triennium for which data are available, 1984-87, was 313, which is a marked improvement on the stagnant pattern of the early 1980s. It is difficult to say, though, whether the campus will continue to grow moderately or whether it will stabilize as it did between 1973 and 1977 and in the early 1980s. The campus at Cave Hill represents about 20 percent of the whole student population of the UWI. In 1987-88, there were 1581 Barbadian students registered at the UWI, of whom 1467 were at Cave Hill, 69 at Mona and 45 at St, Augustine. The largest foreign contingents at Cave Hill were 186 students from Trinidad & Tobago and 98 from Jamaica. Of the Barbadian students 663 were males and 804 females. The distribution of Barbadian students studying at Cave Hill according to sex, mode of attendance and type of degree course was as follows:

1st Degrees						**Certificates**			**Diplomas**					
Full-time			Part-time			Full-time			Full-time			Part-time		
M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
287	356	643	261	323	584	15	28	43	1	3	4	55	47	102

Total 1st Degrees		
M	F	T
548	679	1227

Total Diplomas		
M	F	T
56	50	106

Higher Degrees

Full-time			Part-time			Total		
M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
16	17	33	28	30	58	44	47	91

(M - male; F - female; T - total)

As to the preferences of Barbadian students at Cave Hill in terms of subjects, the following points can be made for 1987-88. The Faculty of Natural Sciences (Biology, Chemistry, Maths, Physics) was the most popular, with 233 full-time students (138 male, 95 female) and 74 part-time students (57 male, 17 female). The staff in this faculty comprise 26 members, 12 Barbadians, 6 other West Indians, 6 from the UK and 2 from elsewhere. The Faculty of Social Sciences (Economics, Government, Sociology, Management Studies and the Institute of Social and Economic Research) was the second most favored in terms of student numbers with 205 full-time students (76 male, 129 female) registered. It had 25 members of staff, 15 Barbadians, 7 other West Indians, 2 from the UK and 1 from elsewhere). As can be seen, male students form the majority in the Natural Sciences Faculty and females in the Social Sciences Faculty. In the other Faculties at Cave Hill, the recruitment of Barbadian students in 1987-88 was 136 students registered in Arts and General Studies (32 male, 104 female), 48 students registered in Law (23 male, 25 female) and 19 students in Medicine (17 male, 2 female).

The Cave Hill campus celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1988. By then considerable education and training had been provided. In addition to certificates and diplomas, Cave Hill had awarded over 5000 first degrees, the majority to Barbadians. This fact has had a major positive impact on the availability of specialized knowledge and well educated people in the island. There is now a pool of graduates who can be called upon for a variety of purposes both in the private and in the public sector. The fact that the UWI is a regional institution has also helped to create a network across the islands which has fostered West Indian integration. However, despite reasonable harmony among different West Indian nationals on campus,

there are on occasion outbursts of nationalist and island chauvinism, and ethnic and racial insults. At a regional level, figures suggest that each campus increasingly recruits most of its students locally. Whether the UWI will survive into the future as a regional institution is open to debate. In practice, each campus is becoming more "national". In 1987-88, Mona had 4621 Jamaicans out of 5235 students and St. Augustine there were 3778 out of 4156 students from Trinidad & Tobago. At Cave Hill 1467 students out of 2103 were Barbadian.

Quite a substantial number of people in Barbados, and across the West Indies, consider the University an elitist, inward-looking, ivory-towered, academic institution, which does not relate sufficiently to the community at large; that the public is essentially unaware of what goes on at the University is probably true, and there is little doubt that much more could be done to inform people about what the institution does and has to offer. This, of course, is related to the issue of what the purpose of the University is. Most people who have formed an opinion about the University seem to agree that the UWI should remain autonomous and that freedom of teaching and of speech are essential rights that must be preserved, particularly in the face of governmental or sectarian intervention. At the core of the argument as to what University education should be (a tool for life?, an academic pursuit?, training?) is the issue of whether and how the institution should be responding to local and regional social needs. There seems to be a general consensus outside the University that it should be doing this by introducing new subjects, and by offering them in such a way as to make possible a link between knowledge and different sectors of society. Over the years, the University has been, rightly or wrongly, perceived as a sluggish and unimaginative institution, unable to respond to the changing needs of society. Critics say that this is due partly to lack of concern with its public image, and partly to the ingrained elitism mentioned above. Because the University, unlike all other public educational institutions, is not directly dependent on the Barbadian government, it is less directly accountable to local society and less open to government pressures. (Although the fact that since 1986 the funding of each campus is the responsibility of the government of the country where it resides may change things in the future.) This has the obvious advantage of avoiding political interference, but it can also create an atmosphere of self-satisfaction and an uncritical outlook.

g. The Extra Mural Department and Adult Education

The Department of Extra Mural Studies of the UWI in Barbados was created in 1948 with the avowed aim of taking knowledge to the community as a whole. From its inception, the department has been committed to serve the educational needs of the adult population of the island. To this end it offers adult education in four main areas: remedial literacy, vocational and professional training, civic awareness and personal self-fulfillment.

More specifically, the Extra Mural Department has identified the following objectives as priorities:

1) To see that the UWI responds to the aspirations of Barbadian society

2) To make available opportunities for vocational and professional training and for social and personal improvement

3) To convince people that education should be seen as an opportunity for life enhancement no matter what the age of the individual

4) To coordinate the different efforts in the field of adult education in the island.

To achieve these objectives, the Department provides or arranges a variety of courses, workshops, seminars and conferences to meet specific demands of different organizations for training and the more varied requests of the general public.

Until the opening of the Cave Hill campus in 1963 and the Barbados Community College a few years later, the Extra Mural Department (EMD) had played an important role in the area of adult education and education in general. The Department started by focusing on subjects such as industrial relations and social work in which very little had previously been done. It also encouraged local studies and literary endeavors. Generally speaking, at a time of a growing economy and with the progressive negrification of the political system, the EMD was instrumental in promoting leadership in the middle and lower layers of qualified professional (trade unionists, civil servants etc.); in addition it provided a forum for discussion of a variety of topics of local interest. Most institutional reports of the period up to the early 1960s emphasize the role of the EMD as a catalyst for community awareness. By 1960, the EMD offered a wide range of courses in the arts and the social sciences to satisfy growing demand in these areas. The number of students registered rocketed from 250 in 1961/62 to nearly 900 in 1962/63, and the topics offered widened to include sciences and humanities. It is true that the figures for those who actually attended courses regularly are much smaller, but the numbers are still impressive. After this date, recruitment decreased to about 600 in 1963/64. Inevitably, the competition created by the Cave Hill campus and the BCC meant that by 1975 the EMD was only offering 8 subject areas as compared to more than 20 in the period to 1968. It is difficult to assess whether the EMD managed to achieve all its goals in the period up to the mid-1960s, but there is little doubt that it contributed to the creation a more cultured atmosphere and to the raising of Barbadian political and civic consciousness in the period leading up to Independence.

In the period between 1965 and 1975, when Dr. L. Shorey was the Extra Mural Tutor, the EMD was forced to redefine its emphasis as a result of the encroachment of the Cave Hill campus and the BCC in areas which had hitherto been covered by the EMD. The EMD became more responsive to the needs of all sorts of professional organizations, arranging seminars and workshops for them. In addition, there was a clear attempt to reach the less privileged areas of the Barbadian community, with mixed results. The expertise that the centre had developed over the years was recognized and the services of the EMD were often sought in an advisory capacity in the general area of adult education. After the shock of the knock-on effect of the development of the Cave Hill campus and the BCC, the EMD has proceeded with confidence and with expansion of many new programs such as public lectures, panel discussions etc. Today, the EMD is active in a variety of new areas, including "O" level classes for adults, summer schools for fifth formers, training teachers of adults, continuing education for middle and lower middle range professionals etc.

In 1988/89, the EMD offered courses in security investment, guidance and counseling, journalism, small business management, public relations, care of the elderly,

basic reading and writing skills for adults, personnel management and industrial relations, youth leadership, child psychology, use of English, secretarial studies, certificate in public administration etc. In addition, a number of GCE "O" level classes were available (English, Maths, Accounts, Business, Physics, Chemistry, Biology). The majority of courses recruit between 10 and 20 students, including the certificate of Public Administration. The courses for executive secretaries have an enrollment of about 30. For the Barbados Workers Union specialist seminars hospitality have been held for over 100 people, while the different courses offered for the Barbados Board of Tourism (taxi drivers, customs officers etc.) usually have about 50 students. The biggest recruiter is the summer courses for fifth form students, with over 300 pupils.

In the context of adult education one should mention, if only in passing, other institutions which are directly concerned to improve the technical skills of adults. Particularly important are the Labor College of the Barbados Workers Union, the Barbados Institute of Management and Productivity (BIMAP) and the Women and Development Unit (WAND) of the EMD. The first two have not only played important roles in the teaching of skills, but also in providing training in industrial relations, both for managers and shop stewards. In health education, where both the Ministry of Health and private associations are involved in a range of educational campaigns on topics such as nutrition, family planning and child health (immunization, nutrition), sexually transmitted diseases (including AIDS), drug abuse, accident prevention, the danger of smoking and the prevention of diabetes, hypertension, heart disease and cancer. These campaigns take place at different levels: schools, parishes, training of public health nurses, talks and advertisements on the radio and television, health fairs, community projects etc.

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EDUCATION AND SOCIETY: PATTERNS OF INTERACTION

a. Economy and Education

Barbados belongs in the category of what DeLisle Worrell (1987) has called small island economies, and as a consequence it is extremely sensitive to external economic factors; because of their unpredictability, it is very difficult to protect the economy from the ravages of these external forces. In the 1960s the Barbadian economy diversified into tourism and industry from an economy which had been overwhelmingly agricultural (or more precisely sugar-based) in the previous period. The annual rates of economic output grew at an impressive 6.5 percent during the 1960s. In this transitional period, the percentage of the agricultural contribution to the GDP evolved from 28 percent in 1960 to 15 percent in 1970. No other sector shows such a sharp differential contribution over the decade under consideration, though the contribution of government to GDP rose from 10 percent to 16

percent. However, if we take the quinquenium from 1955 to 1960 we can observe some major reorientations in the Barbadian economy, for example, distribution jumped from 10 percent to 23 percent. As a whole, the 1960s were a decade of accelerated growth with low inflation (less than 10 percent), though unemployment was still high (over 10 percent). From the standpoint of 1970, the perspectives of the Barbadian economy looked very favorable because the outlook for both manufacturing and tourism was that of growing sectors through a pertinent policy of fiscal incentives to attract foreign investment in the context of a booming international economy.

The 1970s and 1980s were unstable decades from the point of view of the international economic order, with a variety of disturbances (huge oil price increases, inflation, ups and downs in economic growth, stagflation, erratic patterns of exchange rates among leading world currencies, high interest rates, etc.). Countries like Barbados were particularly affected by the recessions of 1973-75 and 1981-83, which had a negative impact on tourism, on inflation, on production, on debt and on employment. In spite of all these shocks - most of them fortunately short-lived - the Barbadian economy performed reasonably well in the 1970s and 1980s, with an overall average annual increase in real GDP of 1.6 percent between 1970 and 1984; by the mid-1980s, inflation had been brought down to about 5 percent, but unemployment peaked at about 19 percent. The external debt, as a percentage of the GDP, escalated from 9 percent in 1970 to 18 percent in 1985 (from Bds$15 million in 1970 to Bds$220 million in 1985). To service this debt the required payments represented 1 percent of the exports of goods and services for 1970 and 4 percent for 1985 (from Bds$l million in 1970 to 30 million in 1985). However, compared with Jamaica (with an increase from 2.6 percent to 41 percent in the same period) and Guyana (from 3.3 percent to 10.2. percent in the same period), the Barbadian increase was moderate.

By the time independence was on the horizon, that is, in the early 1960s, a number of economic models began to appear as an alternative to the plantation economy that had dominated the colonial period. For a quarter of a century the advantages and disadvantages, strengths and weaknesses of each of these models were widely discussed in the Caribbean. Three major models of economic development need to be considered here: the Cuban model, the New World model and the Puerto Rican model. The Cuban model relies heavily on central planning and stratification of the means of production to promote autonomous development and to achieve an egalitarian society. The New World model is mainly concerned with overcoming economic dependence, as well as other forms of dependence which are seen as the causes of the underdevelopment of the area. The main solution advocated for the endemic poverty of the Caribbean is the breaking of links with the metropolitan economies; the new multinational companies are seen as the contemporary equivalents of the old plantation system. Balanced economic development can only be the outcome of a situation in which the major economic decisions are taken by the local governments. The New World model is in favour of a policy of nationalizations, the development of native technologies and import-substitution. The Puerto Rican model is fundamentally a model of capital accumulation. The key to development is the ability of the economy to increase its savings, the latter depending on the level of profits. According to W. A. Lewis there should be a ratio of around 12 percent savings to national income. Although such growth is likely to generate inequalities because it requires that the level of real wages

should remain unchanged during the early period of development, these inequalities can be dealt with through redistributive policies.

With the hindsight of 1990 it is possible to say that the Cuban model is at the end of its credibility having failed, for a variety of reasons, not only to promote and sustain economic growth but also to create an egalitarian society. Even its show-case successes in the welfare area are now at risk because of its economic dependence on the Soviet system which is at present collapsing. The New World model never developed an articulated economic policy, assuming that it would be sufficient to reverse dependence features. Those Caribbean countries which toyed with these ideas and gave a prominent role to the state and insulated their economies from outside influence, etc., did not achieve economic development and paid a heavy price in terms of persistent poverty and other socio-economic scourges. Barbados followed the third or Puerto Rican model; both political parties agreed with minor variations that the economic initiative should be left to the private sector and that the economic policy should aim to encourage foreign capital to come to Barbados through fiscal incentives. The state sector was kept to a minimum, although governmental policies aimed at redistributing income and at promoting welfare.

According to Michael Howard (1989: 27-8), the Barbadian government pursued two major objectives in the 1960s: foreign investment in the manufacturing sector and public participation of a minimalist type in the economy. In the early 1960s, settler-type investment from abroad was encouraged, but industrialization was not as successful as planned and the level of unemployment remained higher than expected. In addition, the limits of import substitution in such a small economy soon became obvious. Attempts were then made to develop export industries. The Barbadian state participated in a limited number of economic ventures in the agricultural and tourist sectors; in the former area, the government's aim was to encourage private initiative to follow in its steps, in the latter the aim was to generate jobs. In the 1970s and 1980s, there was a growing awareness that economic development could not be left to foreign investors alone, but that local investment should also be increased. In that context the government tried to stimulate the development of a local class of small capitalists. To that end public investments were placed in such a way as to provide an adequate framework for economic development. Tourism and industry have remained the major areas of expansion in the government plans during the past two decades, though the emphasis within each sector has changed over time. In the period from 1970 to 1988 the Barbadian economy became more oriented towards the USA (the UK losing its leading position) as the following figures of trade direction suggest:

	EXPORTS (% of total)		IMPORTS (% of total)	
	USA	UK	USA	UK
1970	18	37	20	30
1988	22	18	30	11

Let us now consider how the three most important sectors of the Barbadian economy - agriculture, manufacturing and tourism - performed in the past three decades.

A look at Barbadian agriculture in the past thirty years shows that the pattern of land ownership has changed little as compared with the previous period: over 70 percent of the total cultivated area is in the form of large farms (more than 80 hectares). In addition to these large estates there is a large number (50 percent of total holdings in 1970) of small holders (less than 2 hectares) usually cultivating poorer soils. Both types of farms tend to cultivate sugar cane. Attempts at diversifying agriculture had only a limited success. The reasons are varied: the conservatism of the sugar producers, the suitability of sugar cane to the Barbadian soil (it prevents erosion and it is more resistant to disease than many crops), the lack of agricultural expertise to introduce new crops, etc. Cotton, which had been cultivated in the past, was the favorite alternative export crop by 1970, but its production has oscillated from 160 tons in 1975 to 20 tons in 1980 and an all time low of 7 tons in 1984; in 1987 it peaked at 172 tons, to fall again to 120 tons in 1988. None of the vegetable and root crops which were introduced in response to an increasing demand both from the local population and the tourist trade has been a success. In fact, production diminished for most crops in both the 1970s and 1980s. Only livestock and dairy production did better during this period. So sugar continued to be the main agriculture product, but its overall role in the Barbadian economy kept declining. By 1980 sugar provided only 10 percent of employment and of foreign currency. During the 1980s sugar production fell from 140 thousand tons to about 80 thousand, with a particularly bad harvest in 1986. The number of hectares cultivated fell from 16,500 to 11,500 and productivity also went down.

For historical reasons (in particular its association with slavery) agricultural work has been unpopular for many years, and especially since Independence. The young generation considers it servile to work as hired labor in agriculture. Even independent farming is seen as an undesirable profession. In the past, secondary education was the passport to a non-agricultural job; today, when the majority of youths obtain secondary education, very few are willing to accept employment in the sugar industry. In fact, by 1980 about 90 percent of agricultural laborers were over 30 years of age, and in the late 1960s and early 1970s the industry had to import immigrant labor from neighboring islands. The falling supply of labor for the reasons expressed can only be compensated by increasing the yield per hectare through mechanization, scientific husbandry and improved management. In spite of its decline in the past 30 years, sugar will remain in the foreseeable feature the cornerstone of Barbadian agriculture. Sugar is a product with a variety of uses and with a demand which is likely to persist. In addition to the ecological advantages of planting cane, a reorganized sugar industry could still constitute a pillar of the Barbadian economy. However, whether society will be able to overcome the cultural aversion to sugar cane cultivation it is not clear. In other branches of agriculture, Barbados has yet to find half a dozen export crops which would provide badly needed foreign exchange earnings.

The educational changes that have taken place in Barbados in the past 30 years have had a negative impact on the development of agriculture. Agricultural activities have extremely low status in Barbadian society, and are regarded as appropriate only for uneducated people. They have no appeal to secondary school leavers, who often prefer to remain unemployed rather than become agricultural laborers. It is possible that the number of small farmers would increase if better land were available, appropriate crops are selected and credits are facilitated. Generally speaking, the island's secondary school curriculum pays little attention to agriculture, and this, combined with the negative image of the plantation

portrayed by history books and transmitted by oral history, contributes to fix the image of agriculture as a profession to be avoided at all cost. No doubt the fact that the agricultural work force is badly paid and the work is tough and unpleasant helps to compound the popular prejudices against this activity. At the tertiary level the training available is by general agreement inadequate and not sufficiently practically oriented.

The Barbadian economic profile for 1980 in terms of sectors of origin indicates that the primary sector constituted 11 percent of the GDP, and the secondary sector 20 percent (of which 11 percent was manufacturing), while the tertiary sector represented 69 percent of the GDP (of which tourism was 12 percent, distribution 22 percent and government 22 percent). The percentage changes in the sectoral contribution of manufacturing to the GDP over the past three decades were relatively small (8 percent in 1960, 9 percent in 1970), although these figures hide internal changes in the industry (artisans displaced by modern technology). For the 1980s, the index of manufacturing, set at 100 for 1982, was 105 in 1981, 97 in 1985 and 104 in 1988. However, the contribution of manufacturing to foreign exchange earnings rose from 9 percent in 1970 to 18 percent in 1980.

The production of manufactured goods, which was initially seen as the panacea for unemployment and for the excessive economic dependence of Barbados, has proven to be less successful than expected. It took off as early as the late 1950s, though the main thrust occurred in the 1960s; since then its performance has been erratic, although the 1970s were better than the 1980s. A large percentage of locally manufactured goods are sold in Barbados, though there has been some increase in the relative proportion exported. A great variety of industries were installed - garment factories being the first major expansion, followed by furniture, construction materials, etc. The most important foreign investments were in the area of electronic components for export, with a growth index from a figure set at 100 in 1970 to 688 in 1988. Because many of the industries installed were capital intensive, the impact on the level of employment was only moderate: from 7000 employees in this sector in 1970, to 7600 in 1980, and 8700 in 1985 (though there were 11,450 in 1983). In addition, foreign investments are volatile, not only because they are very sensitive to increases in local labor costs, but also because the overall international policy of investment may also be affected by political and other considerations, totally outside the control of small countries like Barbados. The withdrawal of the electronics firm Intel from Barbados in the late 1980s, with a loss of 2000 jobs, is a case in point.

In the medium term, it is difficult to see a major change in the role of manufacturing in Barbados. Although the country has a well-educated, relatively skilled labor force, labor costs are relatively high and the sector depends too heavily on the local market. In a competitive world, Barbados may not continue to attract electronic or data processing firms. It would certainly be desirable to have a share of the international market (particularly of the American one) in one of the leading industrial areas. In any case, there is room for the expansion of manufacturing to serve the tourist industry. As to small businesses, they may profit if there is general expansion of demand triggered off by the export sector, though they could benefit from management training and better credit facilities.

It has already been mentioned that the view that an increase in manufacturing is followed by a proportional increase in employment has been proven false in Barbados. The

need for a redistribution policy was hence accepted by different Barbadian governments in their Economic Plans. Because industrial development was seen as one of the prongs for their policies of economic growth and diversification, successive governments from the 1960s onwards were aware that without technical skills these objectives would be unreachable. It was essential that primary schools should be expanded and upgraded, and more importantly that technical and vocational training should be imparted within the secondary school system. Unfortunately, the hierarchical educational system of Barbados which was inherited from the colonial period was never tackled frontally; only partial and piecemeal modifications were introduced. The resulting system was unable to respond in a flexible and adequate way to the needs of the country. We have seen how both the primary and secondary educational systems are geared towards academic certification; from a very early age Barbadian children are divided between those with academic abilities and those without. The ethos of Barbadian society is against vocational and technical training; parents and schools instill in children the idea that non-manual jobs are better than manual jobs. Notwithstanding the fact that the distinction between one type of work and the other is becoming obsolete in large sectors of industry where knowledge is an essential skill, vocational and technical training still has a stigma attached to it, and young people often prefer unemployment to work in any trade that requires technical training.

The sharp status division between newer and older secondaries perpetuates the idea that vocational and technical skills are only for less able pupils. No doubt the existence of the Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic and the Barbados Community College, as well as some of the other tertiary institutions, are a positive, if insufficient attempt to come to terms with the problem of providing technical training for a fast-developing society which is trying to keep up-to-date with the technological revolution that the world is experiencing at present. Barbadian society has to overcome a serious cultural obstacle to economic development if it wishes to participate in the fruits of the this revolution, namely the abhorrence of things technical and scientific at the secondary school level and in society as a whole. The belief that the ideal job is a clerical one weighs heavily on the minds of Barbadians, and unless they can overcome it, sustained economic development will always be at risk. If the country wants to increase its output by about 5 percent a year, Barbados has to have a well-trained and modern work force, with all the necessary technical skills. Courtney Blackman (1982) is eager to recall that a scientifically trained worker is the precondition for successful industry. This statement is even more appropriate today than when it was uttered. Information technology requires a high level of knowledge, and if Barbados wants to attract investments in this area (as politicians and industrialists alike are crying for), it must be prepared to train its labor force to these high standards. However, to attract youngsters to such subject areas, the school system and society as a whole must change the negative image that "industrial" work has had until now.

Tourism is at present the main pillar of the Barbadian economy, and the most successful sector in the past thirty years. One has only to remember that from the late 1950s when tourism made up very small part of the GDP, the contribution of tourist receipts rose to 12 percent in 1960 and to 31 percent in 1970; after that the percentage was about 28 percent until 1985. If we look at the number of tourists between 1960 and 1980, the annual growth was about 15 percent. While in 1956 only 20,000 tourists came to Barbados, by 1970 the figure was 156,000, by 1980 the number was 370,000 (in 1982 it fell to a low of 304,000)

and in 1988 the total was 450,000. For the years for which information is available, tourist receipts as a percentage of goods and service exports represented 40 percent in 1970 and 50 percent in 1985. The tourist share of nominal GDP was 9.8 percent in 1983 and 10.8 percent in 1987. In terms of foreign exchange earnings, by 1980 tourism represented about 60 percent of the total. The annual average real growth of tourist expenditure between 1960 and 1980 was over 9 percent, but while it grew 16 percent between 1961 and 1969, in the next decade the growth was only slightly over 3 percent. By countries of origin the USA has been the most important source of tourism, although in recent years the UK has been contributing and increasing proportion of tourists.

Tourism is an extremely volatile industry, and in addition to being sensitive to a variety of non-economic factors (particularly level of service and personal safety), it depends very much on the general economic situation of the countries which provide the tourists as well as on the level of the prices of the host country. The period from Independence until 1973 was one of sustained tourist growth, particularly with visitors from the North American market. A combination of cheap airline fares and reasonable local prices induced package tours to target Barbados as one of their main Caribbean attractions. In the aftermath of the world economic crisis of 1973, the American market plummeted and the Canadian one barely grew. The European market generally did better, including an increase of British tourists of about 15 percent between 1973 and 1976. The tourist growth during the period of crisis was negligible. After 1976 there were three years of rapid growth (from 224,000 tourists in 1976 to 371,000 in 1979) during which the contribution of tourism to the Barbadian economy practically doubled. Again, the main thrust in these years came from European markets. Between 1979 and 1982 the actual number of tourists decreased; the US and world recessions of 1980-82, and the increase in Barbadian prices account for the tourist crisis. In addition, promotional activities were not as intensive as they needed to be. The period between 1982 and 1990 has seen a steady increase in both arrivals and expenditures, but there are obvious dangers, particularly the fact that Barbados is becoming less competitive. Excessive taxes on the tourist industry are the main cause of the progressive increase in Barbadian prices. Furthermore, the type of tourists coming to the island is changing: they tend to be less well to do, spend less money and stay a shorter time. Finally, the increase in racial tension and in crime could diminish the appeal of the island to foreign visitors.

Tourism tends to generate less employment than other sectors of the economy. There are no reliable statistics concerning the number of people employed in the tourist sector of Barbados. Traditionally, a distinction is made between direct (hotels, restaurants, etc.) and indirect (transport, construction, etc.) employment, but the second is very difficult to estimate. Dawn Marshall (1978) has suggested a ratio of 1:1, but government sources have indicated a higher ratio, up to 1:2. In 1960 there were about 2000 people directly employed in tourism; this figure had doubled by 1970; by 1975 the industry employed 5000 people. After that date there was a decline, and by 1985 about 4200 persons were employed by the sector. In the past few years the tourist industry has tended to be less labor intensive (due to more self-catering), hence generating less employment growth than expected. Furthermore, tourism in Barbados is rather seasonal (it peaks in the winter season, that is, from December to April), with the effect that rates of room occupancy have tended to be much lower during the hot season (particularly from July to September) and employment has slackened. The type of employment created by tourism requires skills in a variety of areas: from construction

workers to waiters, from maids to chefs, from hotel managers to tour operators, from taxi drivers to jacks-of-all-trades, etc. The government has been aware of the importance of the industry for a number of years and has tried to create a pleasant environment to attract tourists to the island. "Tourism is our business", goes the TV slogan, reminding Barbadians that they can easily kill the hen that lays the golden eggs if they forget manners and politeness towards foreign visitors.

In addition to direct and indirect employment, tourism has also generated an informal sector, generally consisting of people placed at the lower level of the educational scale. I am referring to the area of petty traders which includes fruit sellers, beach vendors, hair braiders, etc. These are people who would otherwise be unemployed; they tend to be young, unwilling to work in any other area and usually unskilled. The government of Barbados and the tourist industry in general see this informal sector as a nuisance and an activity potentially damaging to tourism. Some beach vendors (particularly coral vendors) are perceived by most tourist as pushy (though Americans tolerate them better); they often peddle drugs along with coral. They tend to be young men, elegantly dressed and using quite aggressive selling techniques. There have been some attempts to register beach vendors, but with only limited success. It is estimated that about 2000 people work at present in this informal sector.

The formal educational system has done little to encourage a friendly and receptive attitude to tourists among Barbadian children, although there are constant admonitions that it should be part of the curriculum (perhaps as a section of civics). Politeness and friendliness to tourists (who are mostly white) are often perceived by the younger generation as a sign of servitude comparable to that of the subjected colonial mentality. As has been noted, both the Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic and the Barbados Community College have on the whole responded rapidly and efficiently to the immediate demands of the tourist industry by providing a great variety of tailor-made courses. The same cannot be said about the University that has looked at tourism disdainfully, and has not made provisions for example for an undergraduate or a masters degree in tourism.

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b. Politics and Education

In a region characterized at the political level by instability, polarization and violence in the past thirty years, Barbados has been an oasis of parliamentary democracy, social consensus and peace. Since Independence, political life has been dominated by two parties - the Barbados Labor Party and the Democratic Labor Party - espousing similar social democratic reformist philosophies, both committed to a gradualist improvement of the total well being of the community by democratic means. The major transformations of Barbadian society occurred under the aegis of the DLP, led by Errol Barrow, which was in power between 1961 and 1976; the stint of the BLP in power between 1976 to 1986 under the leadership of Tom Adams (who died in 1985) did not mean a reorientation of the general political philosophy of the country. With Barrow's death in 1987, came the end of an era and the exhaustion of the post-Independence political dynamics. Both Errol Barrow and Tom

Adams (who was the son of Grantley Adams) had certain charismatic features, as well as a certain unfulfilled authoritarianism; they were popular leaders and emanated authority. The DLP, which won the 1986 elections, is at present led by the more subdued figure of Erskine Sandiford. By 1989 a splinter group of the DLP constituted a new party, the National Democratic Party, under the leadership of Richie Haynes. It is too early to know how important this split will be in the political life of the country. In any case, at a time when the thrust that characterized the post-1960 period is coming to a halt (partly because many of the objectives set out at that time have been achieved), and no new vision for the future has yet emerged, the increasing politicization of race in the society as a whole and also at the party political level, casts some doubts on the political future of the country.

It has already been mentioned that although Independence came to Barbados in 1966, the period between 1961 and 1966 saw radical changes in governmental policies, particularly in the area of education. It is true that when Barbados entered the decade of the 1960s, the country had already obtained a large degree of internal self-government. At the political level, the period of the late 1950s and early 1960s was dominated by the fate of the Federation of the West Indies in the context of the regional movement towards political emancipation from colonial tutelage. Both the BLP and the DLP were federally oriented (the DLP less wholeheartedly), but believed that the Federation could only be successful if at the same time they were pushing for independence from the UK. Many of the small islands were convinced that they were too small to be economically viable on their own. But by 1962, after Jamaica had withdrawn its support for the Federation and Trinidad had put forward its plans for a unitary state, the demise of the Federation was inevitable. After this fiasco, Barbados decided to achieve independence on its own, albeit after some failed attempts were made to create another federation with the small British Eastern Caribbean islands.

The victory of the DLP in 1961 with 14 seats out of 24 in the House of Assembly (the BLP obtained only 5 seats although it actually polled slightly more votes than the DLP in total) came as a surprise to many political observers. The 1956 election had been about which party was likely to further enhance industrial and political development. Because the BLP under Grantley Adams had been associated with a number of political achievements in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and, because at the level of industrial development all parties adhered to the Puerto Rican model, the 1956 victory went to Adams in acknowledgement of his past achievements. It is interesting to note, however, that although educational issues were part of the electoral campaign, they were far from being paramount. There is no doubt that there was a growing demand for an education that the educational system was unable to satisfy. As a result, private schools mushroomed to take advantage of the situation. During its term in office the BLP was unable to satisfy the promises to encourage industrialization to a sufficient level so as to alleviate unemployment; indeed, on the contrary, the number of people without work grew and the government had to encourage migration to the UK. The absence of Grantley Adams from Barbados (he was appointed Federal Prime Minister in 1958) did not help the BLP's popularity. By the time of the 1961 election, the dominant factor education. The record of the government in the 1956 to 1961 period was poor; it had failed to tackle the growing educational problems of the country, particularly the dearth lack of schools at both the primary and secondary levels. The BLP was not willing to engage in the kind of expenditure required to create an educational system which would pave the way to economic development by providing a well-trained work force at all levels.

One of the key electoral appeals of the DLP in its 1961 Manifesto (which was centered on education) was the suite of promises to provide free schooling, aid to private schools and hot school meals. These commitments were already present in the 1956 Manifesto, but by 1961 the popular clamor for better education was much more powerful and reverberated in the media. The Press tended to concentrate its reporting of the election campaign around the issue of education, insisting that this was the time for Barbados to choose the party which would take education seriously. Although it would be untrue to suggest that the BLP was not equally committed to the development of education, it was not in favour of introducing free education all at once, but rather was inclined to slower progress towards this objective. It is obvious that this gamble by the BLP did not pay off electorally. On the other side, the DLP pounded the electorate daily with a dose of educational issues, insisting that they would provide an educational system which would not only prepare the individual pupil for personal development, but that would also enrich the community both economically and culturally. The fact that the teaching profession was extremely unhappy with the BLP government, largely for financial reasons, also contributed to make education the main focus of the election. To be sure, the DLP also made a wide range of promises to diversify the economy of the island and to encourage foreign investment, but educational issues were decisive.

It must be emphasized that the victorious DLP kept its promises, particularly in the area of education. The aim that each child should have a good education was paramount in the DLP policies of the early sixties. In 1962, the DLP abolished fees in public secondary schools and made provisions for the teaching of technical and vocational subjects in 10 schools (6 grammar schools for boys and 4 comprehensives). In the next year, a program for free school meals for primary school pupils was introduced. In the same year, the College of Arts and Sciences of the UWI was opened at Cave Hill. In 1964 the Barrow government opened a new secondary school, Springer Memorial, followed by Ellerslie in 1966. With the development of tourism the government saw the need to create an institution to train the personnel; this lead to the opening of the Barbados Hotel School. By 1966 the government had achieved its objective of providing free education for all children in the primary and secondary schools of the public sector. In addition, assistance was made available in 1965 to 16 approved private schools in the form of 1500 pupil grants. It is not surprising that by the end of the decade Barbados was ahead of most Caribbean countries in providing basic primary and secondary education.

The DLP also introduced legislation in 1963 to encourage industrial development; by 1966 around 2500 industrial jobs had been generated. In the area of housing, although not enough was done, accommodation was provided by the government at a rate of about 150 units a year. In the context of moving towards independence both the DLP and BLP insisted on the democratization of government. The colonial bureaucracy had to be restructured so as to ensure that decisions would be taken by the democratically elected parliament rather than by the "experts" appointed by the Crown.

In 1966, when Barbadians went to the polls again, they trusted the DLP not only to take them to independence, but also to another period of economic development. In their electoral manifesto the DLP emphasized that the way to achieve this objective would be by expanding industry and tourism in the context of continuous investment in human capital

(education). The BLP paid much more attention to the question of unemployment and welfare in general. That the majority of the electorate was contented with the way in which the DLP had conducted the affairs of state while in office, was clearly reflected in the electoral results: the DLP obtained 50 percent of the vote and 14 seats, while only 32 percent of the voters cast their vote for the BLP who won 8 seats; the Barbados National Party, with 10 percent of the vote won 2 seats. On the 30th of November 1966 Errol Barrow became the first Prime Minister of the newly independent island state of Barbados.

Between 1966 and 197l the economic achievements of the country were very visible; many industrial sectors grew, and so did tourism. Around 1000 new industrial jobs were created in this period. Most economists believe that this was the first time that the standards of living of the population increased to such a level as to lift Barbados from the status of being a poorly developed country. All the indicators of quality of life point to the fact that the majority of the population benefited from these developments. Educationally speaking the major developments of this period were the creation of two institutions of tertiary education: the Barbados Community College and the Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic in 1970. In addition, the Barrow government made available a new site at Cave Hill for the Barbados campus of the UWI in 1967. A further new secondary school was built in 1971 (St. Lucy), while the School Libraries Mobile Service was introduced in 1968. By the end of the sixties it also became obvious that television could play an educational role, so the government introduced educational programs to the state-owned television station.

Although the DLP retained power in 197l with an increased majority, 57.4 percent of the vote and 18 seats, as against 42.4 percent and 6 seats for the BLP, some signs of crisis were appearing on the horizon. To start with, inflation at about 10 percent was worrying, and at the same time the economy experienced no real growth. More important was the social and political unrest that followed the Black Power movement in 1970. This movement was a regional phenomenon, and although in Barbados it failed to make a noticeable impact as a mass movement, it worried the government enough to pass the Public Order Act of 1970 and to suppress any activity that could be construed as subversive. However, despite this, the issues raised by the Black Power activists had a profound impact on the political culture of Barbados. Thereafter, issues such as the identity, dignity and economic power of the black masses could no longer be ignored altogether. The DLP saw no contradiction in passing the Act and then a year later conducting an electoral campaign aimed at associating the BLP with the interests of the racist white minority.

The 1970s, the final years of the long period in office of the DLP were characterized by an unprecedented economic crisis, partly triggered-off by the increase in oil prices in 1973-74. Inflation rocketed: by 1974 food prices had practically doubled as compared to 1970. The government was unable to solve the pressing economic problems of the country, so inflation continued and there was growth in unemployment with most economic sectors (but particularly industry) feeling the pinch. The majority of the population was affected in one way or another by the crisis. At the constitutional level, a number of changes proposed by Barrow concerning the independence of parliamentarians, the legal profession, the civil service and the Church, received a very critical response.

At the educational level the Barrow government was still able to achieve a number of objectives. It opened a another secondary school in 1972 (St. George's), as well as a number of educational facilities for pupils with special needs in 1975 and 1976. The School of Education of the UWI started its Post-Graduate In-Service Diploma in Education in 1973, so that Barbadian graduate teachers no longer needed to go to Jamaica for this course. Perhaps the most important development was the raising of the school leaving age from 14 to 16 years in 1976. Finally, the principle of co-education was introduced into the system. A survey of political socialization realized at the time (Andersen and Grant 1977) showed that 33 percent of Barbadian school leavers aspired to getting a job immediately, while 31 percent were hoping to attend university and 23 percent did not know what they were going to do.

The 1976 election saw no major changes in the pattern that had characterized Barbadian politics since the 1960s: both parties agreed to differ only in minor areas, while embracing a model of political and economic development that could be labeled capitalism with a social-democratic face. However, the BLP under the leadership of Tom Adams exploited the weaknesses of the DLP, particularly with charges of corruption, and castigated alleged attempts by the party to curtail the democratic way of life. While the economic proposals were similar for both parties, the emphasis of the BLP on creating 3600 jobs touched a sore point of the latter DLP years. At the same time the BLP promised extensive social reforms in the direction of a free national health service. In the area of education they contemplated the abolition of the Common Entrance Examination.

The 1976 electoral results gave the BLP 52.7 percent of the vote and 17 seats, and the DLP 46.4 percent of the vote and 7 seats. The economic achievements of the BLP during its first term of office were quite notable: real growth of about 2 percent a year, a major reduction in unemployment to half of what it was in 1976 and a major increase in investment (doubling of the 1976 figure). There was a general recovery of the economy with a visible improvement in the standard of living of ordinary Barbadians. In education, the BLP continued the policies of the DLP; two new secondary schools were built between 1976 and 1981: Roebuck in 1976 and St. James' in 1979. An important new development was the planned construction of 10 new primary schools with the help of the World Bank. In addition, the facilities of a number of secondary schools were improved. The Education Act of 1981 (implemented in 1983) was conceived to democratize and to introduce the principle of equality in the educational system. The opinion of Mrs. Enid Lynch (a BLP senator) in 1981, that "the development of educational facilities during Tom Adams' first term of government was the greatest such enterprise to be undertaken in the island since the days of William Hart Coleridge" (Hoyos 1988: 92), is, however, somewhat exaggerated. The truth is that by the time the BLP came to office in 1976, the major educational reforms had already been introduced by the Barrow government. This, incidentally, is well-recognized by local educationalists such as Erskine Rawlins, Elsie Payne and Leonard Shorey (Barbados Advocate, 1987, 3 June, p.7-8). It would be another matter to say, which is accurate, that on the whole, the BLP manifestoes of the 1960s and 1970s were as committed to further the development of education as those of the DLP.

It would be fair to say that by 1981, when the BLP retained office with a majority of 17 seats as against 10 for the DLP (the Assembly had been enlarged to 27 seats) the reasons for the electoral success were not its educational achievements, but mainly its economic and

social record. Although in the 1980s no major changes were made to the educational system a few more schools, both primary and secondary, were built. In the late 1970s and early 1980s the BLP sought to implement educational ideas which were common to both parties, such as the raising of the school leaving age to 16, a policy of co-education and decentralization of technical education so that rural areas would have better access to it. In spite of repeated promises of democratization from both parties, the distinction between older and newer secondary schools has prevailed and the mechanism that allows this to continue (the Common Entrance Examination or the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination) has not been abolished (perhaps because in the absence of a clear alternative, the public outcry that would follow such action is something that neither party is willing to risk). The establishment of the Barbados Community College, with an 'A' level section, was no doubt a way of democratizing education and extending it to incorporate more people. The idea of educational zoning was widely debated in the early 1980s and accepted in principle by both parties, but it failed to capture the consensus of the Barbadian people. It is true that zoning without upgrading the poorly-endowed schools would be unfair. In the 1983-1988 Development Plan a number of objectives were programmed for secondary schools, including the use of new technology and the increase of technical and vocational studies. By the end of the decade it was clear that neither of these objectives had been fully achieved.

The general election of 1986 brought a resounding victory to the DLP (60 percent of the vote and 24 out of 27 seats). It was not that after 10 years in power the BLP had exhausted its momentum, or that the DLP had presented an original and appealing alternative. Two factors seem to have contributed to the electoral success of the DLP: the deterioration of the economic situation of the country (an unemployment rate of up to 20 percent, high income taxes, etc.) and the "racial factor" - the accusation that the BLP was manipulated by "white shadows". It is not really possible to assess the relative importance of each of these factors. The racial question was brought into the open by Donald Blackman (who had been a minister in three BLP cabinets, but by 1986 had joined the DLP). He maintained that the white elite was essentially racist and that it had not only economic but also political power, the latter through the complicity of the BLP, hence the expression "white shadows". Dr. Blackman managed to focus the election around this racial issue; the BLP attempted to counteract his popularity (he gathered 20,000 people in one of his meetings) by saying that he encouraged black racism - but to no avail with the masses.

Some of the measures taken by Barrow after the election such as tax reforms, the job creation scheme and budget reduction, were generally welcomed. After his death in 1987, Erskine Sandiford promised to continue his policies. However, the intra-party squabbles started in the same year, when Richie Haynes, Minister of Finances, resigned over the Prime Minister's policy of increasing taxes again. This led to the creation of the National Democratic Party in 1989, which meant that the DLP lost four seats and could have had trouble in winning the next election. In the event, in the 1991 elections, the DLP retained 18 seats, the BLP won 10 seats and the NDP failed to make an impact and did not win any seats.

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c. Race, Class and Education

Traditionally Barbados was a society rigidly divided along racial and class lines; economic, political and military power were concentrated in the small, white plantocracy. The majority of the population - originally enslaved - were landless and powerless blacks, totally subordinated and at the mercy of the white minority planters. Two other groups had interstitial positions: the poor, geographically isolated, marginal whites, and the thriving and mobile colored people. Notwithstanding some occasional collective outbursts and violence, Barbados was a relatively conflict-free, well-integrated and consensual society. The "little England" ideology (and hence the absence of strong African traditions), the wide, popular appeal of a powerful and conservative Anglican Church, the safety valve of migration and the belief that progress, no matter how slow, was at least possible, all contributed to create a conformist society. This state of things lasted approximately until the 1930s. There followed what could be referred to as a reform-oriented society, in which the basic traditional structures of power were challenged by democratic means. From the perspective of 1990 there is little doubt that major changes have taken place. Nobody can dispute that at the political level there has been a more or less total "negrification" of the system; however, at the economic level the situation remains more controversial, in so far as the white elite is still strongly entrenched in a dominant position in both industry and business, as well as the more traditional agricultural sector. But, does that mean that there has been no shift in the relative economic positions of the different racial and class groupings? And, to what extent has education contributed to further or to block socio-economic mobility?

In broad outline, the major changes in the racial and class structure of the country over approximately the past fifty years have been the following:

1) A consolidation of the agro-commercial bourgeoisie. This is not the old plantocracy modernized, but to a large extent a new class as it incorporates many newcomers, people whose ancestors were not planters, but poor whites two or three generations back. At the time of Independence a number of these whites left the island and settled elsewhere (USA and the white Commonwealth). Those remaining tend to have their children educated partly or totally abroad.

2) The influx of two small but influential groups of people. Firstly, with the increase of foreign investment in the areas of industry and tourism, a small but economically powerful group of white expatriates came to Barbados to occupy middle to top managerial positions in the new firms. They integrated easily into the white Barbadian minority. Secondly, from the 1950s a small number of East Indians came to Barbados from elsewhere in the Caribbean and from the Indian subcontinent mostly as peddlers. They have managed to raise themselves into the middle to big size range of business. Today they constitute less than 1 percent of the population. As we shall see, although the East Indians are not an homogeneous group in themselves, they have preserved their cultural identity, which keeps them apart from both blacks and whites. They put high value on traditional educational ideas (discipline etc.) and make sure that their children

are well-prepared to obtain high scores in the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination so that they enter the most prestigious secondary schools.

3) The appearance of a black middle class. A large percentage of the members of this class belong to the professions and the civil service, though they are also found in business and manufacturing. However, while they are totally dominant in the professions and the civil service, blacks are grossly underrepresented in the other two areas. Throughout the historical period under consideration, political democratization and education have gone hand in hand, facilitating the emergence of this class and the breaking of the white and colored quasi-monopolies in these spheres of activity. As a result of these developments, there has been a spatial distancing effect between the new black middle class and the black working class; while the latter live in villages, the former live in the new housing developments of the "heights" and "terraces" as they are called. Economic expansion started in the late 50s and the coming of Independence accelerated the process by opening more positions to those black people who were able to profit from the increasing educational facilities.

4) The stability of the colored population. On the whole, light colored people have maintained their privileged position in society; they are a small circulating elite that, in so far as they approximate a white appearance, moves more freely than blacks from the professions, to industry, to commerce and to politics. It is part of their historical outlook to value education highly.

5) The diversification of the black working class. Barbados has moved from being a sugar-oriented economy to a country in which industry and tourism are prominent and agriculture plays second or third fiddle. In addition, with the expansion of the public sector, a vast number of white-collar jobs have appeared. In this area, many of the educational changes which took place in the 1960s and 1970s were tailor-made to fit these developments.

6) The slow disappearance of the poor whites. The remnants of the "Red Legs" are still located in a small rural area and have an economic situation no different from poor rural blacks. Progressively, some have been moving out to Bridgetown or they have been migrating abroad. They are numerically dwindling and will cease to be a distinctive group in the near future. Those in the rural settings do not make full use of the educational facilities available, perhaps because they do not perceive much benefit in education, or because they are culturally extremely inward looking.

There are two facts that are well-established in terms of evidence, and that hence are not open to dispute: the corporate private economy of Barbados is owned and controlled by a small white elite, and marked racial divisions still prevail in the island. From these two statements two very different elaborations have been developed. The radical school has maintained that the changes that have taken place in the past fifty years have not challenged the traditional racial and class structure, while the social-democratic school has sustained the view that Barbados has undergone a silent structural revolution since the 1930s. While the

former point out that the biggest corporate conglomerates such as Barbados Shipping and Trading, Plantations, Goddard's, and Industrial Enterprises, as well as the main employers' organizations (the Barbados Chamber of Commerce, Barbados Manufacturers etc.) are dominated by white elites, the latter emphasize that the locus of economic power has partly shifted towards the state which now plays a prominent role in the Barbadian economy. More or less explicit in the argument of the radical school is the assumption that Barbados is essentially an economically unequal society and that this inequality follows racial lines: the social democratic school, without denying the existence of inequalities, points out that, unlike in many other Third World countries, the differences are not extreme and that through education large numbers of people have become upwardly mobile. The radical school maintains that white Barbadians are racist and enforce a de facto racial discrimination in the private economic sector that they control (by barring access of blacks to middle and high rank managerial posts and by blocking black entrepreneurs through credit restriction), and in addition they opt for separate social lives and marry either among each other or find white partners abroad. The social democratic school, without denying the racialist overtones of many white Barbadians, emphasize the fact that black people have progressed in many areas, not only in government, in education, and in the professions, but even in the private economic sector where blacks are reaching higher positions.

Courtney N. Blackman (1982:134-6), former Governor of the Barbados Central Bank and one of the island's outstanding economists, has pointed out that Barbados today can best be compared with the less developed of the developed countries. The economic changes that the country has undergone have been quite dramatic; a look at a variety of indicators of quality of life places Barbados among the quasi-developed countries, ahead of Greece and Portugal within the EC. Although poverty still exists and the unemployment rate is relatively high, wealth is better distributed than in many other countries. The main point to be emphasized here is that the majority of the population enjoys a reasonable standard of living, having access to what are considered the basic goods and services that satisfy basic needs as socially defined. Blackman's major argument is against those who suggest that there have been no important changes in the locus of economic power in Barbadian society in the past fifty years. His criticisms are addressed to those who defend a narrow conception of economic power; for him economic power is "the ability to make effective decisions about the use of significant blocks of wealth and the expenditure of large sums of money" (1135-6). The Barbadian government is in precisely such a position because it has access to more resources than any private entrepreneurs; in a country where government expenditure is around 35 percent of the total national expenditure, surely it must play an important role and the state is without doubt the redistributive agent that has impeded the possible polarization of Barbados along typical Third World lines, with a small rich minority and a large poor majority.

An interesting problem is why a black indigenous capitalist class did not develop to any great extent. The radical school maintains that blacks have been denied access to this sector through a variety of blocking practices. In addition, the encouragement to foreign capital did not help the formation of a local bourgeoisie. These statements may well be true to a certain extent, but are they the only reasons? It is a fact that there is a thriving black small business community, but they have difficulty in expanding. Different explanations are offered; the most common is that the financial institutions, which are controlled by whites,

make credit difficult to come by; the banks say that this is not a racially inspired policy, but simply a response to the fact that most of these businesses are poor financial risks. In addition, it has been said that many small black businesses lack the managerial skills to make the big jump, and hence when they do, the rate of bankruptcies is high. There is, however, another cultural factor which is an obstacle to the emergence of a black business class: this is the belief that this is an area the whites have reserved for themselves and that no amount of effort made by blacks can lead to success. In addition it is perhaps not so much that young, bright black Barbadians have no alternative but to go into the professions or the civil service, but that most of them despise the entrepreneurial culture.

One non-white group which has managed to create for itself a privileged position within the Barbadian economy is the East Indians. In a few years they have made tremendous strides in the commercial sector. They started as itinerant salesmen, giving credit to poor, rural Barbadians. By 1990, they had moved into retail dealing, mostly in clothing, but they had also gone into industry, tourism etc. In the racial demonology of the black masses, they are now seen as alien exploiters. The fact that East Indians have preserved their language(s) and culture(s) of origin has distanced them socially and culturally from the majority of the Barbadian population. In the past few years they have figured prominently in calypsos and they are the subjects of hostile and aggressive feelings that border on anti-Indian racism. They are considered a threat to black business interests and they are seen as unpatriotic. In general, most people resent their economic success.

In the past few years, racial issues have come much more into the open than they ever did in the past. If a precise date were required for when this happened, the 1986 elections mark the dividing line. Certainly, prior to 1986 there had been instances of racial arguments, in particular in the early 70s there were racial tensions following the Black Power movement; but these were nipped in the bud by Barrow's swift intervention. At elections racial invectives might be used, but things would soon settle down. However, after Blackman raised the racial factor in the 1986 election, racial discussions, arguments and tensions have been on the increase, to the point that they have dominated much of the recent discourse of Barbadian society as it is expressed in the media and in private political discussions. Events such as the decisions by Dr. Blackman, the Minister of Transport, to award a major contract for highway construction to a black bidder independent of whether that tender was the best and most economical one, and his attempt to justify it in terms of "redressing historical injustices"; as well as the failed attempt, proceeded by a vigorous and at times vicious campaign, by Black Power activists to capture strategic positions on the board of the Barbados Mutual (an insurance company which is one of the most important financial institutions in the country and in the region), have raised the level of racial confrontation to hitherto unheard pitches. Barbadian society is divided as to the desirability of having the racial issue in the open. While the establishment and the new black middle class are opposed to anything that could challenge the carefully woven status quo, the black power activists often find resonance in sectors of the lower middle and lower classes, who see in the white (or Indian) minority an easy scapegoat for their lack of economic success. A few DLP politicians are also willing to use racial demagogy to consolidate their positions among the masses, particularly when they can score racial points against their arch rivals in the BLP, whose leader, Henry Forde, is often accused of being a "stoolpigeon" for white interests. Those black public figures that are

outspoken against the politicization of race are often scorned by black power militants with insults such s "house-niggers" or "Uncle Toms".

Comparison of the social structure of Barbados in 1940 and in 1990, or even in 1960 and 1990, produces a picture of tremendous contrast. While in the early period, Barbados was a poor, colonial country with a sugar-oriented economy and a rigidly divided structure along racial and class lines, today it is a reasonably wealthy, independent country with a diversified economy and a new and more flexible racial and class structure. There is little doubt that education has played a major role in these changes. Without a free, competitive educational system from primary to tertiary levels, the black population would not have been able to take advantage of the opportunities that economic development has brought to the island. As has been mentioned before, the decade of the 1960s was decisive in educational matters. All recent studies of social change in Barbados show that the pre-condition for inter-generational mobility over the past two or three generations has been to have reached higher levels than primary education, usually secondary education plus professional training or university education. It might rightly be argued that the educational system is elitist, but no longer along color lines. Prior to 1959, the top secondary schools were more or less monopolized by the white minority, even if some colored and black children also had access to them. It would be true to say that the top secondary schools are still class biased, but this is because middle class parents make sure that their children are well prepared, with coaching if necessary, in order that they succeed in the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination; this produces the problem of a self-perpetuating meritocracy which it is difficult to circumvent, but it is not a racial issue.

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d. Women and Education

The development of the educational system in Barbados has followed closely the development of the English system, at least until recent years, and the situation of women within that system, both as pupils and as teachers, has been no exception. When schools in Barbados first began to flourish in the nineteenth century, most of the provision was limited to primary education. There were more or less equal numbers of boys and girls attending these schools, which can be attributed particularly to parental appreciation of the importance of education to children of both sexes. However, the pupils were segregated into separate classes, and the beginnings of a pattern which later developed more strongly can be seen, whereby rather less was expected of girls academically (there is evidence that girls only learnt reading whilst boys did the full three Rs) and different practical subjects were taught to the two sexes (e.g. needlework for girls and carpentry for boys). Secondary education at this time was provided only for a limited number of children from the middle classes, mostly boys. Not until after the Mitchinson Report of 1875 were the first two girls' secondary schools founded, namely a first grade school, Queen's College in 1881, and a second grade school, Alexandra, in 1896. The reasons for the Report's recommendation for the creation of secondary schools for girls were typical of middle class thinking of the time, namely that better educated mothers could provide better influence on their children's development. This

idea of the role of women being to serve others as mothers and as wives, and limiting their activities to the home was a reality for white middle class women and the education provided for them was clearly not intended to broaden their horizons or opportunities. Similar thinking influenced the curriculum of the primary schools in Barbados even though lower class women lead very different lives from those of the middle classes both in Britain where the ideas originated and in Barbados. The curriculum of the new girls' secondary schools resembled that of second grade boys' schools, with the addition of 'civilizing' subjects such as music, drawing and singing and domestic subjects. However, despite its limitations, the extension of secondary education to at least some girls was an important step forward paving the way for later developments.

No doubt making use of the rudimentary education afforded them, some Barbadian women, mostly colored, developed their own small businesses in the nineteenth century ranging from domestic services such as dressmaking to the running of guest houses, so beginning a tradition of independent business activity amongst women. However, amongst the black majority, whilst men were developing craftsmen's skills, some of which they first learnt at school, most women of the same group remained unskilled agricultural laborers.

With the expansion of the education system in the twentieth century, and particularly with the accelerated increase in secondary education from the 1950s, girls benefited as well as boys, even though at the secondary level this benefit was not always equal, especially in the early period. During these years, there were more than twice as many places for boys in secondary schools as for girls, there were fewer scholarships to girls' schools, the curricula were more restricted in girls' schools, the physical facilities were inferior, and the teaching provision was poorer. It was just not considered as important to educate girls as it was to educate boys who were expected to fill the professional and administrative posts available to those with secondary education and higher education. Girls' education was still largely regarded as preparation for homemaking and motherhood and when its development was recommended it was with this in mind. The Royal Commission of 1939 chaired by Lord Moyne, which reported in 1945, said that girls' education should be expanded so that they could provide better marital companionship. However, their report also recommended curricular reform and expansion in the more academic girls' secondary schools to enable their pupils to compete equally with males for entrance to teaching and other professions which limited numbers were beginning to join.

Nursery and primary education in Barbados have for long been co-educational, and with the recent trend towards amalgamation of primary schools, single sex primary education is becoming increasingly rare. Today, at least as the formal curriculum is concerned, girls and boys receive the same education. However, early education clearly does not combat forces causing strong sex-stereotyping of subject choices in later years, and it may well play a role in the socialization of children which produces in this differentiation.

As fewer girls' secondary schools were built in earlier years, there were fewer places for girls at older secondary schools, until the recent trend to co-education and policy changes following the Shorey Report of 1974. This was despite the higher number of female entrants for the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination, and their consistently higher marks in the exam. This situation persisted as late as the mid-1970s, so denying generations of girls'

access to an academic secondary education on the same grounds as their male peers. As well as helping to redress this imbalance, the trend to co-education has also opened up the better equipped and resourced boys' schools to girls. Secondary places are now awarded more or less equally to the sexes, although some account is taken of the generally poorer performance of boys at age 11.

As well as being discriminated against in access to the older secondary schools, girls were also discriminated against generally in access to secondary education until the mid-1970s, fewer girls gaining entrance to any secondary school until 1976. This is an important barrier in the Barbadian education system and the differential treatment of the sexes was a clear reflection of the lesser importance given to girls' education by the controlling authorities. However, since this time, girls have fared better than boys, fewer of their number have been consigned to vocational centers or senior schools, or to the senior forms of composite schools, where only a very limited education is provided. Indeed the imbalance of the sexes in these schools is now clearly in favour of girls; the Ministry Report for 1983-84 show that there were 2,119 boys in these schools compared with only 826 girls.

Before the recent increase in co-educational secondary schools, the curricula in girls' and boys' schools were significantly different, particularly for non-academic subjects. In girls' schools, domestic science and commercial subjects were the most commonly offered, whereas in boys' schools industrial arts such as woodwork and metalwork were taught. This difference was particularly marked in the newer secondaries which aimed to give a more vocational education. Here, even when the schools were mixed, classes were often divided by sex for these subjects. In addition, at girls' schools, facilities for sciences other than biology were often completely lacking. The National Commission on the Status of Women in Barbados, which reported in 1978, noted this situation and recommended various measures to overcome the differential education provision for the sexes, which limited the opportunities for girls in particular. Since then, the situation has changed with increased co-education and common non-academic subjects for boys and girls in the early years of secondary school - increasingly both sexes do study home economics and the industrial arts - and both have the opportunity to study the physical sciences. However, beyond this opening up of opportunity, and degree of compulsion to at least taste a wider range of subjects, when pupils are offered choice in higher forms, the old divisions along sex lines commonly persist. A few boys may choose cookery and few girls metalwork, but these classes still generally reflect the age-old gender division, and girls still tend to shy away from the physical sciences. Such patterns tend to act to the disadvantage of girls, for example in limiting their employment opportunities and the possibility of their attaining higher paid, higher status jobs. Much more complex problems associated with socialization to strongly differentiated gender roles have to be tackled in order to raise the status of women in Barbadian society.

At age 16, most Barbadian schoolchildren leave school. At this stage, girls have persistently left schools with better qualifications for some years. Since the mid-60s at least, in each year more girls have gained the Barbados Secondary School Certificate and the London Chamber of Commerce certificates. Since at least the late-70s they have also passes more of the higher level exams, 'O' level or CXCs. More girls than boys stay on to do an additional year at school in the newer secondaries where they can improve their qualifications. However, until the mid-80s, fewer girls than boys stayed on at school to tackle

'A' levels, the next stage on the academic ladder, at least in the school sixth forms. However, more girls than boys have passed 'A' level subjects since the late-70s at least, although of those achieving 3 or more 'A' levels, most have usually been more boys. At this top level, boys have kept ahead, at least until recently. Girls have done better overall in school education, but at the highest levels it is only in the last few years that they have caught up with boys. The reasons for this are difficult to disentangle but they could include discrimination in selection for sixth forms, until recent centralization of these procedures, differential encouragement for excellence from teachers, and differential socialization of girls compared with boys to the value of academic success.

Following the academic route, enrollment at the Cave Hill campus of the University of the West Indies has shown a gradual trend to increasing numbers of female students. In 1964/65 only 25 percent of students enrolled for first degrees were women, but by 1983/84 this had increased to 52 percent, and it reached 55 percent by 1987/88. Enrollment for certificates and diplomas showed a similar trend reaching 53 percent females in 1983/84 and 52 percent in 1987/88. For higher degrees, too, by 1987/88, 52 percent of enrolled students were women. However, the overall state of equality attained by the late-80s, disguises underlying differences in subject specialization between the sexes which continue to reflect traditional patterns. In 1987/88, the clear majority of students in the Natural Sciences Faculty were male while in the Arts and General Studies Faculty and Social Sciences Faculty the majority were female. In law, women just outnumbered men, which goes against traditional trends, but in medicine, men heavily outnumbered women. However, where these figures do imply the continuance of traditional patterns, these are not as marked as elsewhere in the Barbadian educational system, particularly in technical and lower level vocational training. In the Natural Sciences Faculty, for example, female students make up over a third of the enrollment.

A different pattern is found at the Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic which offers vocational training, particularly in the traditional male areas of engineering, mechanics, carpentry etc. In 1987/88 of a total of 1800 Polytechnic students, only 400 were female and of these 325 were enrolled on courses in commercial studies and human ecology where there were only 35 male students. At this level, and in this type of education, sex-stereotypes are powerful and pervasive. This is apparently the result of socialization to gender roles for these occupations and skills. For long, the skilled craftsmen in Barbados have been male, since the beginnings of specialization that began under slavery, and this pattern is strongly entrenched.

A complementary pattern exists at Erdiston, the teacher training college, where females dominate enrollment, although not to such an extent, males having made up about a third of the student body for at least the last 15 years. As one of the caring professions, teaching has attracted a large proportion of women. It has provided an important route for upward mobility to a good salary and high status. In latter years, the significance of these qualities has been somewhat eroded as other opportunities have opened up since Independence. Some say that had teaching been male-dominated, it might have maintained its position better and that a female dominated profession is more easily allowed to slide. However, teaching still provides a good opportunity for women to enter a professional-level career. Within the profession, though, women have not faired as well as their male counterparts in terms of promotion. For example, despite the larger numbers of women

teachers, only one third of heads of government secondary schools were women in 1988, and there were only five women out of eighteen heads of the co-educational schools. Male domination at the top of staff hierarchies also persists in the tertiary educational institutions of the island, where until the appointment of a woman as principal of the Community College in 1988, all the heads had always been male.

At the Barbados Community College, female students outnumber male students, for example by 1049 to 743 in 1983-84. This is largely explained by the presence of the Divisions of Commerce and Health Sciences which provide vocational courses in traditionally female areas, although the balance is somewhat redressed by the Division of Technology which is traditionally, and persistently, very male-dominated. The Community College has clearly increased opportunities for vocational training for women, and in this respect it helps to counterbalance the heavily male-dominated polytechnic, although the courses at the Community College are also at a higher academic level.

Since 1964-65, the earliest year for which figures are available, women have dominated the enrollment for adult education courses in Barbados, typically by as much as five to one. This represents both a greater desire on the part of women to improve their formal qualifications such as 'O' levels, and a greater interest in more general courses. Some special programs have been designed for women, particularly by the Women and Development Unit (WAND) of the Extra Mural Department, both to raise their general awareness of their situation, to provide particular skill training and to help with the setting up of small-scale income-earning enterprises.

In summary, whilst women have not always received equal educational opportunities to their male peers, they have benefited from the long tradition of education in Barbados and its recent great expansion. Though clear-cut gender divisions still persist, particularly in the choice of academic and vocational study areas, they are much more marked in the latter. In terms of qualifications, girls tend to achieve better than boys, except at the highest levels, though recently they have begun to overtake boys at university level. Because of the considerable gender-bias at the Polytechnic, females are gaining far fewer technical qualifications in a much narrower range of specializations than males.

Women have traditionally occupied central roles in Barbadian society as they have throughout the West Indies. Considerable prestige is attached to motherhood and homemaking and the woman who performs well in these areas is well respected. A large proportion of households in Barbados are headed by women, around 40 percent, in many cases in the absence of a permanent resident male partner. Whilst lifelong marriage to one partner and children only from this union is the expectations of the white upper class and the upper levels of the middle class, both black and white, unions in the lower and lower middle classes follow a different pattern. Though such women generally only have one sexual partner at a time and their relationships may persist for years, they commonly have a series of such relationships, with children from several or all of them. Further, marriage generally occurs later in life, often not until the end of a woman's reproductive period, and most unions are either 'visiting' relationships, in which the partners do not reside together, or common-law cohabitations. A frequent pattern is for a woman to move sequentially through visiting to common-law relations and then to a marital union, though not necessarily with the same

partner. Children are primarily the responsibility of their mother; fathers are expected to provide women with support for their own children, but in practice this is often irregular and paternity may be denied. Women often view the birth of a child as a likely binding factor in a relationship, but the evidence shows that relationships are actually most likely to break up during pregnancy with the man leaving for another woman. The woman's hope that her children by a series of fathers will increase her income through their maintenance money is also rarely borne out as figures show that women with more partners and more children are more likely to have to apply for welfare help.

The relative instability of sexual unions in Barbados, particularly in the lower classes affects the mutual independence of men and women. Women generally value their independence and may prefer to live in their own households, and to manage the household affairs and retain some financial independence. Kin and same-sex groups provide important support networks. Grandmothers, aunts and siblings give women valuable assistance, especially with childcare and female friends cooperate for purchasing, income-earning and social activities. Personal status within a local community is an individual attribute, in which levels of education and income (which is also related to education) are important factors, as well as the roles of motherhood and homemaking for women. Women are not ranked by their partners' positions.

Women have traditionally pursued mixed coping strategies, juggling their immediate domestic responsibilities and their need for income. In doing so, petty earning activities such as domestic services, hawking of fruit and vegetables, and seasonal agricultural work, have provided a suitable flexible solution for many women. Children may accompany their mothers to work or be left with relatives or friends. If household duties require, a woman may stay at home for a day or two and, for example, her goods may be sold for her by a friend until the problem is resolved. Motherhood itself may bring income through maintenance money and later through the earnings of offspring, although education is compulsory up to age sixteen and is highly valued so that it is unlikely to be sacrificed for immediate financial gain unless absolutely necessary. Traditional female coping strategies, however, have suffered from the modernization of the Barbadian economy. Street hawking has become much less rewarding since the advent of large supermarkets and instead of selling their own produce, many hawkers actually purchase goods for sale from these new outlets, so reducing their profits and their independence. Personal domestic service, with the flexibility and other benefits an individual relationship can earn, has been a declining area of employment, and domestic service in hotels and restaurants has increased, requiring more regular hours and commitment. Services such as seamstressing and washing are no longer so widely needed because of the easy availability of mass-produced clothes and electrical domestic appliances. Agriculture, too, has become increasingly mechanized, thus closing other temporary employment possibilities.

As well as their domestic and family roles, Barbadian women are active in many aspects of community life. They form the majority of most church and gospel hall congregations, and a large number of preachers in the less formal religious groups are women. Social events, particularly those centered around the church, picnics and other outings, are organized by women, as are many special interest groups. In the teaching profession this is very noticeable in such groups as the Foreign Language Teachers

Association and the Association for the Teaching of English where women provide leadership, motivation and the organizational workforce. One major area of community life into which women have not moved is the realm of party politics. Whilst they may play background organizational roles in constituency parties, they have rarely stood for election either for the local Vestries before their dissolution, or for the House of Assembly. The requirements of prospective elected representatives to brandish their personal qualities and beliefs, and to undermine those of their opponents are considered too dirty and unbecoming for women. Apart a few notable exceptions, including the recent appointment of Dame Nita Barrow as Governor General, women have generally been excluded from the expanding field of political power. This extends to leadership in the trade unions, including the teachers' unions. Apart from the immediate past secretary of the BSTU, few women have held office in these organisations.

An important change in the lives of Barbadian women in the last thirty years has been the highly successful development of an island-wide Family Planning Association offering free contraceptive services. Started in 1955 as a private concern, it soon became a public service. In the 1960s, Barbados was undergoing rapid social and economic change in the 1960s and conditions were very favorable for a successful drive to decrease the birth rate and so stem the fast rate of increase of the population. This occurred dramatically during the 60s and has continued since. The national birth rate of 34 per thousand in 1960 fell to 20 by 1970 and again to 15 by 1987. The total fertility rate of women in 1955 was 4.2. This fell to 2.5 by 1970 and again to 2.1 in 1980. There is some argument over the contribution of emigration in achieving these declines but analyses suggest that the uptake of family planning was the major cause. Evidence worldwide, and from Barbados itself, shows that education levels, as well as socioeconomic conditions, play important roles in the uptake and successful practice of contraception to limit family size. Without such a fall in the birth rate, Barbados would probably have developed far more slowly as opportunities for migration were disappearing and resources would have had to be used to provide services for a rapidly increasing population, rather than for improving conditions for a relatively stable number as has been the case. This has affected education as well as other areas, and increasing provision has been made considerably easier, and in many instances has only been made possible, by stable and now falling school roles. So education has probably both helped to promote and benefited from the great fertility decline of the last thirty years.

Whilst women other than white middle class women have traditionally worked outside the home, there has been a varying percentage that has not worked at any one time. This may be voluntary or involuntary and the distinction can be difficult to make. Many women may like to take up some form of employment given the opportunity but suitable jobs may not be available. Over the past fifty years the female workforce has shown quite major changes, both in its overall size and in its dispersion between different sectors. This has been a period of great economic and social development and most importantly of structural changes, which have altered the types and conditions of work available. The general and progressive development during this period, however, hides some of the detrimental effects it has had on the employment situation for many women.

During the period from 1946-70, whilst the total working population decreased, the female workforce decreased, but the male workforce actually showed a slight increase, and

hence there was an important shift in the sex balance of workers. This has more or less persisted since 1970 with a slight increase in the relative proportion of women workers. The total workforce stagnated through the late seventies and decreased again slightly to 1986. Official unemployment figures are high, but even so they are probably somewhat underestimates and they disguise underemployment. In 1986 the male unemployment rate was about 13 percent of the male workforce while the female rate was about 23 percent. As the workforce has declined, so the percentages of unemployed have increased. Starting from a worse position, women have been particularly hard hit in terms of the number of unemployed.

Besides sex differences in the declining workforce, men and women have been differentially affected by changes in the structure of the labor market in Barbados. The agricultural labor force has decreased greatly over the period as increasing mechanization has replaced many workers. Manufacturing has increased as a source of employment and tourism even more so. Women lost more than men with the fall in agricultural employment because the largest losses were in the unskilled, low paid tasks and many more of the remaining jobs require skills such as mechanics. Women are more reliant on the unskilled jobs and men more often possess the necessary mechanical skills for the higher paid jobs or they are taken on to learn such work. Whilst not doing well in the sector generally, in some manufacturing areas women have been given employment preferentially, but this has generally been in the lowest paid, unskilled, production-line jobs or as operatives in garment factories. Tourism has provided a large number of jobs for service workers, a traditionally female area which men have also moved into, but which is still female-dominated. Again the mass of jobs available in this area is poorly paid and has low status.

The shift from agriculture into other economic sectors has affected men and women differently with respect to the types of work that they now do. Whilst females have become predominant in clerical, sales and service jobs, men are in the majority in professional, technical, administrative, and manufacturing jobs as well as in agricultural work (the occupational categories used here are those used in the census reports and the term "Service jobs" refers mostly to domestic, personal, catering services and excludes occupations such as nursing and teaching). Sex-stereotyping with regards to type of work has become more marked, and the more female-dominated activities are in broad terms of lower status and worse paid than at least the first three male-dominated categories cited above. From 1970 to 1986, there were slight shifts in this balance suggesting some improvement for the position of women, at least at the top end of the employment market. Female professional and technical workers increased in number than males and by 1986 they were in approximately equal numbers. In the administrative and managerial areas, over the same period, there was at least no worsening of the female situation. With increasing numbers of jobs in these areas, women held steady at about 40 percent of the workforce. However, manufacturing was an unsteady sector from 1970. It showed some increased in workforce in the 1970s and then decreased in the 1980s. Being a very male-dominated area, whilst both sexes were affected, this was relatively more important to men. Agriculture and fishing also declined from 1970 to 1986, but this affected men more, so that approximately equal numbers of men and women were employed by 1986. The number of clerical workers increased, and women maintained about a 60 percent share of jobs in this area.

Why the sex-stereotyping of types of work should persist so strongly in the recent job market is a difficult question to answer and no doubt one which involves quite a number of factors. Whilst most job advertisements are no longer permitted to stipulate a particular sex, nor to appear to encourage only applicants of one sex, applications in different employment sectors more or less reflect the present sex ratio of their respective workforces. For jobs requiring particular skills training, such as commercial skills or mechanical skills, the stereotyping clearly occurs before entrance to tertiary education. The increasing female enrollment at the university and increasing numbers of females passing 'A' levels also correlates with the increasingly small and now negligible sex difference in professional and technical employment requiring high-level education. Again, explanation of the sex-stereotyping of jobs must reach back into childhood.

The fall of the fertility rate in the last thirty years in Barbados might at first sight seem likely to have greatly increased the numbers of women seeking work, as they have been freed from the burden of bearing and caring for large numbers of children. It is true that non-working Barbadian women tend to have higher fertility than working women, at least for the period to 1970, but the difference in employment rates for women of higher and lower parity is not strongly marked. Barbadian women have traditionally worked outside the home, even when they have quite large families and the pattern continues. However, in a changing job market, with its decreasing opportunities for the petty trader etc., the decrease in fertility may have made it easier for women to adjust to more formalized situations, having fewer children for whom to find minders. In the absence of much public childcare provision in the form of nurseries and crèches, the fall in family size may have been a hidden compensatory factor for women trying to maintain employment in the changing market.

The increased education of both men and women since 1960 has produced a qualified workforce to move into developing areas of higher level employment. This is reflected in a relationship between individuals' levels of education and the sector in which they are employed, and therefore with their pay and status, too. Amongst women, those with only primary education tend to be concentrated in agricultural, service and manufacturing jobs. Those with secondary education range from professional and technical jobs, to clerical, to some service jobs. Women with tertiary education tend to work in professional, technical and clerical jobs. However, in recent years, the opportunities in the job market have not kept pace with increasing levels of educational attainment in the workforce. So, whilst in 1960 about 30 percent of those with secondary education but no qualifications worked in clerical jobs, by 1970 this had decreased to 10 percent, the others having shifted down the scales of pay and status to the service sector. Fifty percent of those with secondary education and some qualifications, but no tertiary education, worked in professional and technical jobs in 1960, but this had reduced to 40 percent by 1970 with a compensatory increase in clerical workers to 50 percent, representing a similar decrease in pay and status. Figures for 1986 do not divide those with secondary education into those with and without qualifications, but of the total, 37 percent were employed in clerical jobs, 17 percent in services, 18 percent in manufacturing and 14 percent in professional, administrative and managerial jobs. This represents an overall lowering of employment opportunities for this group compared with earlier years. In 1960, of those with tertiary education of any kind, 80 percent were employed in professional and technical jobs compared with 67 percent in 1970. By 1986, only 65 percent of those with university degrees, the highest qualifications, were employed in this

sector. Altogether this reflects a pattern whereby increasing levels of education are needed to enter the same level of employment. Secondary education used to be a passport to a white-collar job; it no longer is. University education no longer ensures a professional career. This pattern is similar for both men and women, but, given these circumstances, women have done well to increase their share of the professional and technical jobs available and to retain their share of the administrative and managerial sector. At the top end of the employment scale, women have even been improving their position despite increasingly difficult circumstances. However, at the lower end, the agricultural and service sectors, in conditions of increasing unemployment, women in great need of work have not been in strong positions to improve their prospects or their conditions of work. And, as ever increasing qualifications are needed to climb out of these sectors, they provide the only realistic employments prospects for a large number of women.

Many of the large categories used here to discuss sections of the employment market cover wide ranges of individual jobs in terms of seniority, pay and status. The National Commission for the Status of Women reported in 1978 that women were receiving much less opportunity for training either on the job or externally in many employment sectors, for example of business and the civil service. This situation has apparently improved somewhat in more recent years, but, although hard data are not available to prove it, in a large number of businesses, offices and civil service departments, it is common to find women workers being supervised by a more senior male employee. A detailed analysis of the reasons for the apparent persistence, albeit decreasing, of better male promotions cannot be done here. Possible contributory factors include both direct and indirect discrimination. Time lost as a result of childbirth could be important, as could lack of ambition in women, perhaps because of a lack of suitable role models, In addition, the influence of Barbadian males' continuing perceived need to dominate women and difficulty in accepting dominance by women may influence those deciding upon promotions, either because they conform to the traditional view themselves, or because they prefer not to upset the status quo. Though women in Barbados are now gaining the qualifications needed to enter a greater range of employment than ever before, albeit still more restricted than for men, equality of opportunity within work structures still remains an elusive goal. Particularly for those with few or no qualifications, employment opportunities for men and women remain markedly different.

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e. Culture, Media and Education

At the time of Independence politicians expressed the belief that alongside the construction of an independent state a Barbadian national identity would be developed in the island. It is immaterial here that some ideologues conceived hopes for a wider Caribbean national identity. From the perspective of a quarter of a century later it is difficult to accept that the prediction of a national identity has been realized. Barbados may have a democratic constitution, with lofty egalitarian ideals, but the extent to which the ethnic predominates over the national is hardly questionable. The failure to generate a genuine national culture is at the root of the problem. Barbadian society today is bitterly divided as to what does or what should constitute Barbadian culture. In broad terms, two major cultural alternatives are competing which, for simplicity's sake, can be labeled: Western and African. Underlying these options there is a racial argument, but there is not a clear one to one correspondence between color and culture.

Until recent times the island's identity was mainly defined by the small white minority and was strongly pervaded by metropolitan values. One has only to look at John Hearne's (1966) table of stereotypes about Barbados to realize what a conservative and metropolitan-oriented place Barbados was until the mid-sixties:

As seen from Barbados	**As seen from the rest of the Caribbean**
Sense of self	Self-satisfaction
Thrift, good husbandry; industriousness, ambition	Meanness, unimaginative materialism, ruthless and self-centered
Public and personal discipline	Dullness
Cooperative action and civil dialogue	Hypocrisy and compromise
Englishness	Insularity
Order, protocol, traditional procedure sake	Love of conformity for conformity's
Checks and balances	Betrayal of ad hoc approach to social tension (West Indian way)

The majority of the population of Barbados had no voice in the making of the dominant culture, nor did they have a voice of their own. By the time of Independence, although political power passed into the hands of a black political elite, they were basically a group of people who shared the essential "English" values typical of the colonial setting, while rejecting white control. There was nothing in the cultural ethos of Sir Grantley Adams (to name the most prominent black politician of the 1940s and 1950s) nor in any of the other members of the black elite for that matter, that was not essentially in agreement with the peculiar brand of transplanted "English" culture that had developed in the island. Yet it was not only politicians, but also the Anglican Church, the educational system, the media, the professions, commerce etc. which were imbued with a sense of what for lack of a better word we might call Barbadian "Englishness". There were, of course, a few intellectual voices such as George Lamming, who by the 1950s were articulating a cogent critique of the colonial order and were challenging the inherited cultural parameters. But, as with Edward Kamau Brathwaite later, they were doing it as exiles, unable and unwilling to accept the stifling effects of Barbadian insularity. Paradoxically, their literary success was an English affair,

and only many years later did they became heralds of the Black Roots movement in Barbados.

The long-standing reluctance of Barbadian society to challenge the received consensualist ideology has already been mentioned. Those who have tended to present the island in conflictual terms (be it class or race-based) have often been accused not of describing, but of generating conflict, as if the mere conjuring up of the term conflict could bring the evils of confrontation to reality. That is why the emergence of black ethnicity in Barbados has been a much slower process than elsewhere in the West Indies, although the objective conditions - the majority of the population being black, oppressed and alienated - were also there. The Black Power movement of the early 1970s was paralyzed, not by intellectual arguments, but by legal means. When Barrow saw that the movement could gather political momentum and rock the tourist boat or, more generally, threaten the white financial establishment (whether local or foreign) he decided to pass the Public Order Act. As an open society committed to democracy and freedom, however, Barbados could not totally avoid being influenced, the growing waves of black consciousness that came not only from other Caribbean islands, but also from the USA and elsewhere.

It is difficult to ascertain with precision the role played by the formal educational system in the development of black ethnicity in the island. Undoubtedly, the change from the English-oriented 'O' levels to CXC was a major factor in the process of recovering the submerged Caribbean identity of Barbadians. This was particularly noticeable in areas such as history and civics, as well as in literature. Recently there have been calls for the teaching of African history and art in secondary schools. It would be incorrect, however, to infer from these facts that the schools are engaged in black ethnic assertiveness. In reality, teachers often show a lack of interest in these issues, and at times are even opposed to them, particularly those who are over about 35 years of age. Now, however, it seems that the younger generation of teachers, particularly those with university degrees in the social sciences or humanities, are much more receptive to the motifs of Black ethnicity than their elders. This rightly suggests that the university is the main focus of black assertiveness within the educational system; none of the other tertiary institutions exhibits comparable features. A glance at their adult and continuing education program (including the Extra Mural Department of the UWI) shows the low profile in terms of courses which could be reckoned to contain elements susceptible to the generation of black consciousness. In 1987, more than 600 Barbadian tertiary students were studying abroad, roughly two-thirds of them in the USA and one third in Canada and the UK. Their experiences serve to accentuate black consciousness, both as a result of white racism and of attending courses/meetings on racial issues and awareness in these countries. The inroads that the populist, roots-oriented model, which tends to give value to reconstructed Afro-Caribbean heritage, is likely to make into the educational system in the future is difficult to predict, and will surely depend on many other factors affecting Barbadian society, particularly the degree of employment and mobility within the system.

The key factor that triggered off a sense of black, Caribbean identity in Barbados was the hosting of CARIFESTA in 1981. The meeting of artists and musicians from all over the Caribbean brought home to many Barbadians an awareness of the region's common cultural past. The perception that Africaness and slavery link together the disparate black peoples of

the Caribbean, even despite their different colonial masters, was something of a discovery for the insular Barbadians, who had always felt that they were a world apart or even a world above. In this context, the university had always played a unifying role, but it was an experience limited to the very few. The creation of the National Cultural Foundation in 1984 - which over the years has sponsored and participated in a wide variety of cultural activities, particularly the yearly Crop Over Festival - responded to a belated recognition of the inheritance of "African" and "Caribbean" elements in the culture of Barbados and in a sense of Caribbeanness. However, these things are not in themselves sufficient to generate a sustained interest and appeal for the "African" model, except at a rather folkloric, superficial level. That is why it is essential to look at the role played by more radical black groups: the Yoruba Foundation. the Nation of Islam and the Rastafarian Movement. They all came into being locally in the 1970s, partly in response to what was perceived as cultural alienation of the black population in a world dominated by a white minority. All these movements are reflections in Barbados of black cultural developments taking place elsewhere, be they in the Caribbean or the USA. None of them managed to subvert the established order, and over the years their impact has been limited.

The Yoruba Foundation, which is no longer operative, was the brainchild of Elton 'Elombe' Mottley, a colorful cultural agitator from a well-known black middle class family of long-standing. The *raison deter* of the Yoruba Foundation was to be found in the frustration felt by a group of intellectuals and artists with the government's policies in the sphere of culture; the latter's failure to encourage the 'Africanization' of Barbadian culture was vigorously criticized by the group and an attempt was made to encourage Barbadian popular culture (the roots of which, they stated, were African). Unlike the other two groups mentioned, the Yoruba Foundation was not religiously inspired, nor did it particularly value religion. This fact, along with their elitist conception of culture (they only concentrated on the creative and performance arts) may explain the lack of appeal that the group had among the black masses. On the other hand, the African cultural nationalism embraced by the movement was too alien to Barbadian everyday reality to attract a mass or even a significant following. The failure to address the basic socio-economic problems of the black majority of Barbadians is seen by commentators as the main reason for the lack of political impact of the movement. In retrospect, the short-lived adventure of the Yoruba Foundation may have failed to attract Barbadians in great numbers, but it no doubt set the agenda for future cultural developments. Today the Yoruba Foundation is already part of the mythology of black conscientization.

Rastafarianism took root in Barbados in the early 1970s, in the aftermath of the economic or oil crisis, at a time of growing unemployment among young, poorly-educated blacks. The Barbadian Rastas copied their Jamaican brethren at all levels: their language, appearance, beliefs, withdrawal from Babylon etc. They operate in the margins of society selling fruit and craftwork. Though there are no official figures, their numbers are very small. There is little sympathy for them among the general population. The media regularly attack them accusing them of being anti-social elements; they essentially see them as thieves and vagabonds who are unwilling to work to earn a living. Their presence is embarrassing, and barely tolerated by the local authorities who often regard them as an obstacle to tourism.

The Nation of Islam is another imported religious ideology, in this case from the USA. Their followers number only a few hundred, and it is difficult to see how such an anti-Christian religion could ever have a profound impact in a society like the Barbadian one in which Christianity has taken extremely deep roots. The Muslim ideology preached by this group is centered on the primacy of blacks restoring the black man into a position of power, which he lost after centuries of being dominated by the white man. The group aims at establishing the hegemony of black culture in Barbados. It is openly racial in its statements, and it has tried to articulate a comprehensive alternative to the white capitalist society, combining different communitarian-oriented forms of 'African socialism'.

It has been mentioned before that although the Anglican church is still the major religious denomination in Barbados (close to the position of an established church although legally it no longer is), in recent years it has been losing appeal in the face of a fair degree of secularization and strong competition from evangelical and "Afro-American-type" churches in which the emphasis is on more participatory worship in the form of singing and dancing, as well as social gatherings. This is not to say that although there is a strong core of very traditionally minded Anglican clergy, there is not also an active and growing group of Anglican priests, some of whom are in powerful positions, who voice social and even political and racial issues in ways that reflect the influence of liberation theology. These developments can also be seen in other religious denominations, particularly amongst the Catholics. While the Afro-American sects are more tied to literal understanding of the Bible and very conservative moral values, they have grafted to this black imagery, in the form of claims such as the African location of the Garden of Eden, the blackness of Christ etc. These recent changes have not affected the fact that Barbados is still fundamentally a society profoundly influenced by Christian values; even the most radical, left-wing politicians espouse these values openly even if in a diffused and non-institutionalized form. In many cases, this takes the form of a return to the spirit of the communitarian period of the early Christians, and like with other cultural items (e.g. cricket), the strength of Barbadian Christianity is often described as something in which the colonized have outdone their colonizers.

Though the black radical movements briefly described above had limited impact on Barbadian society, the fact is that by the 1980s, the black cultural movement had made its presence felt in the different cultural forums of the island. One medium in which it is obvious that this has happened is, of course, calypsos, one of the most popular forms of social and political criticism. Rooted essentially in collective experience, and assured of prompt and wide diffusion through radio and television, the calypso best expresses the *vox populi*. Although a form of entertainment. the high quality lyrics, the use of the vernacular, the extreme politicization, make the calypso more a political-cum-moral weapon than anything else. The plight of the ordinary Barbadian citizens (who happen to be black) is often depicted in the verses. In recent years thinly-disguised racially-motivated lyrics against the domination of whites and East Indians have also made their appearance. However, calypsos more often than not chastise social vices typical of a society which is losing its communitarianism in favour of a more selfish form of existence. The lack of moral fiber of the youth is also often a theme that has appealed to belletrists. Concern with drug addiction, hooliganism, absence of politeness and lack of interest in study among school children are some of the topics that were present in the songs of the 1980s. Calypsos are highly moralizing, and seek to

encourage restraint through social critique. It is not an exaggeration to say that calypsonians play an important role in the informal process of education; famous names such as the Mighty Gabby are powerful public figures who can even shake unpopular governments.

The attempt to promote Bajan, the vernacular tongue of Barbados, to a higher linguistic status than it has had in the past, is one of the main goals of different cultural organizations. In the past, the nation-language, as Edward Kamau Brathwaite has called it, was seen as an inferior form of speech, basically as broken English; it was considered an impediment to social mobility and a clear marker of lower class origin. A large percentage of the population still use Bajan as their common form of expression, and in the past few years its prestige has increased due to the fact that it is the preferred language of plays, songs, publicity etc. the government has, to a certain extent, encouraged its use in cultural festivals. However, Bajan is still unthinkable as a language of "high culture" to all but the few and it is only accepted in the public domain in limited circumstances. The exclusive use of the vernacular in some working class and lower middle class families places their children in a situation of inferiority when it comes to competing at primary and secondary school levels, where Standard Caribbean English is the norm. Studies have consistently shown that children whose parents encourage them to speak and read Standard Caribbean English have a much better chance of obtaining higher marks in the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination. Although Bajan is identified with the "true" cultural essence of Barbados and has been encouraged as part of the process of "Afro-Caribbeanization", most educationalists are totally opposed to its being used in schools except as part of a component of the English literature syllabus. Many teachers argue that Standard Caribbean English is in fact a foreign language to many Barbadian children and that it should be treated as such if the country is not to see its levels of English deteriorate rapidly. This is an area where there is an obvious contradiction between two stated social objectives: the promotion of Bajan to a higher linguistic status and concerns to achieve high levels of English. The point is not that both objectives could not be attained, but that the way in which they are at present conceptualized makes it extremely difficult.

Like any other developed society, Barbados is a society oriented to the mass media. It has two daily papers (The Nation and the Barbados Advocate), with a total circulation of over 40,000, five radio stations and one television station. The papers are privately owned, while the state controls two radio stations (CBC Radio and Liberty) and the TV station; Barbados Rediffusion and the Voice of Barbados are owned by The Nation, and the Barbados Broadcasting Service is owned by Crown Publications. In addition, two monthlies are published in Barbados: the New Bajan magazine (owned by The Nation group of companies) and Caribbean Contact (owned by the Caribbean Conference of Churches). There is also a news agency (CANA) which is owned by Regional Media Houses.

In 1986 there was one radio receiver per 0.8 persons, one TV set per 4.2 persons and 1.5 newspapers per day per 10 persons. The conservative nature of Barbadian society is reflected in the media, which are hardly combative and free, but rather cautious and self-censored, as a result of a combination of State and social pressure. People working in the media are often fired for not toeing the line, to much social indifference. Only Caribbean Contact, which although regional is produced in Barbados, can be said to express consistently alternative views about Barbadian society, the Caribbean etc. In addition, radio

phone-ins are a good pulse of popular concerns, and so are the letters to the editors of newspapers. Columnists tend to be rather pompous and insular, and there is little quality investigative journalism.

The impact of foreign culture is most visible in television where up to 90 percent of the programs come from abroad (mostly from the USA); generally speaking a large percentage of locally screened foreign news originate from American agencies. Some attempts have been made at generating news programs in the Caribbean, but with limited success. The television culture has been widely criticized by the educational, religious and political establishments as the major agent for moral degradation, as well as the deterioration of English. There is little doubt that there has been a progressive "Americanization" of Barbadian culture and that moral standards have declined in the years after Independence, but the causes are complex and part of the wider process of modernization. The partial secularization of Barbadian society, accompanied by the collapse of communitarian values have created a sense of "paradise lost", but it is difficult to assess to what extent the past was real or mythical. As to the issue of the role of the media in connection with the state of English, there is wide agreement that this is an area where the written and spoken use of English can be vastly improved. Journalists and radio announcers are often poor in their command of English, and could profit from special training; there is a role here for the tertiary educational institutions. Generally speaking, the media and the educational system have largely been ignoring each other, and the potential for collaboration has not been developed.

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CONCLUSIONS

Contrary to common assumption, Barbados is not today an underdeveloped country. With a GNP of nearly US$5000 per capita, with running water in over 80 percent of homes, with electricity in over 90 percent of homes, with TV in 80 percent of homes, with 1 vehicle for every 5 persons, with an estimated literacy rate of 98 percent, with an average life expectancy of over 70 years, with good external and internal communication systems etc., the people of Barbados have a quality of life on a par with or somewhat above that of the less developed areas of Southern Europe.

Barbados is one of the few, or maybe the only success story of the Caribbean, or at least the West Indies, in the past thirty years or more. In spite of a slowing down of economic development in the 1970s and 1980s, Barbados has shown sustained economic growth.

Independence in 1966 did not disturb the political stability that the country had enjoyed in the previous decades; rather it consolidated the newly emergent bipartisan democratic system. None of the leaders of either party (that is Errol Barrow for the DLP and Tom Adams for the BLP), although they were charismatic enough, ever succeeded in establishing a de facto monopoly of power over this period. Both main political parties (and

it is premature to speculate on Haynes' new NDP) are basically social democratic and hence the political spectrum is not very wide (the DLP is perhaps more populist at present than the BLP).

Largely because Barbados obtained independence as an aftereffect of the failure of the Federation of the West Indies (i.e. independence was essentially bestowed, not fought for), a distinct national identity was not present at that time. Since then there has been an attempt at nation building. The question of what constitutes Barbadian culture has been in the forefront of the ideological struggles in the post-Independence period and particularly in the last 10 years. Two major competing models are in place: a modernizing, western-oriented model and a more populist, roots-oriented model which tends to give value to a reconstructed "African" heritage.

The description of Barbados as a "middle class" society is not uncommon amongst Barbadians themselves, and there is little doubt that Barbados is not an economically polarized society. It contains a large group of people whose income enables them to enjoy a comfortable standard of living by Western standards; it does not have a large mass of destitute people and a small, extremely rich elite, as is characteristic of many Third World countries. However, the fact that pockets of poverty do exist in Barbados and that unemployment is about 20 percent cannot be ignored.

The white minority that forms about 5 percent of the population owns a disproportionate share of the country's wealth. Furthermore, high-level and high middle-level management is predominantly white. Also notable are the smaller minorities of East Indians and some Syrio-Lebanese, who now tend to dominate large sectors of medium to large scale commercial enterprises. However, neither of these groups is organized politically, though this is not to say that they do not wield political power in spite of the absolute "negrification" of the political system since Independence. Accusations and counter-accusations of "white shadows" manipulating the political parties, particularly the BLP, have been proffered, most effectively at electoral time (1986). The new NDP is presented by the left as the party of big business.

Barbadian society enforces a strict racial division. Although whites and blacks work together, they do not mix or rarely mix socially and the rate of racial intermarriage is virtually zero among native Barbadians. Racially mixed marriages occur in Barbados, but they almost always involve a foreign partner. Historically, black racial consciousness has been extremely subdued historically in Barbados. However, in the past few years, particularly since the 1986 general election, it has manifested itself openly led by a group of black activists operating in various milieu (political, cultural, financial, religious, academic etc).

Historically, but more particularly in recent times, the white minority has felt threatened due to their small numbers and their traditional monopoly of wealth and power. They have shown extreme sensitivity to the recent racial arguments, although in public the reaction of most is to try and remain as inconspicuous as possible. In private, they continue to express their traditional racist values. The public racial argument has mostly been conducted amongst blacks across a wide spectrum of opinion. Many Barbadians of all classes feel

extremely uncomfortable at the recent polarization that the activists have produced which they see as endangering the carefully woven social fabric of Barbados.

Traditionally, the Barbadian economy has depended on sugar. Currently, sugar only generates one third of the GNP of the country, while the industrial and commercial sectors generate another third and tourism the remaining third. This last has been, and continues to be, the major growth sector for the past twenty-five years. Off-shore financial services and various aspects of computing represent the latest in a line of attempts to diversify the economy, with mixed results. Tourism is by its very nature a volatile industry, and is subject to violent up and down swings due to a variety of external factors, such as economic booms and slumps, as well as internal factors such as political stability and price competitiveness. Racial tensions within Barbados could also potentially damage tourism; inordinate harassment of tourists by illegal small vendors, drug pushers, uncontrolled jet ski operators etc. on the beaches are already discouraging some people from returning to the island. However, there is no immediate alternative to the dominant economic role of tourism in Barbados.

The central significance of education in Barbados is not only a historical but also a contemporary fact. At present the Barbadian population is well-educated by world standards. The government spends around 25 percent of its budget on education, schooling to age 16 is compulsory, a substantial number of children go on to some form of further education and all of this from artisan training to university education is free. Education was seen in Barbados, perhaps even more than in the rest of the British West Indies, as the only way up the economic and social ladder for blacks, and to a large extent it still is. Traditionally, Barbados has supplied teachers to the other islands. Independence opened up a number of positions in society traditionally occupied by whites and at this point the educational levels of the blacks allowed them to move straight into these positions, hence making for a peaceful and orderly transition.

The economic development of the island, starting in the 1960s was accompanied by an expansion of the educational system. Most importantly this involved the extension of secondary schooling to virtually the entire school-age population, plus the expansion of vocational and professional training. The development of the educational system since Independence has been helped by loans from the World Bank plus grants of foreign aid.

The Barbadian educational system is essentially geared towards academic achievement, with central importance given to competitive public exams at age 11 (Secondary Schools Entrance Examination), 16 and 18 years. As a result of this, the system is highly stratified, with streaming from the early years at school, and a marked hierarchy of secondary schools according to exam results at age 11. It should be said at this point that only 10 percent of children attend private schools and the most desired secondary schools (particularly Harrison, Queen's, and Combermere) are in fact public. The system is presented and widely regarded as a meritocracy, but the types of exams strongly favour children from educated backgrounds, particularly those whose home language is Standard Caribbean English. With the extension of the secondary school system, the curriculum was broadened somewhat to include more technical and vocational subjects. However, many educationalists feel that the change has not gone nearly far enough.

Barbadian society demands certificates, whether academic or vocational, for employment and promotion at virtually all levels (this is particularly visible in the inflated civil service sector). Experience is widely seen as subsidiary to qualifications. With more education for all and a decrease in new job opportunities at middle and high range, the level of qualification required for all types of employment has risen. Schooling is increasingly regarded essentially as a means to certification and hence employment, rather than as a process of education per se.

Whether it is academic or vocational, the Barbadian educational system has lost a sense of clear direction as to the wider purpose of education for life and development of the individual. Not even among teachers is there a clear picture of what education should be all about. Many express nostalgia for the golden age of their youth, perhaps not surprisingly because they were the academic successes of their generation. Furthermore, concern is expressed in some circles that the style of vocational training is producing "factory fodder", unable to adapt to changing technology and economic conditions.

One way in which the education system is widely perceived as failing, by teachers, educationalists, politicians, churchmen, journalists and others, is in its inability to generate a moral sense among its *educanda*. However, this is clearly a wider social problem, because neither the schools, nor the Church, enjoy such a dominant role as in the past. The media, particularly TV and videos, are commonly blamed for the lowering of moral standards. However, declining morality in fact reflects the rapid socio-economic and cultural changes undergone in the past 30 years.

In spite of this perceived decline in moral standards, religion is still a major force in Barbados. In the past few years there has been a tendency towards the more evangelical sects, emphasizing a stronger sense of participating through singing and social gatherings, which has been described as the cultural Africanization of the Church, although this is not an autochthonous development because the main influence comes from the USA. The role of the Church in education is at present marginal, except in the private sector, while in the old system church and school went together. The dominant church in Barbados is Anglican and this is generally very conservative in both religious and social concerns. Although officially disestablished, it appears as the church of the establishment. It is generally the defender of the status quo, although of late some critical voices have appeared.

Traditionally, the Barbados educational system reflected closely the English model both in structure and curriculum. In some aspects, the former has hardly changed and in these Barbados greatly resembles the England of 30 years ago. However, North American influence is increasingly visible, particularly in the Barbados Community College, which is more liberal in its scope. The school curriculum, particularly with the introduction of CXC 16 years ago, has become much more Caribbean oriented. History exemplifies this well, although the Caribbeanization of the syllabus began prior to CXC, with the main thrust recently being for a more Caribbean, and Barbadian orientation. In the past few years there have been attempts to rewrite Caribbean history, with a more Afro-centric perspective rather than the traditional Eurocentric one. In this, as in a wider range of cultural developments, the presence of the university has played a pivotal and dynamic role. The black consciousness movement is likely to accelerate processes of this kind.

Barbados has been, a well-managed society, stable and orderly society in which the education has contributed by molding people for their specific roles. This placed high value on conformism which is now being challenged. The success or failure of this challenge may well depend to a large extent on the ability of the country to live up to the expectations of an increasingly large number of well-qualified people, particularly those who have had tertiary and university education. In so far as the white and other non-African minorities are perceived by blacks as having preferential or exclusive access to important sectors of the economy, and especially positions in middle and higher management in industry and business, the existence of a growing group of qualified blacks with frustrated expectations of employment status and income has brought to the surface increased racial antagonism, and has lead to radical yet democratic attempts to subvert the existing economic order.

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Education and Social Change

In

Trinidad & Tobago

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1 I carried out the field research on which this article is based during two separate six month visits to Trinidad & Tobago in 1988 and 1989. Permission for the research was kindly granted by the Trinidad & Tobago government and, during my stay, I worked under the auspices of the then Minister of Education, the Hon. Clive Pantin. Mr. Esmond Ramesar, the head of the Extramural Studies Unit of the University of the West Indies at St. Augustine, was kind enough to arrange my attachment to his unit, which provided me with considerable practical assistance and moral support.

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Trinidad & Tobago

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Education and Society in the Late Colonial Period
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INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, an independent state comprised of two islands lying between 10 and 11 degrees north latitude, is located a few miles off the north coast of South America adjacent to Venezuela. The island of Trinidad is the larger, with a surface area of 1,864 sq. miles and an estimated population of nearly 1.2 million (1.04 million at the last national census in 1980), while its sister island Tobago has an area of 116 sq. miles and a population of about 45,000 (see Harewood population tables). The principal urban areas of Trinidad are the capital city, Port of Spain, lying at the northwest corner of the island and housing a population of some 59,000, and the major commercial centre of San Fernando on the southwestern coast, with a population of about 34,000. Two other small "municipalities", Arima and Point Fortin, are recognized in the 1980 census, but this census classification does not give a satisfactory picture of the division between urban versus rural areas in Trinidad & Tobago. In particular, it does not reflect the heavy density of population along the "East-West corridor" (lying in the County of St. George) connecting Port of Spain to Arima along the base of the rugged northern mountain range. Another densely populated area, although not classified as a municipality in the national census, is the town of Chaguanas, with its attached suburbs in County Caroni, located in the central plain of the Caroni River valley. The island of Tobago, which is largely rural, has most of its population concentrated at the southern end of the island near the one town of any size, its capital Scarborough.

Trinidad & Tobago achieved its independence from Great Britain in 1962 and declared itself a republic in 1976. The country's government is modeled on the Westminster system, with a two-house parliament. The political life of the country was dominated from 1956, when limited self government was in practice, until 1986, when it was finally defeated in the parliamentary elections by the National Alliance for Reconstruction Party (NAR), by the People's National Movement (PNM), a party closely associated with Dr. Eric Williams, who served as prime minister of Trinidad & Tobago until his death in 1981.

The economy of Trinidad & Tobago is heavily dominated by the oil sector, with petroleum-related industries accounting for 20 percent of the GDP and 70 percent of total exports in 1986 (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office 1987a: 41). A fairly diversified light manufacturing sector has also been established over the past two decades. The agricultural sector, which produces a complex array of tropical products yet which has been a disappointment in the post-independence period with regard to its unfulfilled potential, continues to be dominated by the production of sugar for export (see Harewood's Table 2.2).

The population of Trinidad, which is classified in the 1980 and earlier national censuses according to "ethnic group" under the headings of African, (East) Indian, Chinese, Syrian/ Lebanese, White, Mixed, and Other Race, is a complex mosaic of races and cultures, with the census labels, themselves apparently numerous enough, obscuring an even more complex social reality. (See Harewood's Table 1.) The population of Tobago, on the other hand, is much more uniform, being largely of African descent. English, the official language of Trinidad & Tobago, is spoken almost universally as a first language nowadays, and the use of other formerly common languages such as creole French and Hindi, as well as Chinese and Spanish, has markedly declined (see Carrington, Borely and Knight 1974). Use of creole

English, however, is widespread, with "dialect"-switching between creole and Standard English forms being a prominent feature of social interaction in most sectors of society.

The religious picture in Trinidad is equally complex (see Harewood's Table 2) with the major religions/denominations of Roman Catholic, Hindu (subdivided into several Hindu "sects"), Anglican, Muslim (of several "sects"), and Presbyterian rubbing shoulders with numerous other denominations/religions including Methodists, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah Witnesses, various Pentecostal churches, various Baptist groups, including the "Shouter" Baptists, and other Afro-Christian syncretist churches such as Shango. In religion as in race and culture, Tobago is more uniform, with Christian denominations predominating, along with Afro-Christian syncretic groups.

A synopsis of the population history of Trinidad is beyond the scope of this report but a few remarks are in order. Members of the African category in the census, although descended in large measure from African slaves emancipated in Trinidad in 1834, also trace their ancestry in other instances from other sources, including negro freemen of the pre- and post-emancipation periods, relatively recent "small islander" labor migrants from Grenada, St. Vincent, Barbados, Guyana, and "Spanish" mestizos of mixed European, African and Amerindian descent from neighboring Venezuela. Although Black nationalist political groups, especially since the Black Power movement of the 1960s, have encouraged, to some effect, this diverse collection of people to view their origins as uniformly African, for other purposes these subgroups continue to recognize their racial and cultural distinctiveness, one from the other. It is also worth mentioning here that in longstanding Trinidad & Tobago usage, the term "creole", in preference to the term "African" or "black", refers to people of African or mixed African-white descent.

The East Indian (henceforth Indian) population of Trinidad derives largely from indentured labor migrants, who were brought to Trinidad after emancipation, between 1844 and 1917, to work on the plantations. Other ethnic groups, such as Madeiran Portuguese and Chinese, were also brought in smaller numbers to Trinidad under the indentureship system, although some Trinidad Chinese, like certain Indians and Syrian-Lebanese, have come to Trinidad more recently in pursuit of commercial opportunities.

The local population of "white" or European descent, although now comprising less than 1 percent of the total population of Trinidad & Tobago, continues to enjoy a social importance out of all proportion to its small size due to its legacy of advantages dating from the colonial period. Although for the last 165 years of colonial rule Trinidad had been a British colony, the white population of the country is of diverse origins. A particularly significant social and political split existed between the expatriate British administrative and commercial cadres of the colony, on the one hand, and the locally-born white planter class on the other. Most prominent among the latter group were the "French Creoles", descendants of French planter families who had migrated to Trinidad with their slaves at the end of the 18th century to escape political upheavals in France's Caribbean colonies. The conservative cultural influence of the French Creole group remains noticeable even today in Trinidad, for example, in the greater prominence of the Catholic as opposed to the Anglican Church, but use of the creolized French patois, which was formerly the lingua franca, has almost totally died out. In common parlance today, the term "French Creole" is often used euphemistically

by non-whites to refer to locally born whites, whatever the country of origin of their ancestors.

THE STRUCTURE OF LATE COLONIAL SOCIETY IN TRINIDAD & TOBAGO

The ample literature dealing with the structure of late colonial Trinidad contains two contrasting views of the significance of the substantial ethnic diversity described above. Lloyd Braithwaite's influential monograph Social Stratification in Trinidad (1972 [1953]) focuses on the phenomenon of a Creole social continuum, a hierarchical arrangement of white, brown and black social categories in which "class" status is seen to correlate closely with skin color and the European culture of the dominant white category provides a set of shared value orientations (1972 [1953]: 108) for upwardly mobile, creolizing browns and blacks. As Braithwaite explained (p. 117):

> The middle class is still predominantly brown-skinned, though with increased educational opportunity, the black element, particularly in the lower ranks of the middle class, is rapidly increasing in number. The lower class is predominantly black, but there is also a strong diffusion of light-skinned and brown-skinned elements as well.

Nonetheless, Braithwaite still considered that:

> In the system of social stratification there are two areas where social mobility is at a minimum. The first area is the region between the white upper class and the colored middle class. The second area, less marked than in some West Indian islands, is the gap between the lower class and the middle class.

Braithwaite treats the other ethnic groups of Trinidad, including the Indians, the Chinese, the Portuguese, the Syrian/Lebanese, and the Jews, only in passing - taking the view (1975 [1953]: 5-6) that "until recently ... the social structure of the island revolved around the relationship between the white Creole and the colored Creole population" and that, in consequence (1975 [1953]: 44), "to a certain extent these immigrant groups remained outside the social system". For ease of reference, I shall refer in the rest of this report to this view of society, with its emphasis on the importance of shared Anglo centric value orientations for social acceptance and upward mobility, as the "Creole social continuum" conception of Trinidad & Tobago society.

In contrast, other authors such as John LaGuerre (1974) and Selwyn Ryan (1972), while not questioning the view that European culture provided an important reference point for upwardly mobile non-whites, have preferred to characterize the society of pre-independence Trinidad in terms of the plural society model (see Smith 1965, 1984), emphasizing thereby the cultural diversity of the various subordinate sections, or ethnic groups, and the hierarchical structure of differential incorporation which ensured the dominance of the white section of this colonial polity over the other culturally and/or racially defined segments.

While the conceptualization of colonial Trinidad & Tobago as a plural society has clear advantages over the analysis of Braithwaite, if for no other reason than it pays serious attention to the 40 percent or more of colonial society which is excluded from Braithwaite's

model, Braithwaite's discussion of the phenomenon of a Creole continuum is of considerable ethnographic interest as a clearly formulated expression, by an individual who himself is a member of this social continuum, of a widely held view concerning the dominant values of this important sector of society. Braithwaite's conception of the Indians as not forming a part of the Trinidad & Tobago social system, echoes what was a common view at the time among the upwardly mobile black and brown and the white sections of society, judging from my interviews with elderly members of these groups. (We also find this view expressed, both explicitly and by implication, in the writings and speeches of Eric Williams [1964, 1981].) For brown, upwardly mobile intellectuals and other professionals such as Braithwaite and Williams, Indian and other cultures were seen as essentially alien to the extent that they did not accept the premise of the superiority of European (and often, by implication, Christian) cultural forms. As Braithwaite expressed it (1975 [1953]: 6):

> The new situation created by the rise to self-consciousness of certain ethnic groups differing from the majority of the population is in a sense a crucial problem for the future political development of the island.

Leaving aside the issue of the Indian and the other subordinate ethnic minorities for the moment, the obverse and "positive" side of the Creole continuum conceptualization of Trinidad & Tobago society, which had strong implications for the role of education in late colonial society, was the high evaluation accorded to European cultural and educational forms by the members of the continuum. From this perspective, as is illustrated in Braithwaite's study, social mobility in Trinidad & Tobago society was based on an interlinked set of social strategies consisting of racial "hypergamy", emulation of British values and "proper" English, employment in salaried, white-collar occupations, and accumulation of wealth - with the educational system providing the main vehicle for such social mobility (see Braithwaite 1975 [1953]: 50). By the date of Braithwaite's study (1975 [1953]: 124-5), the speech differences within Creole society had become less marked, since the Creole French formerly spoken by the black lower class had largely given way to a continuum of hierarchically-ranked dialects, ranging from `deep' Creole English at the bottom of the social scale to standard English at the top. But, as Braithwaite noted (1975 [1953]: 121), social mobility by non-whites was hindered by the educational system then in force:

> The middle-class children were sent first of all to the `private' schools which were fee-paying and then onto the intermediate schools, where likewise the payment of fees kept out the working-class children. Informal contacts with lower-class children were forbidden and great stress was placed on the proper choice of friends. The lower-class children went more perfunctorily to the free public schools. The absence of a common school for all the citizens, then, helped to perpetuate the social division between the classes. However, even the institution of fees was not sufficient to keep out the lower-class children from the "better" schools, and many middle-class children had their first initiation into the way the other half lived, on going to the fee-charging "intermediate" school.

In view of the subsequent rise in Black and/or "Afro-" political consciousness in the post-independence period, it is appropriate to note here that, in the late colonial period among members of the Creole continuum, there was commonly an explicitly dismissive attitude, or a strategic silence, on the subject of a distinctive cultural content for the "lower class" or "black" group (Braithwaite's terms) of Trinidad & Tobago society - essentially denying the

historical relevance or cultural validity of African, "Cocopagnol" (creolized Spanish culture of Trinidadian Afro-Amerindian-Spanish mestizos) or other low status categories of the Creole continuum (see Braithwaite 1975 [1953]: 97,127). As Ryan put it (1972: 20):

> ... many of the characteristics of the brown middle class - its deculturation, its lack of pride in its *négritude*, in Africa, and in any aspect of the slave past - were also true of the lower-class Negro, though the intensity of the latter's reaction was considerably less marked.

This opposition between the anglocentric cultural values of the Creole continuum and the home-grown values of suppressed cultural voices was to become a progressively more apparent feature of debates in educational, political, religious and other domains of Trinidad & Tobago public life during the decade of the 1960s and 1970s. However, these competing cultural voices were not completely silent even during the colonial period, and it is important to stress that the dominance of anglocentric cultural values was an essentially ideological construction specific to the Creole continuum.

Significantly, as one would expect of a person of his anglicized Creole background, Braithwaite also pays limited attention to the prominent Catholic French Creole dimension of Trinidad society, which has long played a central role in the educational and general cultural life of the colony. And, as already mentioned, there were other well-defined cultural currents emanating from the large Indian community that were either disregarded, or actively opposed, as those of a "hostile and recalcitrant minority" (to quote a speech of Eric Williams in 1958) by influential members of the Creole continuum. Popular pejorative stereotypes were inclined to devalue Indian cultural and intellectual achievements such that up until quite recently, for many members of the Creole continuum, the Indians, to use a common phrase, were simply "dumb coolies" who had no interest in western-style education.

The facts, of course, were quite otherwise, and Brereton (1981: 241), in her popular history of Trinidad & Tobago, notes, "...the rise of an educated Indian middle class since the 1930s." and goes on to say that, "Indian families showed great anxiety to educate their sons and train them for professions, and this development threatened the Creole middle class that dominated the civil service and the professions up to the 1950s and beyond." Many Indians had converted to Christianity, especially Presbyterianism, as a way to obtain western-style education, but there were equally vibrant intellectual currents within Hindu and Muslim circles that gained much impetus from continued contacts with the subcontinent, both in connection with the Indian and Pakistan independence movements and with various reformist or traditionalist religious sects.

In relation to the Indians' pursuit of western education and culture, it has been argued by some authors that the Indians, like many brown or black Trinidadians, were engaged in a process of creolization. But this is not how they themselves preferred to see it, and as Brereton (1981: 240-1) explains:

> On the whole, articulate Indians in the 1950s considered "Creole culture" to be inferior to that of India, and they objected to the widespread idea (promoted by the PNM among many other groups and individuals) that Indians would inevitably be creolized; they distinguished between creolization and westernization, which in their view need not mean acceptance of Creole values. The Indian

leadership mistrusted the aims of the Creole nationalist party and tended to dismiss PNM nationalism as "Negro nationalism".

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN THE LATE COLONIAL PERIOD

a. Introduction

Our sources for the post-World War II period are in general agreement concerning the central importance of the educational system as a mechanism of upward mobility for the members of the non-white population of late colonial Trinidad & Tobago society. Braithwaite writes, for example, (1975 [1953]: 50):

> It was the ladder thus established by the (colonial) educational system that became one of the most important methods by which members of the middle and lower classes could improve their position on the occupational scale and come to play an important role in public affairs.

The focal points of this highly competitive system of social mobility were the examinations for a few scarce scholarship places in the elite secondary schools and, beyond this, the fierce competition for the annual Island Scholarships, which provided financial support for study at an overseas university. As V. S. Naipaul (1984 [1958]: 20), himself an Island Scholarship winner, explained in a review of C. L. R. James's Beyond a Boundary (1986 [1963]):

> The family was not rich but for the young James, as for every boy in the island, there was a narrow way out. Every year the government offered four exhibitions to one of the two secondary schools. There a boy could get a Senior Cambridge Certificate, which would ensure a modest job in the civil service. He could do more: he could win one of the three annual (island) scholarships. With this he could get a profession in England, come back to Trinidad, make money and achieve honor. The form of promising boys was studied as carefully as that of racehorses; the course, from exhibition to scholarship, aroused island-wide interest and excitement.

Or as Eric Williams (1969: 30), another famous Island Scholar, expressed it with his accustomed modesty:

> Some are born great, some achieve greatness, some have greatness thrust upon them. Greatness, Trinidad style, was thrust upon me from the cradle. My father knew that what he had never been given an opportunity to achieve with his brains, he might with his loins. The island scholarship for his son became the dream of his life.

Although C. L. R. James's school days date to the period of the First World War and Williams's a decade later, the situation described in these quotes had hardly changed for the better by the 1950s.

As a result of its social importance, education had been something of a battleground since the mid-19th century between rival conceptions of "appropriate" educational policy, in particular between secular state education and church-sponsored education, and, within the latter sphere, between rival denominations. By the post World War II period, both types of schooling were well entrenched in the Trinidad & Tobago educational system, although the oppositional relationship had not significantly diminished. The major Christian denominations continued to exercise considerable influence on Trinidad & Tobago

educational policy such that, for example, (Committee on General Education [henceforth also referred to as the Maurice Report] 1959: 18), in 1944, when a bill was introduced which would have deprived the Boards of Management of denominational primary schools of their powers over teacher employment and would have given the colonial Director of Education the power to appoint teachers subject only to the religious beliefs of the teachers being acceptable to the relevant Board, this bill was defeated as a result of strong church opposition.

b. Primary Education

In 1945, the colonial government had placed a statute on the books providing for universal primary education in Trinidad & Tobago. Although it took some years to make this a reality, especially in the more rural districts, the system was rapidly expanded in the early 1950s until by 1957, 91 percent of the primary school age population of Trinidad & Tobago were receiving education (Trinidad & Tobago, Education Department 1963: 29). There were essentially three types of primary school. State primary schools, which in 1957 numbered 68 and had an enrollment of 30,165, received all their capital and recurrent funding from the colonial government and were under the management of the colonial Director of Education (Trinidad & Tobago, Education Department 1963: 52). "Government-assisted" denominational primaries, which numbered 344 in 1957 with an enrollment of 129,846, were independently managed by school boards drawn from the major religions on behalf of the colonial director of education, with the government paying the salaries of the teachers plus a block grant toward school expenses and the religious bodies assuming one-third of the capital cost of providing the school building. The third type of primary was the private school, which numbered 135 in 1957 with an enrollment of 7,317. Some were exclusive private schools, catering for the children of the white elite. Others catered for children of upwardly mobile non-whites, concerned to give their children the best possible chance of passing the entry examinations of the small number of "prestige" secondary schools. Still others were run by the non-Christian religious denominations, which did not become eligible for government financial assistance until 1949.

The educational budget of Trinidad & Tobago in the 1940s and 1950s was meager and despite the legal commitment to move toward universal primary education at this time, government funding was inadequate to meet the need. In this context, and given the pressure from the various religious bodies to open more denominational schools, the government education department was happy to grant their wishes since this meant that a part of the capital cost of expanding the system could be shifted to the religious bodies. As just mentioned, prior to 1949 only Christian denominational schools had been recognized by the government as eligible to receive state financial support but from that date, the colonial administration bowed to pressure emanating from various Hindu and Muslim bodies and recognized several Hindu and Muslim boards of school management. (Further data on denominational schooling are provided in a later section of this report.)

Even at the primary level, the system was distorted by examination bias linked with the upward mobility aspirations inherent to the logic of the Creole continuum. As a report on the Trinidad & Tobago education system in 1953 (Trinidad & Tobago 1954: 44) explained:

The major aim (of primary education) in Trinidad appears only too often to be the production of a few exceptionally trained children who can sit for the Exhibition Examination and secure admission to a 'classical' secondary school. Judging by the annual entries for this examination, about two or three in each forty children are raised to the standard of attainment of the official school time-table; ...

The report went on to note (45) that rural schools had in general abandoned the attempt to compete for scholarships, but were nonetheless handicapped by the elaborate and complex syllabus, which overemphasized abstruse content aimed at preparing students for the secondary school entrance exams. (Conversely, as the 1964 UNESCO Report on the Trinidad & Tobago educational system noted, [Anon. 1964], the primary school curriculum contained little relating to the field of agriculture and generally bore little relation to the practical needs of students in rural areas.) The following table illustrates the severe competition among primary school students for the few scholarship places available in secondary schools as well as the bias toward students from urban areas which operated in these exams. Thus, if one employs a conservative estimate of the urban bias of the system and classifies only Port of Spain, Eastern Main Road and San Fernando as urban areas, we can see that some 80 percent of the college exhibition places were allocated to urban students. For less gifted students, there was the more modest goal of passing the Primary School Leaving Certificate exam after a period of post-primary study up to age 15, which was sufficient qualification for a career in occupations such as the police force, the nursing service, and in primary school teaching in an `apprentice' role.

Distribution in 1953 of Pupils Gaining College Exhibitions
(Trinidad & Tobago 1954: 76)

Port of Spain	95 Eastern Main Rd.	23 San Fernando	25
Oilfields area	19 Claxton Bay	2 Couva	3
Chaguanas	3 Rio Claro	2 Tobago	8

Total gaining exhibitions = 178, out of about 1,300 sitting the exam.
About 75 percent of all schools submit candidates.

c. Secondary and Further Education

In 1949, there were 1 government secondary and 9 government-assisted denominational secondaries with 5,302 students enrolled (Colony of Trinidad & Tobago, Education Department 1983 [1949]: 16). These were located in Port of Spain and San Fernando, the two main urban agglomerations in Trinidad, with one in Tobago at Scarborough. There were 21 private secondaries, again largely localized in the urban areas, although only 2 of these were considered to be of a comparable academic standard to the government and assisted secondaries. This relatively large number of private schools can be seen as an index of the strong demand for secondary education, which emanated from the upwardly mobile non-white population for the most part. By 1957, there were 2 government secondaries (796 enrollment: 692 male and 104 female), 17 government-assisted denominational secondaries (8,285 enrollment: 4,511 male and 3,774 female), and 22 private secondaries (6,106 enrollment: 3,167 male and 2,939 female), with the spatial distribution still almost entirely confined to the urban areas (Trinidad & Tobago, Education

Department 1963: 52). It is also relevant to mention here the existence of 8 "intermediate" schools, which were effectively government or assisted primary schools which provided extended training (from age 15 to 18) in a limited range of non-science subjects for a few of their pupils up to the level of the Cambridge School Certificate Examination.

As explained above, the colonial government provided a small number of scholarships, based on the secondary schools' scholarship exams, for study at government and assisted secondary schools but competition for these few places was severe. Admission was also open to fee-paying students but the high fees, in relation to the average income level of the mass of the population, meant that fee-paying access to these schools was available to a relatively small sector of the population of Trinidad & Tobago, essentially the children of the civil servants, businessmen and planters, expatriate or Creole, most of whom were white or brown. Black students were fewer in number and Indians fewest of all, although in this connection it is important to mention the active educational program among the Indian population of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, whose flagship secondary schools were the Naparima Colleges in San Fernando. The discrimination experienced at this period by Indians, especially Hindus and Muslims, with regard to access to education was particularly marked, and the brief synopsis of the career of Rudranath Capildeo, a famous scholar and political figure of this period, which is given in Ivar Oxaal's Black Intellectuals Come to Power (1968: Chap. 9), provides some illuminating glimpses of this phenomenon.

The secondary school curriculum reflected the classical influence of the expatriate teachers and the English grammar school model which predominated in Trinidad & Tobago secondary education, plus the classical and anglocentric content of the Secondary School and Higher School Certificate exams. There was a clear bias against technical and scientific subjects, although some of the less prestigious schools did have `commercial sections' in which less academically able students (or those unlikely to be able to afford an overseas university course) were trained for clerical careers. Indeed, through the 1950s, the Trinidad & Tobago, Education Department had no overall responsibility for technical or commercial education. Instead, the government's Board of Industrial Training ran a limited program of vocational education and a few industrial firms also offered apprenticeship schemes.

At the end of the Fifth Form, students sat the (Cambridge) Secondary School Certificate exams, which comprised papers in five subjects including a mandatory examination in English. To achieve a passing grade in the Secondary School Certificate, students had to achieve passes in all subjects at one sitting and, for many, the English paper proved to be the most difficult hurdle.

Secondary School Certificate Exam Results For Trinidad & Tobago
December 1953
(Trinidad & Tobago 1954)

	Gov't & Asst'd Schools	*Intermediate Schools*	*Private Schools*	*All Schools*
Grade I	188 = 22.6%	3 = 4%	21 = 5.4%	212 = 16.3%

Grade II	294 = 35.4%	15 = 20%	101 = 25.8%	410 = 31.5%
Grade II	350 = 42.0%	60 = 76%	270 = 68.8%	680 = 52.2%
Totals	832 = 100.0%	78 = 100%	392 = 100%	1,302 = 100.0%

NB - Of those sitting the Secondary School Certificate Examinations in 1953, 61% passed.

In the preceding table, which gives by way of illustration the Secondary School Certificate Examination results for 1953, it is of some interest to note the high proportion of exam passes at the lowest grade, Grade III, as well as the relatively better performance of candidates from government and assisted schools as compared to those from private schools. Holders of the Secondary School Certificate, upon leaving school, could obtain white-collar jobs in the civil service or in commerce, although most of the better jobs in these areas required at least a Grade II certificate. As mentioned above, Secondary School Certificate holders could also become primary school teachers, although such jobs were less desirable. The most able students could hope to continue their education during two years of Sixth Form, in order to prepare for the Higher School Certificate Examinations, although the small number of Sixth Form places available is clearly illustrated in the following table which shows the total Sixth Form enrollment for Trinidad & Tobago in 1953. In the same year, there were only 24 "house" scholarships given annually for Sixth Form study, which indicates that, for the most part, Sixth Form education was open predominantly to those whose parents could afford it.

Trinidad & Tobago Sixth Form Students - 1953
(Trinidad & Tobago 1954)

	Boys	Girls	
1st Year	105	50	155
2nd Year	122	42	164
TOTAL	227	92	319

Between 65-75 percent of the enrollment in government and assisted Sixth Form students passed their Higher School Certificate examinations in the period 1948 to 1953. It was on the basis of these exams that the few coveted Island Scholarships for study at an overseas university were awarded (5 in 1953, one of which was for a woman). During the colonial period, most Island Scholars aimed at careers in medicine or law, the two most prestigious professions. In 1953, four exhibitions were also awarded on the basis of the

Higher Certificate exams for study in the Diploma program at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture at St. Augustine in Trinidad, although agriculture was considered by most students to be an undesirable career. For those desirous of a professional career, the alternatives to study at an overseas university were few in number at this time and included: legal, accountancy or other professional training via articled clerkship in some local practice or preparation through tutoring and private study for the external examinations of the University of London or various professional associations. But the level of success in these external exams was not high. After 1948, with the foundation of the University College of the West Indies at Mona, Jamaica, this avenue for tertiary education also opened for a few Trinidad & Tobago students (98 students in 1957-58, 55 of whom were state funded [Trinidad & Tobago, Education Department 1963]). For those unable to continue to further education, holders of the Higher School Certificate could enter secondary school teaching or a white collar job in the civil service or in business.

As the above data amply illustrate, the educational system of the late colonial period was fundamentally influenced by the competition for social mobility within the plural society of Trinidad & Tobago and the anglocentric values of the Creole social continuum. The educational path leading to upward mobility was a narrow and difficult one for the non-white members of society, but it was virtually the only path available. In this connection, Lloyd Braithwaite's remarks (1972 [1953]: 114) on popular support for educational reform at this period are revealing:

> The attitudes to education in society tended both among the middle class and the urban working class to be one of approval because of its role in mobility. However, it was significant that the concern of the middle class was much more with the way in which educational reforms would affect them. Thus there has been relatively little concern for the fact that so many areas and so many people have had to do without education altogether. The urge for reforms tended to concentrate less on these matters than on agitation for more scholarships to go abroad, or more exhibitions to lighten the burden of secondary education for the middle class. Similarly the teacher groups appear to have been much more concerned with problems of salaries to teachers, or their status vis-a-vis civil servants, than with the educational problems of the community themselves.

d. Structure and Status of the Teaching Profession in Colonial Trinidad & Tobago:

The colonial teaching service was sharply segmented between primary and secondary teachers. Numerically speaking, in the 1950s (Committee on General Education 1959), teaching vacancies in primaries were easy to fill but the quality was not high. This was due to the low prestige of these jobs, the low salaries, the low standards of selection, the delays in provision of training to probationary teachers, the arbitrary or nepotic system of transfers and promotions, and the unsatisfactory working conditions. Overall, with regard to recruitment to the teaching profession, there was a notable bias against women, rural persons, and Tobagonians (Committee on General Education 1959: 155), and with regard to subsequent access to training college and professional advancement, there was a notable gender bias favoring men. As a consequence, for persons with secondary school training, primary teaching tended to be viewed as a professional occupation of last resort for those unable to gain employment elsewhere in the government service (Lewis 1964: 18).

There were difficulties, therefore, in recruiting and retaining suitably qualified primary teachers and, for many years, the majority were recruited through the pupil-teacher system. Under this system, promising but poor primary school students who had little likelihood of gaining one of the scarce secondary school scholarship places were taken on from age 14 as monitors (teacher assistants) in their own primary schools. There they underwent a probationary period of work experience and training of not less than four years prior to being sent to teacher training college for a further two years before becoming classified as fully qualified teachers. In these circumstances, the teacher training colleges in the pre-independence period were developed essentially to provide a surrogate secondary education for teachers recruited through the pupil-teacher system. For the poor but bright child living in the rural areas, the occupation of pupil-teacher was about the only upward social mobility route.

The other mode of entry to primary school teaching was via a pass in the Cambridge School Certificate, which normally required a minimum of five years of secondary schooling. Holders of this certificate were appointed as primary school teachers for a minimum probationary period of two years (but usually for much longer) at the end of which they would be selected for training at one of the three teacher training colleges. However, as a government report noted (Trinidad & Tobago 1954: 53), by 1953 untrained primary school teachers remained in the majority (2,089 untrained or pupil-teachers out of a total of 3,794 primary and intermediate school teachers nationally) in all but a few urban schools. Holders of Grade III Cambridge Certificates (the lowest passing grade) could be admitted to teaching positions as probationers but could not gain admission to teacher training college until they upgraded their certificates to a Grade II. As Hamilton Maurice commented (Committee on General Education 1959: 112) in his 1959 report on the educational system in Trinidad & Tobago, it was rather ironic that the training of the country's primary school children was often placed in the hands of persons who themselves had achieved only a minimal passing grade in the school certificate exams. For as V. S. Naipaul (1974 [1959]) vividly describes in the case of Elias, a character in his novel Miguel Street, a Grade III pass in the Cambridge School Certificate exam was sufficient qualification for teaching school or driving a scavenging cart, and for little else.

The central role of the religious bodies in teacher training at this time is illustrated by the fact that two out of the three teacher training colleges in operation at the time of the Maurice report (p. 119) were run by denominational school boards - Catholic Women's Training College having a capacity of 40 students and Naparima (coeducational) Training College, run by the Presbyterians, with a capacity of 60 students, while the coeducational Government Training College had a capacity of 150 students.

The religious bodies also had control over the access of their untrained teachers to their training colleges, as well as over the possibilities for promotion of their trained teachers subsequently. And there is plentiful evidence to indicate that the denominations used these powers in a manner bordering on the dictatorial. Perhaps predictably, a teacher's adherence to the religious denomination in whose school he or she taught was a key factor in the teacher's probability of being sent to training college and in gaining promotion subsequently. However, denominational headmasters and school boards exercised even greater controls over their teachers. For example, one retired teacher remarked that the pupil-teacher system,

especially in denominational schools, was a "vicious system" and gave principals virtually autocratic power over their teachers - their conduct was monitored very closely in and out of class, and if the local minister saw an unmarried male teacher walking in public with a girl, he would be required to explain himself. In fact, during the 1950s, in both the denominational and the government schools, the autocratic powers of principals and educational boards over teachers were notorious, and allegations of bribery in the allocation of teaching posts and other educational matters were widespread. Promotion of principals was also more often linked to loyalty to a denominational educational board than to qualifications. Ultimately, in the early post-independence period, this unsatisfactory situation led to the creation of the government's Teaching Service Commission.

Against the arguments focusing on the nepotism, autocracy, and exploitation of the late colonial primary teaching situation, and particularly on the inadequacies of the pupil-teacher system, one often hears today substantial praise of the teachers produced by this system, with special emphasis being placed on their dedication and professionalism. More will be said about this later, but it is worth noting here that during the colonial period the social status of primary teachers, especially head teachers and teachers in rural areas, was undoubtedly higher than it is today. (Lewis 1964: 18) "Time was when the teacher was regarded as an important leader in his community, combining with his teaching functions the role of organizer, counselor and arbitrator. Although his actual salary may have been small, his relative remuneration was often higher than the community average." This was especially true in rural areas but even in Port of Spain, as one informant recalled, primary schools had been known by their principals' names - Nelson St. Primary School had been "Mr. Roberts' School"; Richmond St. School had been "Mr. MacNeith's School", etc.

As we have seen, during the late colonial period, the number of secondary schools in Trinidad & Tobago was very limited and, in keeping with the elite character of the secondary system, secondary schools were virtually a law unto themselves as regards the recruitment, training and conditions of service of their teachers. The hiring of secondary teachers was therefore, for the most part, under the control of the denominational bodies which controlled all but two of the government and assisted secondary schools in 1957. A substantial number of the secondary teachers in Trinidad & Tobago at this time were expatriates - British Oxbridge graduates, Irish Catholic priests and, interestingly, teachers hailing from Barbados which had a well-established system of secondary teacher training. On the whole, secondary teaching was not an occupation favored by locally born whites, and non-white secondary teachers were drawn largely from the ranks of Cambridge Higher School Certificate holders who had gained access to a secondary school education by winning one of the scarce scholarship places on the basis of the College Exhibition Exams. Also, a few teaching bursaries for secondary schooling (6 in 1953) were awarded on the basis of the Primary School Leaving Certificate Exam, mainly for rural pupils who had not been able to prepare for the College Exhibition Exams but were interested in taking up teaching as a career.

Consequently, until 1963, secondary teacher training, to the extent that it was attended to at all, was an exclusively in-service activity. As Eric Williams noted in his *Education in the British West Indies* (1967 [1950]: 37), "It has been readily assumed, up to the present time that the mere study of an Honours Course at Oxford, Cambridge or London or private study for the external examination of London University, equipped the successful

Bachelor of Arts for teaching at the Secondary Level. Ability to teach has been equated with ability to learn." Of the 709 members of staff of the government and assisted secondaries in 1962, 85 were trained graduates and 273 untrained graduates, 89 trained non-graduates, leaving 262 untrained non-graduates (Anon. 1964). The more motivated secondary teachers might eventually gain admission to an overseas university or training college, if funding could be found, or might pursue an extramural degree of the University of London, studying privately or by correspondence course.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS TOWARD INDEPENDENCE

A discussion of the development of the educational system of late colonial Trinidad & Tobago must of necessity be set against the backcloth of the movement toward independence in the post-World war II period - the time when, to borrow Oxaal's (1968) phrase, "black intellectuals (came) to power". Educational and political development during this period went hand in hand since, on the one hand, the central role of the educational "ladder" of social mobility ensured that the majority of the emergent nationalist political leaders would espouse the educational and social values of the Creole continuum and, on the other, that plans for the transformation of the colonial educational system would form a substantial plank of the nationalist political platform. It is far beyond the scope of the present report to attempt to document in any detail the political developments in the post-war period leading up to national independence in 1962, a task which in any case has been well accomplished by authors such as Selwyn Ryan, Ivar Oxaal, Bridget Brereton, Gordon Lewis, etc., but a few aspects of this story will be referred to here because of their especially close relation to educational questions.

From 1950, under the aegis of new constitutional arrangements, Trinidad & Tobago underwent a series of experiments in increasing degrees of self-government as British power progressively disengaged from its Caribbean colonies. The quasi-ministerial regime of 1950-56, with five locally elected ministers drawn from different parties or groups, could not hope to effectively represent the growing nationalistic aspirations of various politically active sectors of Trinidad & Tobago society. However Roy Joseph, the Catholic "Creole Syrian" who held the education portfolio in this government, did oversee the move toward universalization of the primary school system during this period, and the substantial reliance on the denominational school boards to achieve this task reflected his personal preference, and that of the "French Creole" elite, for this type of schooling (as well as the limited amount of government funding available for educational expansion).

But, undoubtedly, the most significant political development of the post-war period was the emergence and rise to power of the People's National Movement (PNM), the first effective nationalist political party in Trinidad & Tobago. As Brereton (1981: 233) explains it, "The PNM was the creation of a group of middle-class professionals, mainly but not exclusively black, who rallied round the dominant personality of Eric Williams to establish a party that could take the Creole middle class into power." Nationalist, populist and yet distancing themselves from radical socialist views that would have alienated influential sectors of Trinidad & Tobago society (see Ryan 1972: 113-118), Williams and his fellow party founders succeeded in creating a party which, at one and the same time, effectively mobilized both the more economically and socially privileged (and primarily brown) strata of

the Creole continuum, the so-called "middle class", as well as the largely black lower strata, under a banner demanding rapid independence.

In the context of the present report, it is a fact of considerable interest that the organization out of which the PNM was to sprout was the Teachers' Economic and Cultural Association (TECA) which was, in the words of Selwyn Ryan (1972: 106):

> ... a cooperative formed in 1935 by a group of radical urban Negroes... (as) one expression of the widespread anger over the discriminatory manner in which the avenues of economic and social advancement were kept closed to Negroes. Frustration stemmed not only from the treatment meted out to teachers by the religious and state educational offices, which were largely staffed by whites, but from the attitude of the established Teachers (sic) Union, which they believed had become too accommodationist.

Authors such as Oxaal (1968) and Ryan (1972) have documented the manner in which TECA progressively took on nationalist political aims, particularly from 1950 when Eric Williams began to work as a consultant for the People's Education Movement (PEM), the political arm of TECA. Williams's public lectures during the mid- 1950s, especially his near legendary performances at what came to be called "the University of Woodford Square" in a park in the centre of Port of Spain, effectively mobilized growing nationalistic sentiments in both the black and brown sectors of society by getting "the masses to regard his personal struggle (with his former employers at the Caribbean Commission) as their (author's italics) struggle - the struggle of the qualified (my italics) black West Indian for recognition and advancement" (Ryan 1972: 109). During this period of emergence of the PNM party, education became a master metaphor in nationalist political discourse, to the point that a public debate between Williams and Dom Basil Matthews, a Benedictine monk of Trinidadian origin, ostensibly dealing with Aristotle's political philosophy in relation to Trinidad & Tobago educational policy (and the opposition between state and church control), was one of the main platforms from which Williams rose to national leadership (see Oxaal 1968: 104-105). The academic style and often esoteric subject matter of Williams's lectures clearly implied to his audiences, most of whom were poor blacks of limited education, that social mobility through educational advancement would be a possibility for people of their background once expansion of educational access had been achieved.

As Oxaal (1968: 96) has argued, "No real grasp of Trinidad politics in the last years of the colonial period can be achieved without understanding the bases of the charismatic authority wielded by Dr. Eric Williams", and I would further note that the educational dimension of Williams's career provided a key element in this charisma. An Island Scholarship winner and athlete from Queen's Royal College who had gone on to establish an outstanding academic record in undergraduate and doctoral studies in history at Oxford, Eric Williams epitomized the successful brown Creole intellectual who had excelled at every hurdle in the colonial system of social mobility. (It is noteworthy that the academic career of Dr. Rudranath Capildeo, Eric Williams's principal Indian political opponent of the late 1950s and early 1960s, paralleled that of Williams very closely.) And yet, Williams could argue, the ingrained prejudices and structures of disadvantage of the colonial system blocked the avenues of his deserved recognition and advancement at his previous employment with the Caribbean Commission, just as they blocked opportunities of social mobility for non-whites

within Trinidad & Tobago society more generally (see Oxaal 1968: 109-11). Williams's early writings (1967 [1950]) and speeches advocating the significant expansion and state control of education (including the establishment of a West Indian university) within independent Caribbean states set the tone for the continuing strong emphasis in PNM thinking on the central role of educational expansion in enhancing the potential for large scale social mobility.

MAJOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EVENTS SINCE INDEPENDENCE

The emergence of the PNM as the first truly modern and nationalistic political party in Trinidad, which as we have seen derived its core support largely from the black and brown sectors of Trinidad & Tobago society, also stimulated the development of increasingly well organized opposition parties representing for the most part the more conservative and/or non-black sectors of society. From the 1956 elections, when Williams and the PNM were unable to win a majority of the vote and yet were chosen by the colonial governor-general to form the first government in Trinidad & Tobago with significant powers of internal self rule, through to the elections of 1961 when the PNM won a substantial parliamentary majority on the eve of independence, political activity became increasingly polarized in ethnic terms. In particular, the Hindu Indian sector of society, in the form of its "political arm" (Brereton 1981: 236) the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and its successor the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) (first under the leadership of Bhadase Maraj and then Rudranath Capildeo) resolutely opposed the PNM in the fear of domination by the "Creole" (i.e. black) sector which increasingly began to think in terms of its "right to govern" (Brereton 1981: 239). In reaction to this Indian viewpoint (which was shared by many whites and members of other minority groups [Ryan 1991a:60]), and while still smarting from the electoral success achieved by the DLP in the elections for the first parliament of the now-defunct West Indian Federation, Eric Williams made his infamous speech (quoted in Brereton 1981: 239; see also Mahabir 1978: 78) referring to a "recalcitrant and hostile minority of the West Indian nation masquerading as `the Indian nation' and prostituting the name of India for its selfish and reactionary political ends." The lines of ethnic cleavage which have continued to exert a predominant effect on Trinidad & Tobago politics up to the present were thus firmly in place from the advent of self-government in the late colonial period, but during the decade of the 1960s, the PNM government was able progressively to tighten its grip on the reins of national political power and the Indian opposition parties suffered a period of decline.

Throughout the 1960s, the PNM government continued to press ahead with its plans for the expansion of the national education system (see below for fuller discussion), although the pace of this expansion was slowed by financial constraints. And within the wider society as well, many of the optimistic expectations stimulated by the transition to national independence among the more economically and socially disadvantaged sectors of Trinidad & Tobago society, in particular among the poor black community that provided the core of PNM electoral support, remained unfulfilled as the national economy stagnated. Protests grew that the PNM had failed to carry through its promises of economic and social change and that systematic patterns of racial and class discrimination remained common in Trinidad & Tobago society. Many of these protests adopted the "Black Power" rhetoric then common in North America, Jamaica and elsewhere, but as Selwyn Ryan (1972: 366) has noted, it was "to the surprise of most observers (that) it was in Trinidad and not Jamaica that the most

serious confrontation between militant blacks and the establishment took place." Between February and April 1970, a number of violent protests occurred, directed at prominent symbols of establishment power such as Catholic churches and involving large crowds of Black Power supporters, many of whom were students. (Indeed, the prominent involvement of university lecturers and students in these political events, which were stimulated in part by the Walter Rodney affair at the Jamaica campus of the University of the West Indies and by the activist currents of the international student movement of the 1960s, publicly demonstrated for the first time in the Trinidad context the significant national political potential of students and teachers in the newly expanded Trinidad & Tobago educational system.) Appeals were made by the Black Power activists for Indian agricultural workers to join in the movement and thereby to demonstrate that the fundamental cleavage was a non-white versus white racial one, rather than an ethnic cleavage, but these calls fell largely on deaf ears. The period of political instability peaked in April when members of the Trinidad & Tobago Defense Force briefly mutinied against government orders to quell the demonstrations following the declaration of a national state of emergency. In the face of these unsettling events, which were widely interpreted as failures of the PNM government, Eric Williams's personal political fortunes appeared to be declining, and he is reported to have come close to resigning from office in 1971 (Parris 1981). At any rate, in response to these political and economic pressures, Williams moved as quickly as he could to defuse the situation, with various social welfare measures targeted especially at the primarily black urban poor.

But the 1973 OPEC-stimulated oil boom was the event that opened the financial floodgates, offering the possibility throughout the rest of the 1970s for extremely rapid development of all forms of social welfare provision, among the more substantial of which was the rapid expansion of secondary and tertiary education (which will be discussed more fully in later sections of this report). Money, to use Eric Williams's phrase, was "no problem".

By the early 1980s, however, the price of oil had substantially diminished and government economic advisors began to warn that the country must rein in its pace of public spending. The PNM government, now headed by George Chambers who had succeeded to the office of prime minister following Eric Williams's death in 1981, proved unable to make such substantial adjustments in its social welfare programs and began to incur annual deficits in the national budget. Such problems of government finance and policy, plus a major realignment of national political forces which eventuated in the creation of a new party, the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR), finally led to the defeat of the PNM in the 1986 elections after 30 years of continuous rule. At its inception, the NAR appeared to break all the traditional `rules' concerning the composition of Trinidad & Tobago political parties, in that it was a broad-based coalition of prominent political figures drawn from virtually all the ethnic groups resident in the country. However, faced with the need rapidly to institute after its election a program of economic austerity and structural adjustment, due to the country's large fiscal deficit, the trans-ethnic unity of the NAR proved to be illusory and many of its more prominent Indian members of parliament withdrew in 1988 to form an opposition party.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE TRINIDAD & TOBAGO EDUCATION SYSTEM TODAY

a. Introduction

From its election in 1956, the PNM-controlled government moved as rapidly as it could to expand educational opportunities at all levels in Trinidad & Tobago society, with particular emphasis being placed on increasing secondary and tertiary provision. This emphasis was predictable, given the great cultural focus on the secondary school as the means of upward mobility for the non-white population (see Williams 1967 [1950]) as well as the underdevelopment of these sectors relative to the primary school sector. (A not-inconsequential consideration in the government's decision to concentrate on developing the secondary and tertiary sectors was also the fact that the primary system was strongly dominated by the denominational bodies and was an area of political competition between denominations/ethnic groups, whereas the less developed secondary system offered more scope for relatively immediate governmental impact in its stated national integration and development aims.) In any case, the primary school system, which had been virtually universal since the mid-1950s, could be portrayed as run down and overcrowded but functional. As the 1964 UNESCO planning report on the Trinidad & Tobago national education system commented (Anon. 1964: 63), "it is surprising how much good work is done in view of the difficulties and shortages with which the (primary) schools have to contend." The report went on to list some of the problems affecting the primary sector, which included:

1. hall-type functionally inappropriate buildings,
2. overcrowding, estimated on paper at 14 percent but revealed during field visits as reaching 50 percent to 100 percent in some places,
3. inadequate and sometimes inappropriate textbooks,
4. inadequate equipment, aids and supplies,
5. inadequate facilities for practical subject teaching and activity learning procedures,
6. high ratios of untrained teachers and shortages of teachers of special subjects,
7. throttling of curriculum and whittling down of syllabuses by narrow examination-orientation, and
8. high absenteeism rate and incidence of unpunctuality

But, despite these handicaps, the 1960 national census revealed that only 9 percent of the population five years and over had not attended primary school.

Shortly after their election in 1956, the PNM government commissioned Hamilton Maurice, an experienced local educator and public servant, to undertake the first review of the Trinidad & Tobago educational system ever carried out by a locally born person. This fact alone was significant since, throughout the colonial period, expatriates had run the Trinidad & Tobago educational service, and considerable resentment had built up among the locally-born teachers and other members of the elite on this account (Committee on General Education 1959: 25).

The report, which finally appeared in 1959 (see Mahabir 1978: 46 concerning the delay in its production), was in general quite scathing of the neglect of the colony's educational system by the British administration. In line with the thinking of influential

members of the PNM, including Eric Williams (1967 [1950]), the Maurice Report called for the establishment of a unitary and secularized system of education, financed and controlled by the government. According to Maurice's view, although acknowledging that Trinidad & Tobago's denominational schools had made major contributions to the education of the nation's children, denominational education was seen to be at odds with the nationalistic aspirations of the PNM government. He argued that (Committee on General Education 1959: 32),

> ... it could be said here and now that the system appears to have grown up with no eye to our future maturity as a self-governing and single nation with a single aim and purpose and with a common loyalty as one undivided and united people.

He also noted (pp. 50-1) that denominational education

> ... becomes socially a cause for concern when a racial analysis is made of some of the Christian and non-Christian primary schools, where both types of schools are found in certain rather mixed and populous areas, and where in spite of the great mixture of the population, one observes, to quote the case of some schools in such mixed racial areas as San Fernando, Tunapuna, and Couva among others, that the schools appear to be racially divided, in that we find 97 out of every 100 children in the same school to be of one race. This is not a healthy prospect in so mixed a racial population and does not envisage or ensure the harmonious mixing of the society outside the school.

The Maurice Committee's general conclusion on this point was (p. 25)

> ... that one of the major problems of our education system was its heritage of schools built for children of a particular religion or race, a fact which has created some suspicion in the minds of people whenever their children have difficulty in gaining admission to some schools. It was therefore the Committee's duty to devise a public system of education that would remove the suspicion from people's minds and to recommend an integrated system of a pattern appropriate and adaptable to local conditions, which will bring into line the heritage of the dual system and meet the challenge of the changed and changing political circumstances.

In fact, political considerations dictated otherwise and in December 1960, in what was seen as a conciliatory gesture toward the Catholic church and conservative French Creole political interests that had up until then opposed the PNM, Eric Williams negotiated a "Concordat" with Fr. Pedro Valdez of the Catholic school board, acting on behalf of all the denominational boards. This agreement (Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education and Culture 1960) effectively assured the continued existence of government-assisted denominational education in Trinidad & Tobago. Among the major provisions of this agreement, Williams agreed that the denominational schools would continue to qualify for government financial aid (including the payment of their teachers' salaries), although the denominational governing bodies would still be responsible for the administration of these schools and for the costs of their maintenance, repair and furnishing. Ownership of the denominational school premises remained in the denominational boards' hands. New secondary schools could only be established by the government, although new denominational primaries could be created with government permission. (By implication, it was envisioned that when new denominational primary schools would be created, the government would continue to provide two-thirds of the construction cost and the

denomination one-third.) The government affirmed the right of its school inspectorate to monitor the functioning of all schools in the country, both primary and secondary, government and assisted. However, no textbooks were to be introduced into the denominational schools without the approval of the denominational school concerned.

But probably the most important concession by Eric Williams to the denominational secondary schools was the principle that headmasters of denominational schools would have the right to allocate up to 20 percent of their school places as they saw fit, "provided normally" that the pupils had passed the national Common Entrance Examination that was to be instituted. The rationale for this provision was that it would give scope for the headmasters of the denominational secondary schools to maintain the religious character of their schools through the preferential admission of students of the desired religion. However, as Selwyn Ryan noted (Sunday Express Feb. 21, 1988), many persons objected to this compromise formula in the 1960 Concordat because it allowed the churches to assign scarce school places at state expense to children who perhaps did not achieve as high grades in the Common Entrance Exam as many others who failed to obtain secondary school places. One might also add that the existence of this special entry procedure has, over the years, served to fan rumors of corruption and ethnic favoritism.

On the other hand, in an extension of governmental control over the national education system, the Concordat provided that the selection of teachers for training college would be determined by the Ministry of Education. Choice of teachers for training in existing denominational training colleges would be made in the first instance by the denominational boards but had to be approved by the Ministry. The government expressed the aim of eventually reaching a stage at which all teachers would be trained in government-controlled teachers' colleges. But the government agreed to respect the rights of existing denominational training colleges, although no expansion of these denominational training facilities was to be allowed.

There has been a continuing debate regarding the precise reasons why Eric Williams, an avowed supporter of a unitary system of secular education, ignored the recommendations of the Maurice Report on this matter and entered into the Concordat, which so firmly ensured the central role of the denominations in the developing educational system of Trinidad & Tobago. Ivor Oxaal (1968: Chap. 8), on the basis of interviews with influential members of the PNM of the time, suggested that the inner group of influential PNM members were split on this issue (as well as on other religious matters, such as the question of birth control). The former teachers' faction of the PNM (Williams among them) tended to be more radical/secular on educational issues than the rest of the group, many of whom had close links with the churches (especially the Catholic Church) and had attended prestigious denominational secondary schools. Oxaal suggested that Williams backed off from pushing through his more radical views on this fraught issue, having calculated its divisive political consequences. And, in the event, the Concordat proved to be very important symbolically in helping to establish a *modus vivendi* with French Creole circles and the Catholic Church, which had constituted, up to that time, a major source of political opposition to the PNM. (It is interesting to note that the political memoirs of Winston Mahabir [1978: 46], a key member of the first PNM cabinet, obfuscate the Concordat issue, which one must judge to be a notable setback for the PNM's aims.)

1960 was a key year in the history of the Trinidad & Tobago educational system in other ways, for it was in that year that the Williams government announced a policy of free secondary education. This development, in turn, necessitated the introduction of a national Common Entrance Examination to determine access to the scarce government and assisted secondary school places then available. At the time of its advent, the Common Entrance Exam was seen as an interim measure only, which could be abolished once the government's aim of universal secondary education had been achieved, but the exam has persisted up to the present day, along with a continuing debate over the manifest and latent functions of national examinations as well as the distorting effects of excessive examination focus in primary school teaching.

In 1960 as well, as a result of the negotiations with the United States government over the American occupation of the military bases at Chaguaramas and elsewhere in Trinidad, the U.S.A. agreed to fund the construction of a new Faculty of Arts and Sciences on the campus of the former Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture at St. Augustine, within the framework of the University of the West Indies system. As the 1964 UNESCO Educational Mission Report noted (Anon. 1964: 63), this development of a local branch of the U.W.I. in Trinidad at the start of the independence period, first with Faculties of Engineering and Agriculture followed by Arts and Sciences, "changed the whole outlook of post-primary education opportunities" in Trinidad & Tobago.

b. Educational Planning and Implementation

In a number of respects, the early efforts of the PNM government at educational planning in the immediate pre-independence period seemed to establish a style of operation that was followed henceforth. The government proved to be very fond of establishing educational working parties and commissioning reports but less effective at implementing the reports' recommendations; indeed, some educational changes that were enacted bore only limited relation to such proposals. For example, some of the key suggestions of the Maurice Report were not followed by Eric Williams who, as we have seen above, instituted significant educational policies largely on his own initiative. On the other hand, despite the numerous educational working parties and periodic detours resulting from political expediency, it is possible to discern some consistent themes which informed government educational planning during the PNM period.

As already noted, the PNM government did wish to move as rapidly as possible to widen access at the secondary level although, predictably, this step generated debate concerning the need to maintain academic standards. The Maurice Report had been particularly concerned about the issue of standards, arguing that the secondary school entrance exams (Committee on General Education 1959: 58)

> ... are one of the most important academic factors in the whole education system and whatever form it takes, as long as secondary education remains selective, there is need for an examination.

The report went on to make some ironic remarks concerning proposals to substitute the English General Certificate of Education examinations (Ordinary and Advanced Levels) for the Cambridge Secondary and Higher Secondary School Certificate examinations (p. 77),

For some years now, it has been the policy, it appears, to reduce progressively the academic standard of the School Certificate as a test of a good general education, which it should be. There has been the abolition of compulsory group subjects and group requirements, and now this award for failures (i.e. the new G.C.E. Ordinary Level permitted candidates to pass some subjects while failing others, rather than having to pass all parts of the Cambridge School Certificate exam at one sitting) ... Taking an examination is not only a test of knowledge but, with its disciplinary value, it is also a test of character. The argument of flexibility might easily become the educator's pleasant way of rationalization for bending to the will of the teenager ... it seems illogical that Government should spend more and get less value in its efforts to spread secondary education and to raise the character and the standard of education of its citizens.

On the other hand, the Maurice Report stated that excessive examination focus was hindering effective education at both the primary and the secondary levels and that a happy medium needed to be found between the requirements of mass and elite education. The report also argued that despite the need for more secondary education facilities, education to age 16 (Cambridge Secondary School Certificate level) was sufficient for the large majority of the pupils and that too many students were already wasting time and resources in a vain quest for the Cambridge Higher School Certificate (at age 18+). According to the report (p. 69), there was a strong current of opinion that favored reduction in the number of grammar schools in Trinidad & Tobago to 4 or 5, with necessarily tighter selection, which would ensure sufficient trained staff to teach in the four categories in which Island Scholarships were offered. However, this aspect of the Maurice Report was evidently too elitist to suit Eric Williams, who favored more rapid expansion of the secondary system.

As a first step toward expansion of the secondary system and in keeping with educational fashion then popular in the U.K., the Trinidad & Tobago government constructed the first 10 secondary modern schools in the country, as well as one more grammar school, between 1961 and 1963, and instituted the Common Entrance (11+) Examination to determine access to secondary places. Newton and Braithwaite (1975), in reviewing the educational changes in Trinidad & Tobago of this period, have argued that although educational access at the secondary level was expanded, inadequate attention was given to the development of a syllabus suitable for the academic abilities of the pupils in the new secondary modern schools.

A few years after the Maurice Report, much to the dissatisfaction of Maurice and other local educators, Eric Williams called in a team of expatriate educational advisors from UNESCO to advise on the planning of the national educational system, which resulted in the 1964 UNESCO educational mission report (Anon. 1964) and set the stage for the drafting of a 15 year (1968-83) national educational plan (Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education 1968). The UNESCO educational advisors, who took the statements made in the Trinidad & Tobago government's second Five Year Plan as basic declarations of policy and deduced intermediate and longer term aims and targets from these statements, praised the philosophy of the educational elements in the plan, which allocated education a central role in national development, but criticized the proposed level of financial provision for education as being inadequate by comparative international standards (Anon. 1964: 7). However, given the difficult and declining economic circumstances of the decade of the 1960s in Trinidad &

Tobago, the much-hoped-for expansion of educational opportunity had to be planned in the context of financial constraint.

The principal recommendation of the UNESCO mission report, which came to be enshrined in the Trinidad & Tobago government's subsequent 15 year plan (1968-83) in the context of a declared aim of achieving universal educational provision for the 5 to 14 year old age group, was the establishment of a system of junior secondary schools catering for 12 to 14 year olds. In order to expand the intake into this sector as rapidly as possible, junior secondary schools would be run on a two shift per day basis, which would be gradually phased out as sufficient schools became available. Due to limited financial resources, education for the 15-year and older age cohort could only be provided for 35-40 percent of this age group. Selection of pupils for secondary education would continue to be based on the Common Entrance Examination at 11+, although this was viewed as a temporary measure, which would be phased out when sufficient secondary places became available. Subject to the rule that denominational school headmasters had the right to select 20 percent of their intakes, students would be placed in secondary schools according to the marks achieved in the Common Entrance Exam, with the top students normally opting for the 7 or 5 year "prestige" grammar schools, the next cohort of students usually opting for the new 5 year secondary modern schools, and the lowest of the students who achieved passing grades entering the three year junior secondary schools.

Already by the late 1960s, then, the concept of the 5 year secondary modern school had given way to a 3+2 year model and, to the extent made possible by its restricted financial resources, the government planned for the future to gradually expand secondary education for the 14+ age cohort by the creation of "senior comprehensive" schools. As a result of the financial constraints on secondary school expansion in the 1960s and early 1970s, the concept of the double-shifted junior secondary school, catering for pupils aged 12-14 who had failed to qualify for the 5 or 7 year schools, had much to recommend it, in that it offered the chance of at least some secondary education to the great mass of students who otherwise would be relegated to the unsatisfactory post-primary sections of the primary schools, or perhaps miss out on further education altogether.

In light of the great public attention and comment that has now come to be focused on the junior secondary schools and their unpopular and problematic double shift system, it is important to remember the original rationale for their creation. The 1968-83 educational plan did envisage some problems with the shift system but said that these problems "of domestic convenience" should not stand in the way of providing education for as many students as possible. Also, there is a persistent rumor that the double shift system, and the junior secondary school concept altogether, were foisted on Trinidad & Tobago by external experts and were a stipulated condition of the World Bank loan that was used to fund this development. I could find no documentary evidence supporting this contention and various persons who were closely involved with Eric Williams's thinking and that of the Ministry of Education at this time made the point to me that, whatever the World Bank loan conditions, it is most likely that Eric Williams was a willing participant in the shifted junior secondary development, on the grounds that it offered the best opportunity to move rapidly toward his goal of universal secondary education. This view is corroborated by the language of the

authors of the UNESCO report, who clearly saw themselves as backing the junior secondary concept that was already in favour in government circles.

Another important recommendation of the 1968-83 educational plan, as in the UNESCO and Maurice reports before it, focused on the need to adapt the curricula at all educational levels to the requirements of the newly independent country. However, in practice (and as we shall see in more detail later), the notion of "appropriate curricula" was interpreted differently by educationalists, politicians and laypeople, depending on their position in society and on what they perceived as appropriate directions for national development. The PNM government and its largely black and brown constituency clearly saw the educational system as a vehicle for its nationalistic aims. Thus, in the words of the Maurice Report (Committee on General Education 1959: 24),

> Not only is education a national affair and everybody's business, but the fact is, that a people cannot develop its own national pride and consciousness and grow to nationhood except by using education to mobilize all its human resources which are found available in all sections and classes of its populations.

However, other sectors of society that did not have a grasp on the reins of government, such as the Indians and Creole whites, were suspicious that such nationalistic language concealed sectional political aims and interests.

Predictably, there was general agreement regarding the need to replace the colonialist focus on Britain in history, geography and literature syllabuses with materials relating to the Caribbean. But arguments, for example, that greater recognition should be accorded to the Creole structures of Trinidadian English, rather than insisting on rigid adherence to teaching methods and usage of Standard English, were met with rebuttals about the need to maintain educational standards. Equally, despite widespread recognition that the classical grammar school syllabus, with its weak emphasis on scientific subjects and its total neglect of technical and vocational education, was ill-adapted to a mass education system, there was considerable debate about the appropriate age level for the introduction of technical and vocational subjects. (See Committee on General Education 1959: 67 for example.) Educationalists of traditional persuasion, as well as members of the more privileged strata of society, were wont to argue that students would be best served by first getting a good general education in traditional subjects, with vocationally specialized subjects being introduced only late in the secondary curriculum (if at all). This debate over the relevance and vocational effectiveness of different modes of education was linked closely, as well, with discussion of the role of examinations and certification in education, a topic already referred to which will be discussed further later.

Between the initial planning of the phased expansion of secondary education as embodied in the 1968-83 educational development plan and its actualization in the mid-1970s, a number of unforeseen events occurred which fundamentally altered the pace and character of educational change. These events included a) the continued worsening of economic conditions with consequent high unemployment at the end of the 1960s and start of the 1970s, and b) the substantial political unrest, associated with a radical student political movement, Black Power ideologies and the abortive army mutiny. As already mentioned,

the PNM government responded as rapidly as possible with a series of social welfare measures, targeted especially at the poor black urban dwellers who had been most involved in the demonstrations and who had up until then been considered to be the PNM's `natural' constituency.

Williams's 1970 budget speech (Trinidad & Tobago, Minister of Finance 1970) announced the first phase of an educational development program funded by a World Bank loan - to provide 16 junior secondary schools, 3 senior comprehensive schools, and the conversion of 3 schools into senior comprehensives. Also from the late 1960s onwards, the Trinidad & Tobago government instituted a whole series of programs designed to deal with the pressing problems of youth unemployment and retraining, including youth camps, vocational centers and trade centers. But following the 1973 OPEC oil price rises, very large sums of money became available to the Trinidad & Tobago government and offered the possibility throughout the rest of the 1970s for extremely rapid expansion of all forms of social welfare provision, among the more notable of which were secondary and tertiary education.

As it became increasingly apparent after 1973 that the Trinidad & Tobago government would now dispose of a great deal more revenue than it had expected at the time of the formulation of the 1968-83 educational development plan, consideration was given in government circles to rewriting the plan from scratch but, in 1975, Eric Williams opted instead to bring forward a set of "prime minister's proposals to cabinet" (Trinidad & Tobago, 1975a) embodying his thinking on the appropriate steps for more rapid expansion in the education sector. As indicated above, factors other than financial or educational ones centrally influenced Williams's thinking, and one of particular importance was his concern that the first cohort of graduates were about to emerge from the new junior secondary schools. In view of the recent political unrest in which many of the youth of Port of Spain and the East-West corridor had participated, Williams was loath to see this large group of students set loose on the streets to join the already large ranks of the unemployed.

An added factor which must be taken into account during this period was Eric Williiams' increasing attraction to the so-called "Puerto Rican" model of economic development, also known as Operation Bootstrap, which was closely associated with the ideas of the distinguished economists Arthur Lewis and Teodoro Moscosco who served as advisors to the Trinidad & Tobago government. In this economic planning approach, strong emphasis was laid on rapid industrialization via heavy use of foreign capital ("industrialization by invitation") as the best course for a developing country to follow. In conjunction with this thinking, Williams became more and more interested in technical and vocational education as necessary for the provision of the highly trained workforce that would be required to staff the industrial sector in-the-making. He argued that, in a newly industrializing country such as Trinidad & Tobago, it was inappropriate to have 60 percent of the students leave school at the end of the junior secondary stage.

This attitude toward vocational education was at variance with the attitudes that had prevailed previously in Trinidad & Tobago, where technical and vocational, commercial and related manual or craft subjects were treated as very much second best - subjects suited for those who failed the scholarship and/or entrance exams. It is to be questioned, indeed, how

far Williams's attitudes had really changed on this matter, but the focus on technical and vocational education was seen to fit well with the demands for a solution to the unemployment problem and the wish to expand the industrial base as rapidly as possible.

With this in mind, Williams proposed and the cabinet accepted the principle that five years of post-primary education should become the national norm and that technology in all its aspects should be given a priority position in modifying the 1968-83 educational plan. As a natural corollary to these principles, the senior comprehensive school, offering a broad program of traditional academic, pre-technician, commercial, general industrial, and craft training, was adopted as the appropriate model for the expansion of educational opportunity for the 14+ age cohort. These schools were to be large establishments of 1,400+ students, in order to maximize the cost-effective use of the expensive technical and vocational facilities provided.

The Trinidad & Tobago government thus became committed to a quite massive and rapid construction of secondary education facilities, a goal which proved to be difficult to achieve due to problems of design, labor and materials supply, cost overruns, and inefficient management by contractors and the Ministry of Education. That these problems were severe is evidenced by the fact that Eric Williams felt it necessary to make further proposals on educational development to cabinet in 1979 (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago 1979), and the tone of this document clearly expressed his worry and frustration at the slow pace in implementing his 1975 proposals.

Despite the many problems experienced by the Trinidad & Tobago government in its efforts at rapid educational expansion, much was achieved in the decade of the 1970s and by 1981, the year of Eric Williams's death, the secondary system had reached virtually its present level of expansion and stood as a monument to his belief in the value of mass education. From that time onwards, a decline in oil revenues made it difficult to push further ahead toward the goal of universal secondary education. Expansion leveled off with about 75-80 percent of the secondary school age population being catered for in secondary schools, and there was a consequent continuing need to retain the 11+ Common Entrance Exam and to operate almost all of the junior secondary schools on a double shift basis. Then too, growing worries about the social and educational effects of the double shift junior secondary schools, combined with a change in Ministry of Education attitudes toward a renewed preference for the single cycle 5 year secondary versus the 3+2 model (3 years of junior secondary followed by 2 years of senior comprehensive), contributed to the virtual halt in the expansion of secondary school place provision during the 1980s. Instead, limited efforts have been made since 1981 to deshift the junior secondaries and to reorganize secondary provision according to the 5-year model.

The primary education system, on the other hand, which had languished during the 1960s and 1970s due to limited capital and maintenance inputs, began to receive increasing attention during the 1980s as educationalists and the public at large began to recognize that the problems being experienced in the secondary schools had at least some of their roots in the inadequate facilities and student preparation at the primary level. Problems of school provision at the primary level were perhaps most noticeable in areas of rapid population growth, such as in government-sponsored housing estates in places like La Horquetta and

Maloney, or in areas of heavy squatter influx such as Enterprise and Montrose. Here, planned and unplanned housing sprang up with little attention from the government to the provision of necessary social amenities such as schools and health care facilities. Indeed, although it was certainly the case that the PNM government planned its program of educational expansion with an evident attention to the correction of the gross bias in favour of urban areas that existed during the colonial period, it seems also to have assumed that much could be accomplished by means of plentiful use of motor transport, and it remains the case today that many school children (and not just those in the very rural areas) spend more than two hours per day in commuting to and from school.

With the end of the oil boom, Trinidad & Tobago's declining economic circumstances of the 1980s imposed severe limits on the amounts that government could invest in the renovation and modernization of primary school facilities, and many of the denominational school boards were also finding the costs of school construction and upkeep to be a severe burden, despite the substantial government subventions to which they were entitled. In the circumstances, the major primary school development program of the 1980s involved the construction of only 27 new primary schools (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education 1988a: 97-8), using funds derived from an Inter-American Development Bank loan. In addition, other sources of government funding are presently being channeled into the construction of another dozen government and government-assisted primary schools - yielding an overall rate of primary school construction and refurbishment that is scarcely sufficient to correct the decline in physical standards of the primary system as a whole.

c. The School System

c.1 Pre-school and Nursery Education

This educational sector has been substantially neglected by successive Trinidad & Tobago administrations from the colonial period up to the present, and there consequently has been a great deal of reliance placed on the voluntary and the private sectors for the development of nursery education. At the time of writing of the 1985-1990 National Education Plan (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education 1985: 87), there were 48 government nursery education centers scattered around the country (50 in 1987 - Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education 1988a), each catering for about 50 pupils. This small government program is oriented toward the provision of "assistance to working mothers of the lower income group who cannot afford to pay the high fees charged by some private pre-schools" (Anon. 1977). According to a 1984 national survey of nursery education, there were a total of 21,957 nursery places available at that time, with private schools providing a large majority (19,757) of these. This same survey estimated that roughly 41 percent of the pre-school population of 53,975 was attending pre-schools (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education 1985: 87). The 1985-1990 National Education Plan attempted to make a virtue out of a necessity by saying that education of small children is best done in the home, although at the same time it admits that, given present educational priorities, government funding was not available for rapid expansion of state nursery provision.

Since the formulation of the 1985-1990 National Education Plan, and subsequent to the change of government in 1986, there is evidence that nursery education is receiving a somewhat higher priority in government plans, although scarcity of state funding remains a serious constraint. The innovative nursery-training program of SERVOL (Service Volunteered for All), a voluntary sector organization operating in vocational training and community service, has particularly influenced thinking in this regard and from 1987, SERVOL has been charged by the Trinidad & Tobago government to disseminate this program nationwide on a community self-help basis. SERVOL's emphasis on strengthening family structures through the training of adolescents in the techniques of `parenting', plus its participatory approach to training and community development, have both found expression in its Early Childhood Education Training program within its Caribbean Life Centre, which offers instruction in nursery education to full-time and part-time students from Trinidad & Tobago as well as from many other Caribbean countries. By 1989, SERVOL had managed, in collaboration with community groups throughout Trinidad & Tobago, to establish 61 early childhood centers and 16 adolescent development centers around the country (Anon. 1989: 6).

Despite the commendable efforts of SERVOL, private day care and nursery school facilities continue to predominate in the country as a whole. The standard of supervision and instruction provided in these pre-school institutions varies widely, and government efforts to control and upgrade the quality of private nursery education remain very limited. Unfilled demand for nursery schooling is large, a situation which is exacerbated by the substantial number of working mothers and single parent families, as well as the uneven spatial distribution of these facilities. (Urban areas have the greatest concentration, especially the East-West corridor in St. George's Country, including Port of Spain [Anon. 1977].) Children of more well to do parents receive a significant head start through attendance at well-appointed and well-staffed private nursery schools. But my family surveys in several low income communities revealed a widespread recognition of the advantages of early childhood education, despite some residual suspicion expressed in certain quarters that nursery school is "just play" and not a "proper and serious" education. In fact, the content of nursery education in Trinidad & Tobago is quite the opposite of "just play" and is generally very formal and academic - the explicit aim being to achieve early literacy and numeracy. Many of the poor parents I spoke to were making significant financial sacrifices to provide their children with at least some nursery schooling. Although private nursery school fees presently amount to about $50 per month at minimum, it was still the case, for example, that about 90 percent of children in one induction class of a primary school in a low income to lower-middle income neighborhood that I surveyed had attended some nursery school prior to admission to primary school.

c.2 Primary Schools

As of 1986/87, the total number of government and assisted primary schools in Trinidad & Tobago stood at 469, of which 122 were government schools and 347 were government-assisted denominational schools (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education 1987). (See later section on religion for a denominational breakdown of these schools). Current data on numbers of private primary schools are not as accurate as those for the government and assisted schools, but the number of private schools presently preparing

students to sit the Common Entrance Exam in Trinidad & Tobago stands at 52 (personal communication, Dr. Marcano, Ministry of Education). According to the 1985-1990 National Education Plan (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education 1985), there were 171,400 children in the 5 to 11+ age cohort, 168,070 available places in public schools, 160,709 actually enrolled in public schools and 6,734 enrolled in private schools. Private primary schools, most of which tend to be located in the urban areas, cater particularly for the children of the political, business and intellectual elites, who have the means to pay for primary schooling so as to avoid the overcrowded and outmoded conditions of many of the government and assisted primary schools. As already described, the number of government and assisted primary schools has not expanded very substantially since independence, and the condition of many primary schools has become dilapidated, due to the inadequate capital inputs into this sector of the education system. However, the ratio of primary enrollment to the size of the relevant age cohort has improved marginally (see Harewood's statistical tables 3.3.2 & 3.4.1) during this period and has therefore helped to reduce overcrowding in some areas.

All government and assisted primary schools are subject to a standardized national curriculum covering a broad range of subjects (mathematics, social studies, science, family life education, health education, music, dance, reading, language arts, and art and craft). This curriculum has recently been revised and the new version (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education 1986) is presently in the process of being incorporated into day-to-day primary school teaching. Although the details of the curriculum are too complex for discussion in this article, it is nonetheless appropriate to open a parenthesis here and comment briefly on the continuing struggles to modernize the teaching of English in the primary schools.

Knowledge of Hindi, Creole French, Spanish or Chinese has been rapidly declining in the post-independence period such that only a small proportion of schoolchildren today have an active control of these languages. (In their study carried out a generation ago, Carrington, Borely & Knight [1974] found that only 4.2 percent of the schoolchildren surveyed had an active speaking knowledge of Hindi, Creole French, Spanish or Chinese.) However, teachers of English in Trinidad & Tobago still face serious problems of interference from the local Creole English. Analysis of the grammatical structures of this Creole has indicated that it is sufficiently different from Standard English so as to warrant the usage of certain second language teaching techniques (TOEFL) in primary English classes, and specialists at the University of the West Indies and the Ministry of Education have been active in arguing for the adoption of such methods. These efforts have attracted strong opposition from members of the public who, in keeping with the conservative values of the Creole continuum, have condemned these developments as countenancing a decline in educational standards (see Carrington & Borely 1978 for a sample of such views). These proposed changes have also encountered substantial difficulties due to the inability of many primary teachers to put the new teaching methods into practice. Consequently, although successive primary school language arts syllabuses since 1975 do make clear reference to the need to address the specific problems of teaching English in a dominated-dominated linguistic setting (Carrington & Borely 1978; Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education 1986), only limited progress has been made in this regard in terms of schoolroom practice. This issue will be commented upon further later in this report in the context of a discussion of

teacher training, but we can simply note here that the speech patterns of many primary teachers themselves display significant influences from the local Creole English. In this context, however appropriate the primary school language arts curriculum may be, there are serious problems in its implementation and the level of Standard English competence achieved in many Trinidad & Tobago schools is not high. Equally important, as Carrington (1978: 86) noted, is the fact that: "children who enter school with no language other than their Creole vernaculars undergo severe psychological trauma from the institutional rejection of their language and, by inference, their thought." Whether such feelings of rejection could be completely avoided by using TOEFL methods and adapted curriculum materials, given the continuing emphasis on the achievement of competence in Standard English, is debatable however.

Another perennial problem of the Trinidad & Tobago primary schools is the distortion of de facto teaching practice (whatever the national curriculum may say in theory) by the pressures of preparing the senior primary classes for the Common Entrance Examination, which regulates access to secondary school at 11+. For the Trinidad & Tobago public at large, the most important criterion for judgment of a primary school's success continues to be the proportion of its students who pass the Common Entrance Examination, with a secondary but still very important consideration being the proportion of these students who obtain places in one of the "prestige" secondary schools. This fact often leads to excessive emphasis, during the final two to three years of primary schooling, during both regular daytime classes as well as in extra examination classes after school, on those subjects that are tested in the Common Entrance Exam - English (language arts), mathematics, social studies, and science. And the approach adopted by teachers in this exam preparation is often too narrowly focused on exam techniques (e.g. how to deal with multiple choice questions), rather than on functional competence in the fields examined.

The pattern of placement of students in secondary schools in 1988, based on the Common Entrance Examination, is presented in the table below.

1988 SECONDARY SCHOOL PLACEMENT BASED ON COMMON ENTRANCE EXAMINATION RESULTS
(Source: unpublished Ministry of Education data)

TYPE OF SCHOOL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	%
Assisted Schools	1,574	1,404	2,978	10.7
Government Secondary Schools (5 & 7 year)	954	979	1,933	6.9
Junior Secondary and Composite Schools*	7,563	7,575	15,138	54.2
Total Placed	10,091	9,958	20,049	71.8
Unplaced	n/a	n/a	27,901	100.0
Total Taking Exam	n/a	n/a		

*A composite school is a 5 year school catering for the 12-16 year age group. For a fuller discussion of this type of school, see section 4e below.

As can be seen from the table, 71.8 percent of those sitting the examination in 1988 gained a place in secondary school, a figure that has not varied substantially since the completion of the major period of expansion of secondary education in the mid-1970s (see also Harewood's statistical table 3.3.3).

Another way of looking at the rate of Common Entrance success is provided in the 1985-1990 National Education Plan (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education 1985: 102), where it is calculated that approximately 85 percent of the 11+-age cohort obtained a place in secondary school in 1984. The divergence between the two perspectives is explained by the fact that a significant number of students sit the examination a year early so as to have the opportunity of a resit should they fail the first time. It is interesting to note that in the case of mixed sex secondary schools, the Ministry of Education makes it their practice to admit equal numbers of boys and girls, without reference to the level of grade achieved in the Common Entrance Exam. Since the grades achieved by girls are, on average, significantly higher than those achieved by boys, there is sexual discrimination in favour of the boys.

Students who fail to gain entry to the government and assisted secondary schools have several options: a) attend a fee-paying private secondary school, b) continue primary education up to age 15 (in the post-primary sections of primary schools), or c) drop out of the school system altogether (an option which, technically speaking, is illegal, although the Trinidad & Tobago government makes virtually no attempt at enforcing school attendance). Although the evidence available to me is not systematic, being based only on numerous but non-random interviews with teachers and other knowledgeable individuals, it appears that only a very small proportion of students drop out of school at this stage. Indeed, overall, it seems that rates of primary school attendance are generally satisfactory in most areas, although with the declining economic conditions of the 1980s and the reduction or elimination of government social welfare measures such as the primary school feeding program, book and uniform grants, etc., it is the case that some poor families can no longer afford to send their children to school.

c.3 Post-Primary Schools

The provision of educational facilities for those who have failed the Common Entrance Exam and who must remain in the primary school sector has always posed a problem within the Trinidad & Tobago educational system. Most primary schools, even today, have no special arrangements for such students who, in most schools, constitute only a handful of pupils. For the most part, these students simply continue to be taught as part of the Common Entrance preparatory classes. Only within the last few years has the Ministry of Education moved to provide special post-primary school centers for students in this category, although to date this program is only in the developmental stage, with the first several schools just coming on stream. Such post-primary centers will operate in conjunction with specified government secondary schools, where vocational education and other relevant teaching resources for these older students will be made available. Given that students who fail the Common Entrance exam are likely to be very slow learners, the main requirement for this group is the specialized remedial education facilities in literacy and numeracy that the new post-primary centers are designed to provide.

Those who remain in primary school attempt the Primary School Leaving Certificate Examination at the age of 15. If successful, they may either a) leave the school system, b) join an apprenticeship program and perhaps continue their education in the evening through the Board of Industrial Training, or c) enter a technical institute or vocational centre to pursue a vocational course (see below).

c.4 Secondary Education

c.4.1 Introduction

As has been explained in earlier sections of this report, the structure of the secondary education system in Trinidad & Tobago is very heterogeneous, reflecting on the one hand the legacy of the elitist colonial educational system and, on the other, changing government educational policies since independence. Essentially, there are at present four types of government and government-assisted denominational secondary schools - "traditional" 5 or 7 year secondaries, 3 year (11+ to 14+) junior secondaries, senior comprehensives (catering to

the 15 to 18+ age group), and a few 5 year composite schools. In addition, there are the private secondary schools. Thanks to the major expansion of secondary education in the post-independence period, the overwhelming urban bias in the distribution of secondary school facilities that obtained during the colonial period has been somewhat corrected so that most communities in Trinidad & Tobago now have access to a secondary school. However, for many students, secondary school attendance continues to require a long daily journey.

c.4.2 Traditional Secondary Schools

The goal of most students sitting the Common Entrance Examination is to secure a place in one of the 5 or 7 year secondary schools. Of those who pass the Common Entrance Exam, approximately the top 20 percent of the exam mark distribution (about 5,000 students) normally opt to attend one of the "traditional" 5 or 7 year schools, government or denominational, where they pursue a course focusing on the traditional academic subjects, in preparation for the Caribbean Examination Council (C.X.C.) and/or General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) Ordinary ("O") Level examinations at the end of the Fifth Form and then possibly the G.C.E. Advanced ("A") Level examinations two years later. The most academically-oriented of these schools offer virtually no technical and vocational education, expecting a large proportion of their students to continue to university, but some "traditional" 5 year schools do offer limited programs in subjects such as office practice, home economics, principles of accounts, commerce, computer literacy, and electrical installation or electronics.

The capacity of this "traditional" secondary sector has not varied significantly since the mid-1960s, being situated either in the long-established "prestige" grammar schools (most of which are denominational schools) or in the secondaries established during the first phase of expansion around the time of independence. Admission to the denominational secondaries continues to be subject to the provision of the 1960 Concordat, which authorizes the heads of these schools to admit up to 20 percent of their intake without reference to the level of passing marks achieved on the Common Entrance Exam. This fact, plus the frequent practice of well-to-do parents to send their children to exclusive private primary schools which act as "feeder" preparatory schools for the "prestige" secondary schools, ensures that the intakes of these schools are made up of the children of the elite (many of whom are light-skinned and/or are members of minority ethnic groups such as the Chinese or Syrian/Lebanese) plus the cream of the academic crop from the African and Indian communities. At one prestigious secondary in Port of Spain in which I carried out interviews, for example, about 50 percent of Form I admissions came from private primary schools.

Several government secondaries also fall into the "prestige" category, in particular Queen's Royal College - the alma mater of Eric Williams, C.L.R. James, V.S. Naipaul and many other illustrious graduates, but the bulk of the 5 year government schools were established as secondary moderns around the time of independence and are therefore somewhat less sought after by students sitting their Common Entrance Exams. In such circumstances, these schools find difficulty in meeting the academic performance level of the "prestige" schools. In addition to the traditional academic preparation for the C.X.C. and G.C.E. exams, the government 5-year schools attempt to maintain programs of training in the basic engineering trade areas and also in areas such as drafting, home economics and office

practice. They are handicapped in these efforts, however, by generally poor technical and vocational education facilities (in contrast to most senior comprehensive schools, which are much better provided for in this regard). The problems of those government 5 year secondaries which make it a practice to admit a IV Form entry from junior secondary schools are also compounded by the fact that this group does not fit in well, in terms of academic ability and preparation, with those admitted at I Form.

c.4.3 Junior Secondary Schools

The majority of those who pass the Common Entrance Exam, about 54 percent in 1988 (see earlier table), are admitted to one of the 25 junior secondary schools, all but 5 of which operate on a two shift basis (first shift: 7:30 a.m. to noon; second shift: noon to 5 p.m.). The three year period of junior secondary education offers the students a nationally prescribed course of education in 12 subject areas: 1) English, 2) mathematics, 3) general science, 4) social studies, 5) Spanish, 6) agriculture, 7) industrial arts or home economics, 8) art and craft, 9) music, 10) physical education, 11) religious instruction, and 12) elective/library. At the end of the course period, the students write the 14+ national examination, an essentially anachronistic placement exam now that all junior secondary students are offered places at the senior secondary level. The great majority of junior secondary graduates go on to the senior comprehensive schools and a few to the 5 year secondaries, although some students may drop out of the formal education system at this stage.

The junior secondary school, which was the centerpiece of Eric Williams' educational expansion as envisioned in the original 1968-83 National Education Plan, has proved to be fraught with problems and contradictions - some of which were clearly foreseen by certain educationalists at the time (Camacho n.d.; Trinidad & Tobago, Civil Service Association, Teachers' Section 1968) while others emerged as a result of subsequent social change. The concept of relegating the least able of the Common Entrance students to the secondary schools which are the most crowded (class sizes typically are 40 students per teacher), on half-day shifts, often to be taught by inexperienced and de-motivated teachers with no special training in remedial education, was clearly mistaken from the start. Moreover, to insist that these students must all follow a syllabus which is over-encumbered with subjects and which is oriented toward the meaningless 14+ examination is also clearly an error. (The perpetuation of this broad curriculum, culminating in the 14+ exam, theoretically enables a high-achieving student to transfer at the end of junior secondary school to one of the `prestige' secondaries - thus rendering the verdict of the 11+ exam not necessarily a `life sentence'. However, this is such a rare event as to be negligible.) In the present day, it must be said that many junior secondary schools, especially those in the more urbanized areas, are socially dysfunctional - a breeding ground for boredom, underachievement, gang violence and other anti-social behavior. This is exacerbated by the two-shift schedule, which gives little space in the timetable for extra-curricular activities such as team sports or music groups and leaves students unsupervised during much of the day.

Repeated government working parties, the first dating to the early 1970s (Trinidad & Tobago 1975b; Republic of Trinidad & Tobago 1982), have recommended that these and other problems of the junior secondaries be addressed, but the government continues to find

itself on the horns of a dilemma. Having raised public expectations concerning the attainment of the goal of universal secondary education, first to age 15 and later in the 1970s to age 18, it has not been able to mobilize sufficient financial and organizational resources to complete the task. And it is at the junior secondary level, more than any other, that the negative effects of this failure of educational planning continue to be felt most severely.

c.4.4. Senior Comprehensive Schools

As explained above, the senior comprehensive schools were created during the mid-1970s as the centerpiece of the PNM government's efforts to provide universal secondary education to age 18. The senior comprehensive school was designed to be comprehensive in the sense that it would provide a comprehensive range of academic programs catering for the 15 to 18 age group, including traditional academic, pre-technician, commercial, general industrial and specialized craft training in a single school utilizing common facilities and with a common management. For readers of this report who are familiar with the English secondary education system, which is said to have influenced the thinking of the Trinidad & Tobago Ministry of Education in planning the senior comprehensive schools, it is important to emphasize that the Trinidad & Tobago senior comprehensive school does not incorporate a full range of mixed ability teaching, since approximately the top 15-20 percent of the ability range in Trinidad & Tobago secondary schools are allocated each year via the Common Entrance Exam to the so-called "traditional" or "prestige" 5 or 7 year secondaries. The Trinidad & Tobago secondary system, therefore, is closer in this regard to the division that formerly existed in the England between the secondary modern schools and the grammar schools.

By the present date, the number of such schools in Trinidad & Tobago has reached 19, although as we shall learn elsewhere in this report, some of the schools so classified have yet to receive their full complement of technical and vocational facilities due to financing problems. On the other hand, for the first senior comprehensives that were built at the height of the oil boom period, no expense was spared, and they were provided with an impressive array of expensive equipment in the machine shops and other technical and vocational facilities.

Although the problems currently being experienced in the senior comprehensive sector are not quite as acute as those in the junior secondaries, they are still serious. As shall be discussed in more detail later, the scarcity of adequately trained staff in many technical and vocational fields, combined with the difficulties experienced in creating appropriate syllabuses in this sector, continue to hamper progress in technical and vocational education. G.C.E. "O" level examination syllabuses are also not of a suitable academic standard for the large majority of the pupils in these schools, and the introduction of a "Basic" level examination syllabus in some subjects by the Caribbean Examination Council has not proved an entirely satisfactory solution either. In this regard, as will be discussed later, it appears that the highly exam-oriented approach education which is a British colonial legacy to Trinidad & Tobago, is operating as a hindrance to innovative thinking in this difficult area. In contrast to a concern in certain circles in the Ministry of Education with providing more appropriate examinations for this group of students, many teachers in the senior comprehensive schools expressed the view that one of their more urgent needs is for more

remedial teachers to help to improve the basic literacy and numeracy skills of students coming from the junior secondaries.

c.4.5 **Composite Schools**

The concept of the composite school was developed in conjunction with the move to comprehensive secondary education in the mid-1970s and originally referred to a small and specialized category of school in the more rural areas where the size of the local secondary school-age population was not sufficient to warrant the construction of fully equipped junior and senior comprehensive schools. Instead, the composite school would cater for the 12 to 16 year age group (Forms I through V) by providing a basic array of academic, technical and vocational subjects. By 1987, a total of 6 composite schools had been created.

In recent years, with finances for the construction of more schools very scarce and an increasing dissatisfaction in government and other public circles with the results of the 3+2 year mode of junior and senior comprehensive education, the concept of the composite school has gained in popularity as a potential model for further educational development. In this connection, the Ministry of Education has recently begun to create composite schools in urban as well as rural areas.

c.4.6 Sixth Form Education

The stock of sixth form places within Trinidad & Tobago as a whole, for students undertaking a two year period of study in preparation for the G.C.E. "A" level examinations, is distributed among several different types of educational institution. These include government and assisted 7 year secondaries, certain senior comprehensives (all senior comprehensive schools were built with sixth form accommodation, including science facilities, although some have never admitted sixth form students), the Polytechnic Sixth Form College (see below), and private schools offering "A" level courses (such us the Sixth Form College run by the Extramural Studies Unit of the U.W.I.). According to an unpublished planning document of the Ministry of Education, in 1988 some 76 percent of those students finishing their fifth year of secondary school who were qualified to enter sixth form classes at a public secondary school, did so. The necessary qualifications for entry to a public secondary school at sixth form are as follows:

1. a student must not become 19 years old during the calendar year of entry,
2. a student must have obtained a minimum of Grade C in English Language "O" level (or Grade I in the corresponding C.X.C. General Proficiency exam),
3. a student must have obtained 4 other "O" level passes (Grade II in the C.X.C. General Proficiency will be accepted if there is at least one A in the grade profile),
4. a student must have obtained a minimum of a B grade in at least 2 of the subjects to be attempted at "A" level.

With sixth form enrollment in 1988/89 standing at 4,687 compared with 3,050 in 1984, it is still widely felt that there is need for additional sixth form provision within Trinidad & Tobago nationally, although there is already an oversupply of places in some localities. In

general, there is a tendency for students to seek sixth form places in the assisted secondaries, which on the whole have a better record of examination performance than the government secondary schools, and we therefore find a situation in which, at a national level, there is an oversubscription for the assisted school places (where there is a capacity of 2,287) and a surplus of some 1,103 places in government sixth forms.

Predictably, in such conditions, there is an active debate concerning the desirability of expansion of sixth form provision, especially in the context of contracting financial resources. Given the unutilized capacity in the senior comprehensive sector, there is a strong financial argument, if sixth form provision is to be expanded, to make use of these facilities. There has also long been pressure, especially from principals of traditional 5 year secondaries, to create sixth forms in 5 year secondary schools. In both senior comprehensives and traditional 5-year secondaries, such arguments emphasize the value of sixth forms in instilling school pride and improving student motivation. However, in contrast, the concept of separate sixth form colleges (such as the Polytechnic - see below) finds support among many students and potential students, who prefer the more adult ethos characteristic of such institutions. (Many parents, on the other hand, prefer the 7 year secondary school, because of the greater student discipline and control exercised by these schools.)

c.4.7 Private Secondary Education

Although still officially responsible for the licensing of private secondary schools, the Ministry of Education has not maintained an up-to-date list of such schools since the 1970s, and we do not dispose of recent reliable statistics for this category. As Table 3.3.1 in Harewood's statistical report shows, private secondary schools provided education for a significant proportion of the relevant age cohort during the period up through the early 1970s when there was limited provision of free secondary education in government and assisted denominational schools. But with the moves toward the provision of universal secondary education during the decade of the 1970s, at least part of the rationale for the existence of private secondary schools disappeared and many of them closed their doors.

However, in recent years, there seems to be a renewed interest in private secondary schooling, at least of certain types. There remains a demand for fee-paying secondary education, perhaps most notably at Advanced Level, and fee-paying programs such as the Sixth Form College of the Extramural Studies Unit of the U.W.I. take up some of the slack.

The Polytechnic was originally set up in 1959 to teach for external degrees of the University of London, all by evening classes. For a brief period prior to the development of U.W.I. at St. Augustine, the Polytechnic was the only institution within Trinidad & Tobago that offered university training, an opportunity particularly appreciated by adults in employment who did not have the means or the opportunity to travel abroad for university. However, with the greatly expanded university teaching available locally at U.W.I. from the mid-1960s onward, the Polytechnic phased out its evening teaching for the London external degrees and replaced it with a night school for adults taking G.C.E. "O" and "A" levels, the principal criterion for admission to the Polytechnic evening program being that an applicant must not be a student elsewhere. Fees at the Polytechnic are very modest, thanks to government subsidy, whereas fees at the U.W.I. Extramural Studies Sixth Form College,

which is essentially self-financing, are much higher (TT$750 for a non-lab "A" level unit and TT$1,000 for a lab-based unit).

In 1964, a sixth form college offering daytime instruction was also opened at the Polytechnic. This program, which competes with the government and assisted 7-year secondaries for students, is quite popular, admitting about 150 students per year from about 400-500 applicants.

Aside from these major private secondary schools just mentioned, there is a rather small and heterogeneous collection of schools offering secondary level courses of markedly uneven quality in a wide variety of fields - traditional academic, commercial, technical and other vocational subjects, some by correspondence and some in day or evening classes. As already mentioned, the rapid expansion of government and assisted secondary educational opportunities since independence has drained much of the business away from these schools, and it is my impression that they lead, for the most part, a marginal financial existence today.

c.5 Technical and Vocational Education

Technical education, as officially defined and understood in Trinidad & Tobago, "emphasizes the learning of techniques or technical procedures and skills by the use of apparatus and machinery ... Thus, it is not limited to engineering and allied industries but includes generally the world of industrial, commercial and agricultural activity" (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office 1988: vii). As we have just seen, significant amounts of technical and vocational education are included in the curricula of government secondary schools, in particular in the senior comprehensives. In addition to this, however, there are a variety of other institutions in Trinidad & Tobago that provide specialized technical education at several different academic levels. These include two government technical institutes (John Donaldson Technical Inst. and San Fernando Technical Inst.), one government vocational centre at Point Fortin, the Eastern Caribbean Inst. of Agriculture and Forestry, the Chaguaramas Hotel School, various private technical and vocational training programs (such as the St. Bede Vocational School, the several SERVOL training centers, the commercial and in-service technical training programs run by private and public firms such as Royal Bank, Republic Bank, Caroni Ltd., etc.), and the technical and vocational courses offered at government Youth Camps, Trade Centres and the newly established Youth Training and Employment Partnership Programme (Y.T.E.P.P.) of the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture.

As already explained, the development of technical and vocational education in Trinidad & Tobago, which has occurred in large measure only since independence, has been something of an uphill struggle against entrenched interests favoring a classical grammar school form of education along British lines. Realistically, it was only to be expected that attempts to expand rapidly the technical and vocational education sector of the national education system would meet with many problems, not least because of the inevitable scarcity of trained teachers in these fields and the corresponding lack of experience in the planning of appropriate curricula, examinations, etc. Then too, given the fact that the technical and vocational education sector was inevitably condemned, by the combined functioning of the Common Entrance Examination, the Concordat and the "prestige" school

syndrome, to receive the students with the lowest levels of academic ability and to be most subject to the academic disorientation following on from the dysfunctional junior secondary schools, the likelihood of significant academic achievement in these programs was not high. And yet, in certain government circles, great hopes have rested on the technical and vocational education sector as a solution to the intractable problem of widespread unemployment.

At present, the National Training Board (N.T.B.), a branch of the Ministry of Education, has overall responsibility for the development and coordination of the country's efforts in the technical and vocational education field. The Board of Industrial Training (B.I.T.), an organization created during the colonial period to supervise industrial apprenticeships and to train students for the London City and Guilds examinations in various vocational fields, also continues to exist, although its activities are increasingly being merged under the N.T.B. rubric. The National Examinations Council (N.E.C.), another branch of the Ministry of Education, is charged with the development of examination syllabuses in areas of secondary education which are not adequately catered for by other examination boards such as the C.X.C., in particular in many technical and vocational fields. A basic distinction is made between courses leading to the "Technician" grade of N.E.C. qualification, entry to which requires C.X.C. or "O" Level qualifications and which are normally taught at John Donaldson or San Fernando Technical Institute, and the lower "Craftsman" grade qualification which does not have these prerequisites. A particular concern here has been to devise examinations of a lower academic standard than, say, those of the London City and Guilds exams, but teachers in senior comprehensives and other knowledgeable persons in technical and vocational fields often complained to me that there still remains a large gap between the academic abilities and preparation of most secondary students in technical and vocational programs (who are markedly weak in literacy, numeracy and scientific subjects) and the standard required in the relevant N.E.C. exams.

In this connection, it is again being widely argued today in Trinidad & Tobago, as it was in conservative educational circles at the time of independence, that the country's first educational priority for all its students must be to provide them with a good general education, with particular focus on literacy and numeracy, and that overly specialized technical and vocational education programs should not be introduced until relatively late in the secondary school curriculum. In the words of the Richards Committee Report (Richards 1984),

> ... two years of (secondary school) courses in the engineering trade areas can in no way be said to qualify the young students, who are at present exposed to them, for employment in craft, except as a trainee if his school reports are satisfactory. This is the limit that technical and vocational education in the secondary school should aim at.

In the face of the struggles experienced with the design and implementation of appropriate technical and vocational programs in the national system of secondary education, the government has increasingly sought solutions to its problems of unemployment and job training outside the secondary school sector. Over the years, the Ministry of Youth has been particularly active in this regard and currently runs a diversified set of youth training programs, graded in terms of intensity and duration. At present, there is the Youth Training

and Employment Partnership Programme (Y.T.E.P.P), offering about 200 hours of part-time employment skills training, the Trade Centres, which are non-residential trade schools offering one year programs of about 800 teaching hours focusing on skills related to the construction industry, and the Youth Camps, which offer a two year residential program of vocational and academic training of about 1,500 teaching hours.

Summing up, one can say that the remarkable diversity of technical and vocational education facilities, programs, and examinations that have been created, in a country as small as Trinidad & Tobago, is a reflection of the considerable uncertainty concerning the most appropriate forms of vocational training for students of various ages and abilities. This uncertainty has been exacerbated by progressive disillusionment about the poor achievement levels in most of these programs, combined with a tendency to "throw" substantial financial resources into further experiments aimed at ameliorating the unemployment problem.

c.6 Tertiary Education

The principal tertiary level institution in Trinidad & Tobago is the University of the West Indies at St. Augustine, a part of the regional U.W.I. system. Following the demise of the short-lived Federation of the West Indies in 1962, the U.W.I. system has remained as one of the few regional institutions in the anglophone Caribbean, and this special status confers a degree of independence from Trinidad & Tobago government control despite its major role in financing the university. For example, there appears to be a considerable reluctance on the part of the governments of the individual Caribbean states to be seen to be meddling in the affairs of this regional body, and the U.W.I. is often in a position to fend off external attempts to tamper with its mode of operation by appealing to concepts of academic freedom, standards and excellence.

On the other hand, due to the post-oil boom stringency and the decline in the funding provided by the Trinidad & Tobago government which has long been the largest contributor to the federal university (many of the contributing Caribbean governments are in arrears with their financing of the UWI system - see Loubser et al. 1988: 68), Trinidad & Tobago has now adopted the practice of paying its contribution directly to the St. Augustine campus. At the end of the financial year, when the actual expenditures at St. Augustine referable to Trinidad & Tobago have been worked out in relation to the Trinidad & Tobago contribution, any surplus available is sent to the central university administration in Mona, Jamaica for the use of the rest of the system. Clearly, this arrangement is designed to ensure that Trinidad & Tobago contributions adequately fund the St. Augustine campus first, and one can detect here, as in other areas, a gradual weakening of the federal university concept in the face of local financial pressures.

Founded just before independence on the site of the former Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, the U.W.I. campus at St. Augustine is comprised of six faculties (Arts & General Studies, Agriculture, Engineering, Natural Science, Social Science and Law) with a total registration of 4,156 students in 1987/88 (University of the West Indies 1988). Of these students, 3,778 (or 90.9 percent) were from Trinidad & Tobago, with Trinidad & Tobago men being slightly outnumbered by Trinidad & Tobago women (1,883 to 1,895). In 1987/88, an additional 477 Trinidad & Tobago students were registered for first degrees,

higher degrees, diplomas or certificates at the other two campuses of the U.W.I. in Jamaica (Mona) and Barbados (Cave Hill).

Admission of undergraduate students who are nationals of Trinidad & Tobago is largely based on stipulated levels of achievement in a minimum of two G.C.E. "A" Level examinations. Presently, the stipulated levels for the various undergraduate courses are as follows: Management - B average, Economics and most of the rest of social sciences - C, Natural Sciences - C, Engineering - D, Computer Science - D, Arts & General Studies - D. Low as certain of these levels may seem, they are set purposely high by the U.W.I. Registry, with the expectation that the subject area student quotas will not be filled and the additional places will be allocated on the basis of reduced "A" Level offers once the examination grades are known. The standard of "A" Level results achieved by candidates from non-campus Caribbean countries and from Jamaica is lower than that from Trinidad & Tobago candidates. In this context, the U.W.I. at St. Augustine does not need to use the alternative system of lower level matriculation requirements sanctioned by the U.W.I. general regulations, except in the Pre-Agriculture course, which it is government policy to seek to expand, since it has a surplus of candidates with "A" Level qualifications. At present, about 50 percent of the qualified Trinidad & Tobago applicants are accepted by U.W.I., the numbers admitted being effectively limited by the finance made available by the participating Caribbean governments to the federal university, which seeks to maintain its student-staff ratio in the Faculty of Arts at the level of 10:1 (and lower in certain other faculties) (University of the West Indies at St. Augustine 1987: 18). This factor also severely limits the number of students who can be admitted to the university's evening and part-time programs, despite the substantial demand.

In recent years, the degree courses offered at the U.W.I. at St. Augustine have gradually moved away from the former single subject honors degree model derived from the English university system towards a more general degree model combining a set of course requirements common to all degrees within a faculty with courses specifically focused in a student's chosen field of study. Despite this broadening of degree content, however, most degree courses continue to be of three years duration, and overall degree results continue to be classified (First Class, Second Class, etc.). Most students at U.W.I. at St. Augustine presently manage to complete their degree courses in the allotted time.

Aside from the tertiary level degree courses offered to internal students of the U.W.I. at St. Augustine, there is also a very active Extramural Studies Unit of the university which offers a great diversity of certificated and non-degree courses to external students on a fee-paying basis. To a significant degree, the existence of a dynamic extramural unit, which is in a position to respond rapidly to perceived demands for further education from the wider public, has helped to compensate over the years for the conservatism of the course structure of the U.W.I. proper.

Another institution of higher education within Trinidad & Tobago is NIHERST (the National Institute of Higher Education, Research, Science, and Technology). Founded as the result of a government White Paper of 1977, NIHERST grew out of a series of conflicts between the federal U.W.I. system and several of the major Caribbean donor governments over questions relating to the perceived lack of responsiveness of the U.W.I. to the needs of the participating countries. Functioning initially primarily to develop Trinidad & Tobago's

national infrastructure for research and development in the field of applied technology, NIHERST has progressively accreted to itself a hodge-podge of training programs in diverse areas including foreign languages, banking and finance, and biomedical sciences. The recent recommendation by the Trinidad & Tobago government in its latest national planning document, Restructuring for Economic Independence 1989-95 (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, National Planning Commission 1988), that NIHERST serve as an institutional focal point for the creation of a national "community college" that would draw together presently disparate tertiary educational activities located in institutions such as the Eastern Caribbean Institute of Agriculture and Forestry, the John Donaldson and the San Fernando Technical Institutes, the Cipriani Labour College, etc., may serve substantially to boost the organizational importance of NIHERST in the future.

As the figures in the accompanying tables demonstrate, there has been a great expansion in access to tertiary educational opportunities in Trinidad & Tobago since independence, a process which has served effectively to abolish the elitism of the "Island Scholarship" system of the colonial period. Prior to 1989, all Trinidad & Tobago students attending U.W.I. paid only nominal fees; following that date, the country's financial plight made it necessary to introduce an additional charge (called a "cess") for all Trinidad & Tobago students at U.W.I., ranging from TT$2,400 to $4,000 in 1989, which represents approximately 10 percent of the economic cost of degree courses. Government scholarships are still awarded on the basis of performance in the "A" Level examinations. These scholarships cover fees and a stipend, but for some years now, these awards may only be used for attendance at U.W.I. As a consequence, some top students (especially those from well-to-do families) reject these awards, preferring to attend overseas universities (see Harewood statistical tables 3.8.1, 3.8.2 and 3.8.3 and discussions in later section on migration and economy).

Enrollment at U.W.I. St. Augustine in 1987/88
Source: University of the West Indies (1988)

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTALS
FULL TIME FIRST DEGREES	1,436	1,203	2,639
PART TIME FIRST DEGREES	32	255	387
FULL TIME DIPLOMAS AND CERTIFICATES	32	19	51
PART TIME DIPLOMAS AND CERTIFICATES	211	252	463
HIGHER DEGREES, FULL AND PART TIME	386	230	616
TOTALS	2,197	1,959	4,156

Enrollment of Trinidad & Tobago Students for Full-Time First Degrees at U.W.I. in 1987/88 By Sex, Faculty and Campus

Source: University of the West Indies (1988)

	BARBADOS CAVE HILL		JAMAICA MONA		TRINIDAD ST. AUG.		TOTAL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
ARTS & GEN. STUD.	3	10	3	22	96	283	102	315
AGRICULTURE *	-	-	-	-	125	141	125	141
EDUCATION	0	0	0	3	-	-	0	3
ENGINEERING	-	-	-	-	335	49	335	49
MEDICINE & MED. SCI.	0	3	97	31	34	17	131	51
NATURAL SCI.	5	6	19	27	340	371	364	404
NURSING	-	-	1	0	-	-	1	0
SOCIAL SCI.	19	36	3	16	229	274	251	326
LAW	29	38	0	0	10	22	39	60
TOTAL	56	93	123	99	1169	1157	1348	1349

*Including registrations in pre-agricultural degree program.

d. The Examination System in Trinidad & Tobago

In earlier sections of this report, I have discussed the considerable emphasis that is placed within the educational system of Trinidad & Tobago on examinations, focusing particularly on the Common Entrance Examination (11+). In addition to the Common Entrance Exam, however, there are also the 14+ Examination (for students at Junior Secondary Schools), the G.C.E. "O" Level Exams, the C.X.C. General and Basic Level Exams, the N.E.C. Technician and Craft Exams, and the G.C.E. "A" Level Exams. As a rule in Trinidad & Tobago (and very much in keeping with the English model of secondary education from which the Trinidad & Tobago system derives), only educational qualifications certified by national examinations are viewed by the majority of the public as of academic value, and this central emphasis on the importance of examinations continues to have a significant impact on many aspects of the educational system. For example, possibilities for innovative and locally adapted teaching programs have been limited by the non-availability of appropriate examination syllabuses, although in this regard,

experimental developments such as the non-examined course in boatbuilding in the new community school in the remote fishing village of Matelot are much to be welcomed.

The 1985-1990 National Education Plan laid considerable stress on the need for a standardized certification system for all subprofessional training, despite the substantial work already done in this regard by the National Examination Council (N.E.C.) in many vocational education fields. As we shall see, such calls for increased standardization bear little relation to the reality of inappropriate exam syllabuses and high failure rates in many vocational fields, and it seems unlikely that a proliferation of examination rubrics will contribute significantly to the solution of the serious problems in this area.

Commentators on the educational system of Trinidad & Tobago have long tended to bemoan the high failure or "wastage" rates that are said to be characteristic of the country's secondary schools. However, in several respects, such complaints appear to be based on inappropriate criteria of judgment that derive from the elitist colonial model of secondary education. This is particularly the case with regard to examination pass rates in the G.C.E. "O" Level exams, as well as the C.X.C. General Level exams, which correspond closely to the "O" Levels in standard. As explained in a 1985 report on pass rates in these exams (Gocking 1985; Gocking & Edghill 1981), they were designed for only a more academically able minority of students - corresponding in the Trinidad & Tobago educational system approximately to those selected on the basis of the Common Entrance Exam to attend the "traditional" 5 or 7 year schools, and it is therefore inappropriate to expect substantial pass rates from the less academically able students who are placed in the senior comprehensives. In other words, in any attempt to evaluate comparative examination pass rates, either within Trinidad & Tobago longitudinally or in comparison with those of other Caribbean countries, one must pay special attention to the ability range of the student population sitting the exams since, in general, a significantly larger proportion of the student ability range has been entered for examination in Trinidad & Tobago than in other Caribbean countries in recent years. From this perspective, the Trinidad & Tobago exam results presented in Harewood's statistical tables 3.5.1, 3.5.2 and 3.5.3 can be interpreted as showing significant improvement over the long term: the decline in 1980 as compared to 1973 being explicable as the result of the substantial expansion of the secondary system over this period, with consequent start-up problems, and the 1986 figures being much more satisfactory. That being said, the Ministry of Education is clearly not fully satisfied with performances in this area nor with those of the students sitting the less-demanding C.X.C. Basic Level examinations that cater for approximately the second quartile of the secondary student ability range. At the time of writing, consideration is being given to the adoption of a locally adapted version of the new English General Certificate of Secondary Education (G.C.S.E.), as being suitable for a wider ability range of secondary school student than the G.C.E. "O" Level or the C.X.C. General or Basic Level exams.

On the other hand, as the following table shows, the examination results in vocational fields at the craftsman level betray very serious problems in this sector of the national education system - problems which have already been commented upon to some extent in the section dealing with the senior comprehensive schools. The fact that the pass rates are much higher (typically between 25 percent and 60 percent) for the Technician Grade in most fields in the N.E.C. examinations, courses which usually require "O" Level/C.X.C. examination

passes as a qualification for entry and are taught for the most part in the technical institutes, suggests that the less demanding Craftsman Grade courses are functioning as an inappropriate and poorly adapted educational scrapheap for those relegated to the malfunctioning junior secondary/senior secondary sector.

N.E.C. Craft Course Exam Pass Rates
For Full Time Students
In Subjects With More Than 50 Candidates 1985/6
(Source: Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office (1987)

	No. of Students	% Passed
Clerk Typist	175	17%
Shorthand/Typist	87	40%
Air Conditioning	111	2%
Electrical Installation	252	3%
Tailoring	87	1%
Cabinet Making	140	3%
Construction Carpentry	75	7%
Masonry	103	8%
Auto General	255	5%
Machine Shop	223	4%
Plumbing	88	7%
Welding	232	5%

e. The Development and Present Status of the Teaching Profession in Post-Independence Trinidad & Tobago

As we have already seen, during the last forty years, education in Trinidad & Tobago has moved from a relatively small-scale elitist system to a virtually universal one, and the expectations and structural demands generated by this program of rapid educational expansion have had predictable effects on the social composition of the teaching profession and its role within the wider society. To a significant degree, these effects were foreseen from the outset of this period of expansion and warnings were voiced that overly rapid change would generate significant problems of adjustment within the teaching service. (See, for example, Committee on General Education 1959: 74 and Trinidad & Tobago, Civil Service Association, Teachers' Section 1968). And yet, as already mentioned, neither the government itself nor the public at large seem to have been adequately prepared for the significant social impact and dislocation caused by the period of rapid educational change. As public complaints concerning falling academic standards, indiscipline in the schools, etc. began to mount, teachers have often been blamed, and a "Golden Age" ideology has become prominent according to which the failings of present-day teachers are contrasted with the purportedly greater dedication and professionalism of teachers in the past. The facts of the case are, however, more complex and ambiguous and can be summarized in relation to the following main themes: expansion of teacher numbers, teacher training and the upgrading of

teacher qualifications, teachers' salaries and conditions of service, and changes in the social status of teachers.

The rapid expansion of teacher numbers at primary and secondary school levels since independence is clearly conveyed in Harewood's Table 3.4.1. As explained in Section III.D. of this report, primary school teaching had been one of the main routes of upward mobility for non-whites in Trinidad & Tobago society prior to independence, yet the poor pay and unfavorable conditions of service meant that relatively few persons with good quality secondary education qualifications entered this career. In this context, teacher-training colleges functioned as surrogate sources of secondary education for many primary teachers, and they have been involved in a long uphill struggle through much of the post-independence period to upgrade the educational qualifications of the primary teaching corps. It was only by the early 1980s that Trinidad & Tobago finally achieved its goal of providing essentially all of its primary teachers with a training college qualification, and it has recently been possible to reduce the number of teacher training colleges in the country to one, the government training college at Valsayn. At the present time, there is some uncertainty within the Ministry of Education concerning the appropriate future functions of the Valsayn Teachers' College, given that the U.W.I. Educational Faculty might now be the more appropriate setting for teacher training.

During this period as well, the Ministry of Education has been able to raise the entry qualifications for primary schoolteachers substantially, thanks to the greatly increased availability of secondary schooling nationally, so that at present, primary school teaching applicants must have a minimum of 5 "O" Level or C.X.C. General Level passes, including mathematics, English, science and social studies in their subject profiles. That being said, the battle to upgrade the academic quality of the primary teaching service is still far from won, and on numerous occasions during my research, I encountered clear evidence that significant numbers of primary schoolteachers lack the academic skills required to teach certain subjects adequately and according to modern methods. A telling perspective on the question of the academic training of schoolteachers is offered by the report of the influential Teacher Education Committee, chaired by C. V. Gocking, which noted (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Teacher Education Committee 1980: 10-11),

> Compounding these difficulties (of teacher training) is the language problem. Recognition of the fact that English and Comprehension present a problem goes down hard with (training college) students. Many have come to believe that, armed with an O level once-for-all pass in English Language, they no longer need to develop their reading ability or practice writing. Command and control of language is a problem and enters into all subjects ... the rise of interest in West Indian vernaculars and the new awareness of socio-lingual emphasis in Language teaching are sources of novelty and entertainment to students when viewed superficially. The trouble comes when a serious treatment of the subject is required. Teachers of English in schools are faced with considerable emotional resistance and find themselves up against a task the magnitude of which they do not appreciate and with which they cannot cope. Further, their own control of English language is often very variable, so variable as to fall short of acceptable standards ...

Such problems are presently being encountered in the context of the Ministry of Education's efforts to introduce the new national primary school curriculum, and it is noteworthy that part of the recent I.D.B. educational loan to the Trinidad & Tobago

government is being used to fund programs designed to upgrade the skills of teachers in subjects like English and mathematics, with the collaboration of the Faculty of Education at the U.W.I.

With the proliferation of secondary qualifications and the recent widespread unemployment among qualified secondary school leavers, one now encounters candidates for primary school teaching positions possessing "A" Levels and even some with university training. But school principals now complain that many of these applicants are seeking a career in primary school teaching simply because they need a job and have no other prospects, and it is in this context that one often hears comments concerning the lack of teaching vocation and unsatisfactory professional attitude of such recruits.

In the case of secondary schoolteachers, the expansion of the teaching service in the post-independence period has been even more radical, with correspondingly greater problems in procurement and training of staff (see Harewood's statistical tables 3.4.1 and 3.4.3). The most intractable problems in the expansion of the secondary school teaching corps have been experienced in technical and vocational fields. Here, Trinidad & Tobago has had to pay the price of its long devaluation and neglect of these subjects throughout the colonial era and into the early post-independence period (which reflects the inadequate attention given to these issues within the English educational model itself). The few potential candidates possessing both adequate general educational qualifications and appropriate technical skills have tended to be snapped up by the industrial or commercial sector, particularly during the oil boom period when such skills were in great demand. Despite the fact that a pass in a N.E.C. Technician Grade examination plus two years of experience in the relevant trade is sufficient qualification to teach the subject in secondary schools, the number of technical and vocational teachers in government secondaries remains substantially below establishment in almost every field. (See, for example, the Richards Committee Report on Technical and Vocational Education [Richards 1984]).

Technical and vocational education posts have therefore often had to be filled, when they have been filled at all, with persons whose general academic qualifications would normally have been judged inadequate for a career in teaching. This has generated, in turn, a notable division among secondary teachers, especially in government senior comprehensive schools, between teachers with traditional qualifications teaching academic subjects, who resent that technical and vocational teachers are receiving the same levels of pay as they are despite lower qualifications, and technical and vocational teachers, many of whom feel under-confident and resentful about their perceived "second class" academic status. Various attempts are presently being made to upgrade the qualifications of technical and vocational teachers, such as the in-service technical teacher-training course at John Donaldson Technical Institute, but the situation is far from satisfactory and likely to remain so for the foreseeable future.

With regard to the supply of secondary teachers in the traditional academic fields, the creation of the U.W.I. at St. Augustine around the time of independence was crucial in providing many of the trained recruits needed for the rapid expansion of this sector, at first through the liberal provision by the Trinidad & Tobago government of professional development scholarships for teachers already in service and more recently through the

general subsidizing of the fees of all Trinidad & Tobago students at the U.W.I. and the provision of a "Student Revolving Loan Fund" for university students from low income families (see Harewood & Henry 1985: 133). Although the U.W.I. at St. Augustine does not teach a B.Ed. program, many U.W.I. graduates, particularly from the Faculty of Arts and General Studies, have gone into secondary teaching, some of them returning subsequently to the Faculty of Education to upgrade their qualifications through study for the Dip.Ed. or M.Ed. As Harewood's statistical table 3.4.3 shows, the proportion of university-trained secondary schoolteachers has held up quite well during the period of rapid secondary school expansion, and this despite the employment of substantial numbers of technical and vocational teachers without such training.

In general terms, the recruitment of secondary teachers has been aided by the greater occupational prestige of secondary teaching in comparison to primary teaching, a legacy of the elitism of the colonial secondary educational system which continues to be embodied in the career grading and salary structures of teachers in the two services. This gradation is apparent in the following table showing the comparative salary structures of the primary and the secondary teaching services in the immediate post-independence period (1964). At this time, for example, a boy of 18 to 19 years of age with a Higher School Certificate teaching in secondary school received the same salary as a trained certificated primary teacher holding the Higher School Certificate. Such anomalies have now been removed, at least to some extent, but the Teacher I salary grade is still essentially the career grade of the primary teacher while Teacher II is that of the secondary teacher. The government appears to be unwilling or unable to envision a wholesale upgrading of the academic status of primary teachers due to the additional financial burden that this would impose on government coffers, but this has meant that primary teaching has not benefited as much as it could have done from the general raising of academic qualifications of potential teaching recruits that has ensued from the widening of access to university education.

Monthly Salaries of Trinidad & Tobago Teachers, 1964
(Source: Lewis (1964)

Qualification	Primary School Teacher Salary/month	Secondary School Teacher Salary/month
School Cert. & no Training College Diploma	$120-180	--
Higher School Cert. & no Training College Diploma	$140-180	$180-320
Higher School Cert. with Training College Diploma	$180-320	$330-420

Monthly Salaries of Trinidad & Tobago Teachers, 1971-1988
((Source: Trinidad & Tobago Unified Teachers Association Newsletter, Oct. 20, 1982)

	Teacher I	Teacher II	Principal I	Principal II
1971	$406-660	$669-920	$695-831	$1,089-1,177
1981	$2,122-3,144	$2,741-3,703	$3,326-3,703	$3,900-4,597
1982	$2,366-3,506	$3,056-4,129	$3,708-4,129	$4,349-5,106
1983	$2,614-3,874	$3,377-4,563	$4,097-4,563	$4,806-5,642
1988*	$2,353-3,487	$3,039-4,107	$3,687-4,107	$4,325-5,088

* From 1987, as part of the Trinidad & Tobago government's economic austerity measures, teachers lost their entitlement to a cost of living allowance (COLA) of $280 per month in addition to the basic salary figures shown in this table. From 1988, as a further austerity measure, teachers' basic salaries were cut by 10 percent across the board.

As already mentioned, during the period covered by this report, the position of the teacher within Trinidad & Tobago society has undergone significant change. The nepotistic and/or autocratic employment practices of the colonial teaching service and the denominational boards of education were corrected by the standardization of teachers' conditions of service and the institution of the Teaching Service Commission, which oversees practices relating to the employment of teachers nationally. During this period as well, a single teachers' trade union, the Trinidad & Tobago Unified Teachers' Association (T.T.U.T.A.) emerged after a period of conflict between several teachers' unions that represented different political and employee interests. Viewed as an occupational category, primary and secondary teachers had come to represent, by the late 1980s, the largest single group of government employees and, by this fact alone, are in a position to wield a significant degree of influence in public affairs. On the other hand, although they do still command a measure of respect on the basis of their academic qualifications, schoolteachers today have lost the special prominence which they enjoyed within the non-white community during the colonial period, due both to their greatly expanded numbers and to the fact that other occupational avenues of upward social mobility are now much more open to non-whites than was the case previously.

Teachers in Trinidad & Tobago today are visibly concerned about the decline in status of their occupation, feelings that have been recently exacerbated by the above-mentioned reductions in their salaries. In some schools, most notably in the urban junior and senior secondaries which are most affected by student underachievement, indiscipline and even violence, large class sizes, and the general social dislocation caused by persistent unemployment and other social problems within the wider community, there has been a reduction in the work ethic of certain teachers, evident in persistent lateness in arriving at work, a negative attitude to extra-curricular activities that borders on a work-to-rule, a high turnover of teaching staff from year to year, etc. Nowadays, many teachers, secondary teachers in particular, commute substantial distances to work and therefore do not normally form a part of the community in which their school is located. In such cases, teachers have few contacts with the parents of their students, either in the course of daily life or at parents' evenings at school, which are infrequently organized and often poorly attended. Since head teachers have few effective organizational supports to deal with problems of teacher motivation and discipline and the teachers' union, T.T.U.T.A., which seems to conceive of its role more in terms of the oppositional trade union than the professional association model, often refuses to address or even sometimes to acknowledge them, the situation seem likely to continue or even deteriorate further in the foreseeable future.

On the other hand, that such negative tendencies, which I would sum up by using the phrase "deprofessionalization", are neither completely inevitable nor universal is clearly demonstrated by my comparative case studies in various schools, both at the primary and the secondary levels. Large urban schools in disadvantaged areas clearly have the most difficult problems, but even in some of these cases, dynamic leadership on the part of their head teachers has managed to counteract the worst effects. Conversely, while a rural location appears to offer some insulation from the more severe social problems besetting Trinidad & Tobago society today, it is no guarantee of a successful school - which appears to depend as much on effective leadership and community support as on location.

The role of the principal or head teacher in Trinidad & Tobago primary and secondary schools, as in the educational systems of most countries, is a particularly important one in ensuring the successful functioning of the school. At the primary school level, seniority has long played a central role in the appointment of head teachers and this fact, combined with the relative lack of higher educational qualifications in the primary teaching service contributes to a notable conservatism in this sector. As a source of stability and continuity through a period of rapid social change in the post-independence period, such conservatism doubtless has made a positive educational contribution, although in the context of the recent attempts to update and improve the primary school curriculum, such conservatism has also had negative implications.

In the case of secondary school heads, we are faced with problems of leadership and management of quite a different scale. Many Trinidad & Tobago secondary schools are very large institutions - on the order of 1,200 to 1,400 students (junior secondaries on double shift may attain enrollments of 1,800 to 1,900 students) and 50 to 100 teachers, with large and complex physical plants. And yet, up to the present, no responsibility allowances are paid to teachers for academic managerial roles (i.e. department headships, tutorships, etc.), and any hierarchical management structure that exists in these schools results from the initiative of the particular school principals and is purely on a voluntary and informal basis on the part of the teaching staff involved. Despite considerable rhetoric in Ministry of Education planning documents on the subject of enhancing the management skills of heads of educational institutions, in practice, most of the really effective management resources and powers have been taken away from secondary heads over the years in the context of the increasingly centralized control of the educational system by the Ministry of Education and the Teaching Service Commission.

This centralization is clearly apparent in areas such as the employment, promotion and discipline of teaching staff, and a comparison of the de facto powers of heads of government secondary schools with those of heads of government-assisted denominational secondaries is revealing in this regard. For example, it is quite clear that the heads of the denominational secondaries have significant opportunities informally to influence the selection of new teaching recruits for their schools while heads of government schools do not. Despite the fact that members of the Teaching Service Commission have expressed the opinion that government school heads should also have an opportunity to make input into teaching appointments as a way of enhancing their managerial roles within their schools, to date the Ministry of Education has taken the opposite view.

Other potential managerial resources are unavailable to principals as well. With the cramped teaching timetables, long distance commuting, more restrictive definition of teachers' conditions of service, etc. that obtain in numerous secondary schools, many extracurricular activities that formerly could have been used by principals to give their schools enhanced corporate personalities have been eroded or have disappeared altogether. In the area of financial responsibilities, principals of government secondaries do not have discretion over a very significant portion of their schools' budgets; denominational school heads, on the other hand, who are much involved in raising significant proportions of their schools' funds, find that this substantially increases their managerial authority. The lesson for the Ministry of Education as regards the management of government secondary schools

seems clear - improved management of schools is not just a matter of better training of principals but also one of vesting more managerial power in this role.

f. **University Teaching Staff and Their Position in Trinidad & Tobago Society**

University teachers, on the other hand, represent a separate interest group from those involved in primary and secondary teaching and can be said, at least in some respects, to constitute an intellectual elite within Trinidad & Tobago at large. University lecturers have acceded to the role of arbiters of knowledge formerly occupied by primary and secondary schoolteachers during the colonial period, and the enhanced scope for social and career mobility open to educated non-whites during the post-independence period has provided numerous opportunities for highly educated university academics to be actively involved in all aspects of public life. On the other hand, university academics have not, on the whole, been awarded the same degree of personal respect as that enjoyed by the teacher in colonial society. This situation is not surprising, since university lecturers are not as tightly integrated into their local communities as were the teachers of old, and there is less consensus both within the society at large as well as within the university itself concerning the appropriate role of the university today. Then too, the fact that some university lecturers involved themselves with radical politics during the political upheavals of the 1970s and subsequently has also done little to endear them to government officials and other elites. Their political involvement has also sometimes been expressed in racially or ethnically polarized forms and has, to this extent, vitiated their potential for exercising a unifying national intellectual leadership.

Within the university, there continues to be an unresolved conflict between the academically elitist model of university education inherited from the U.K. and pressures for a "more relevant" and locally adapted form of university education. Many of my informants, a significant number of them within the university itself, expressed the view that university lecturers have acted to resist change in order to protect their well-paid sinecures. Strong views were also expressed that, following independence, the policy of West Indianization of U.W.I. academic staff was pursued simply for the sake of it, without careful attention to academic standards, and that, as a consequence, U.W.I. St. Augustine today harbors substantial numbers of second-rate academics who are little involved in original research.

Although difficult to evaluate in the absence of more detailed study, such opinions appear to me to be rather extreme and to reflect uncertainty about the appropriate functions of the university within Trinidad & Tobago society and an excessively high estimation of the academic standards of universities in other countries. That being said, I did find some evidence of a lack of proper evaluation of staff research in the promotion process. This appears to be linked to the fact that the salary scale for lecturers has few points on it, and there is considerable pressure to promote on seniority alone when the top of the scale is reached. Informants within the university judged that the volume of research accomplished within the university has diminished in recent years and that this is only partly related to the present financial constraints. It is relevant to note in this connection that university staff continue to be eligible for substantial annual hard currency grants for overseas travel and study, and yet these often appear to be viewed as mandatory perquisites for which no justification in terms of research accomplished need be supplied. On the other hand, as will

be discussed more fully later, for the physical science and engineering departments in particular, funding constraints clearly play an important role. The limited number of postgraduate research students, a phenomenon also related to funding constraints, contributes to reduced research efforts among academic staff as well. The most recent triennial review of university funding has recommended that the basic research grants made available to university departments be increased by a factor of 100 percent in an effort to stimulate more research, but this recommendation has little likelihood of implementation in view of current financial stringency.

g. The Ministry of Education as an Organizational Structure

The Trinidad & Tobago Ministry of Education was created toward the end of the colonial period to replace what was (if the Maurice Report can be relied upon) a patently inefficient colonial education service headed by an expatriate Director of Education. The young ministry soon found itself heavily burdened with the work of educational development as a result of the ambitious plans of the PNM government. Not surprisingly, given the inexperience of its staff, it had difficulty living up to expectations (Mahabir 1975: 45-6). As a result of a recommendation of the 1964 UNESCO educational mission (Anon. 1964: 13), a planning unit was established within the ministry but, despite this step, the planning and implementation function proved to be a problematic area throughout the period of rapid expansion of the national education system in the first two decades after independence. The errors committed during this period should certainly not all be attributed to the ministry, however. As we have seen, Eric Williams frequently took major decisions relating to educational planning and implementation with little consultation and little attention to follow-up. And with education often in the political spotlight, both the PNM government and the public at large entertained inordinately high expectations concerning the contributions of the state educational system to the enhancement of social mobility, the development of the national economy, and the reduction of unemployment.

One of the most difficult areas of educational planning has proved to be the planning of the structure of the Ministry of Education itself, and at this point in time, the ministry could be said to be both too big and too small. There has been a tendency over the years to multiply departments, services, and working parties in the search for solutions to the perceived problems of the educational sector. In a number of instances (the Guidance Unit being a good example), new sections of the ministry have been opened in response to influences emanating from the overseas experience of certain Trinidad & Tobago educators, without adequate assessment of the realistic possibility of staffing such a unit with sufficient well-trained staff. It must also be said that such developments were encouraged by the attitude current within the Trinidad & Tobago government during the oil boom that money was "not a problem." Complex bureaucracies have emerged (on paper at least) as a result of cabinet directives and subsequent in-fighting between ministers and other influential persons but have proved to be inflated in conception and unwieldy in practice. A prominent example of this tendency is the National Training Board (N.T.B.), the secretariat of which forms the nucleus of the Division of Technical and Vocational Education of the Ministry of Education but which includes representation from seven different ministries, the Tobago House of Assembly, the C.P.T.U. and the T.T.L.C. (trade unions), the Chamber of Commerce, the U.W.I., the Society of Professional Engineers, the Manufacturers' Association, the

Agricultural Society, the Institute of Architects, the National Youth Council, SERVOL, the Secondary School Principals' Association, several training organizations, and the public.

Despite the proliferation of numerous separate units within the Ministry of Education, the reality of the situation for some years now is that many of these units are markedly understaffed and underproductive. The mere listing of the administrative units comprising the ministry gives an indication of its complexity: the Curriculum Development Division (made up of the Curriculum Division, and the Educational Television Unit), the Educational Services Division (made up of the Educational Extension Section, the Measurement Section, the Publications Section, and the School Broadcasting Unit), the School Supervision Division (made up of the Special Education Unit, the Pre-School Education Unit, the Guidance Unit, and the School Supervisors' Area), the Library Services Division, the National Archives Division, the Technical/Vocational Education and Training Division (made up of the Occupational Research Unit, the Manpower Research Unit, the National Examinations Council, the Translation and Publications Unit, the Curriculum Development Unit, and the Evaluation Unit), the Training Unit, the Educational Planning Division, the Educational Facilities Management Unit, and the Project Co-ordinating Unit (for the I.D.B. Loan Agreement). The recent partial freeze on government hiring imposed by the NAR government as a part of its austerity program has certainly exacerbated, although it did not create, this problem, and the mode of operation of the Ministry of Education conveys an overwhelming impression of an organisational structure that was conceived in conditions of affluence but never effectively instituted. It is in this sense that the ministry can be said to be both too large and too small - too organizationally complex yet without adequate staffing to carry out many of its supposed functions.

This creates an ethos oriented towards papering over the cracks in the system, with a prominent political requirement being to portray the Ministry's activities as functional, effective, responsive to problems, etc. There has been a corresponding elaboration of essentially public relations functions - cosmetic internal evaluations, public consultations, justifications and the like. At the same time, the ministry is experiencing increased pressures to improve its performance arising from the election manifesto of the NAR government, which seeks to present itself as the new broom sweeping away the failures of the previous administration. But with the financial constraints imposed by structural adjustment, NAR election promises are proving hard to realize. For example, the policy commitment to de-shift junior secondary schools, when the finance is not available to construct more schools, is causing the problems of the newly deshifted schools simply to be transferred from one area of the system to another. The overriding need at this point in time is to cut the coat to fit the cloth - to decide what are the basic administrative and planning requirements that can be accomplished with the resources available (and are appropriate for a country of only 1.2 million people) and then to focus overriding attention on the task of accomplishing these basics well.

In this connection, the trend since independence for the educational system in Trinidad & Tobago to become progressively more centralized has not always been an advantageous one and yet, seen in historical perspective, the motivations for this centralizing trend are clear. Given tendencies toward patronage, nepotism and even corruption that existed within the educational service during the colonial and early post-independence

periods, there was a notable lack of trust in devolved modes of management on the part of central government. Then too, with education constituting one of the principal social welfare benefits offered by the PNM government in keeping with its political manifesto, and with a dynamic prime minister in charge who had a reputation as an expert in the field of education, the progressive centralization of the national education system was virtually a foregone conclusion. Recommendations to the contrary, such as the Maurice Report's call for local area school boards, were simply swept aside.

In this situation, it is not surprising that a feeling has developed within the Trinidad & Tobago national education service that it is only within the ministry that matters of importance transpire and that, if one is concerned about career advancement, one should seek a posting there. On the other hand, I was surprised to find, given the small size of the country and the fact that almost everyone at the Ministry of Education has had some experience teaching in the local schools, that the ministry personnel are often out of touch with the realities of daily life in the schools and that the goals and modes of operation of the ministry have become dissociated to a significant extent from those of the schoolteachers. A glaring example of this is the retention of the 14+ examination. This examination, which was originally designed to select those students in government schools at 14+ who would be permitted to continue to senior secondary education, has lost its rationale now that all junior secondary students find places in senior secondaries. But it is still inflicted on junior secondary students and even on students in the 5-year composite schools (where there was no reason for its existence in the first place). Preparing students for this meaningless exam is an extra burden on teachers at this level, one that significantly distorts educational practice in a sector of the school system that has more than its share of problems. School principals regularly complain to the Ministry of Education about the retention of the 14+ exam but to no effect, and one is left with an impression of inertia and lack of realism on the part of the ministry officials in charge.

In recent years, there have developed some nascent countertendencies to excessive centralization of power within the ministry, such as the regionalization of the school supervisory service and the current emphasis on more voluntary/private sector involvement in education (the SERVOL programs of nursery and of vocational education being prime examples here). But such decentralization remains a minor element in the system, and much more needs to be done.

One obvious area for change relates to the managerial functions of school principals, especially the principals of the large government secondary schools which are highly complex organizational structures in their own right. Although the ministry recognizes that managerial competence needs to be strengthened at this level, and in-service courses are offered in educational management and related themes, the reality of the situation is that insufficient authority and resources are vested in the principal's role for his functions to be carried out effectively as a matter of routine. Responsibility allowances are not available for the creation of an institutionalized hierarchy of departmental headships, etc. below the level of principal, there is no functional system of evaluating and improving teachers' day-to-day performances in the schools, and principals are allocated virtually no effective powers in the area of teacher appointment, promotion, and discipline. Principals are loath to make use of the awkward regulations covering teacher discipline, since it is universally felt that these

procedures, with their excessive concern for due process, are as likely to hold a principal up to public ridicule as they are to deal with disciplinary problems. The back-to-front operation of the disciplinary system for teachers was illustrated during my stay by a letter to the editor of a national newspaper from a teacher in a secondary school who felt warranted to complain about the practice of his headmaster of putting a red line in the teachers' morning sign-in book to indicate which teachers had arrived late. During my interviews and other contacts in the schools, I encountered some very dynamic and effective principals in government secondaries, but I formed the impression that they were having to rely, to too great an extent, on their personal charisma rather than on instituted procedures and powers inherent in their role. The differences in the managerial powers of principals in the government secondaries and those in the denominational schools, referred to in an earlier section, clearly support the point that I am making here.

The whole area of teacher employment, promotion and discipline, which is the responsibility of the independent Teaching Service Commission, working in conjunction with the Ministry of Education, is fraught with excessively cumbersome and detrimental procedures. These derive, in the first instance, from guarantees enshrined in the Trinidad & Tobago constitution, the framing of which clearly resulted from a popular desire to see corrected the nepotistic, oppressive and discriminatory employment practices that had prevailed during the colonial period (see Republic of Trinidad & Tobago 1980). But these regulations are inappropriate today, since they create inordinate delays in filling teaching posts and undercut effective management in the schools. As regards the evaluation and improvement of teacher performance, incompetence is not defined as misconduct under the regulations of the Teaching Service Commission so this body has little role to play in dealing with cases where teachers are manifestly not able to perform their duties. There is a procedure, at least in theory, whereby new teachers undergo a two-year probationary period during which their work is supposed to be supervised and evaluated. However, this does not seem to be given much attention in practice, and principals appear unwilling to weed out unmotivated or unsuitable probationary teachers, in part because the procedure for filling a teaching vacancy is so lengthy.

There is regularly, in fact, an unacceptably high proportion of unfilled posts at all levels of the educational service, and this has only been exacerbated by the present government freeze on making permanent appointments. A check through the government accounts over the past decade reveals that the wages budget of the Ministry of Education is always substantially under spent. Many schools, especially secondary schools, start each year with unfilled posts, provoking the disruption of academic programs and disheartening students and school staff who feel that the Ministry of Education does not have their interests at heart.

h. Financing the Educational System

Over the years since independence, the Trinidad & Tobago education system has grown massively, as we have seen. As of 1986, the educational sector was the largest area of expenditure within the public sector, accounting for about 19 percent of government expenditure overall (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, National Planning Commission 1988: 48, 190 - compare Harewood's discussion in this volume). Much of this educational

expansion has been financed through a series of loans from the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (I.D.B.), but the oil boom was the single largest factor permitting the hectic pace of educational expansion through much of the 1970s (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago 1984). In 1974, the Trinidad & Tobago government took the decision in principle to set aside, from the government's consolidated fund, portions of the rapidly growing national income in earmarked "special development funds", one of which was the Educational Development Fund created in 1975 (Trinidad & Tobago, Minister of Finance 1975). The overt rationale for this step was to facilitate educational development via a more measured and long-term investment of oil boom revenues while at the same time avoiding short-term budgetary distortions by a too-rapid injection of money. These special funds drew sharp criticism from opposition politicians at the time of their inauguration on the grounds that such an arrangement removed significant amounts of government expenditure from normal parliamentary scrutiny. In retrospect, such worries have proved to be warranted in certain cases, although it must also be said that this provision of a fund for long-term educational development is proving its value in the present difficult financial situation by permitting a current level of expenditure on education that would otherwise not have been possible.

From the first years of the PNM government's educational expansion, the scale and rapidity of these developments placed severe strains on the managerial capacities of the ministries and other organizations concerned with their implementation. It is easy to be wise after the fact and point to the great wastage of funds and materials that occurred as a result, but alarms were sounded at the time and yet ignored due to prevailing political pressures and enthusiasms. (See, for example, Republic of Trinidad & Tobago 1976: 69 - "It is obvious that the implementation of the Plan is beyond the capacity of the Ministry as presently staffed and organized.") In this respect, however, the educational sector seems to have been no worse (nor any better) than other government activities.

In the 1980s, following the decline of the oil boom, the Trinidad & Tobago government increasingly had to face the difficult problem of deciding just what level of national educational provision it could afford. Its failure to achieve a truly universal system of secondary education, despite its raising of public hopes in this regard, poses a serious problem for future planning, since many of the more obvious weaknesses of the system as it now stands derive from its unfinished state. I am thinking here of the need for double shifting in the majority of junior secondary schools, the long distances traveled by many students to and from school, the spatially uneven distribution of secondary school facilities, the continued need for the Common Entrance Examination (with all its attendant negative educational impacts), and the inadequate provisioning of technical and vocational education facilities in many secondary schools. Not only would the completion and de-shifting of the secondary system require large sums of money but the Trinidad & Tobago government is also faced with various financial time-bombs in the educational field that are of its own creation. These include incomplete prestige projects like the Mt. Hope Medical School or the accumulating maintenance and depreciation costs in many domains of the educational system.

To cite one example, the Trinidad & Tobago government is increasingly being faced with the realization that its technical and vocational education facilities have been expanded

to a level which it cannot afford to maintain. As already mentioned, the first senior comprehensive schools that were built were elaborately provisioned with expensive equipment for technical and vocational education - machine tools, arc welders, and the like. Newer senior comprehensive schools and many traditional 5 year secondaries (the former secondary modern schools), which did not benefit from the bounty of the oil boom, have simply never been supplied with the equipment required for teaching in many technical fields. In some cases, corrupt or inefficient practices led to inappropriate or outmoded equipment being supplied from the outset. But, even where suitable equipment was provided, lack of adequate supervision and maintenance of this equipment has led to much of it now being unusable. As Eric Williams recognized in his 1976 Budget Speech (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Minister of Finance 1976), such questions of maintenance have never been adequately addressed by the Trinidad & Tobago government: "The lowly maintenance function has not come into its own. Despised generally at all levels throughout Trinidad & Tobago, including the ministerial, it has not emerged as one of the crucial factors in the education expansion underway." However, despite Williams' recognition of the problem, the government contract signed in 1976 with Educational Innovation Systems Inc. (USA), (often referred to as Edusystems) for procurement of equipment, facilities management and maintenance in the comprehensive schools proved a failure due to corruption and mismanagement. The successor to Edusystems, M.T.S, working in conjunction with the Educational Facilities Management Unit of the Ministry of Education, has still failed to surmount these problems, and a promised audit of technical and vocational education facilities has yet to materialize. The problem of obsolescence of technical and vocational education facilities is a particularly vexed one, since so much of this equipment was purchased within a period of a few years in the late 1970s when the oil boom money was available. Much of this equipment now is becoming non-functional or obsolete within a short span of time, and the funds are not available to replace these expensive items. The Ministries of Education or Finance never instituted a system of amortization of equipment costs, or similar financial provision for the future, which would have insured that this equipment could be replaced when necessary.

Problems of maintenance also plague the government primary school sector. The government primary school maintenance budget is turned over to the Ministry of Works, which is supposed to repair these schools, but the budget is used almost entirely on hiring personnel and sufficient materials are often unavailable for repairs. As a result, many government primary schools have received little maintenance and some of them run the risk, literally, of falling down. The Ministry of Education has repeatedly requested a fund under its control for emergency maintenance of government primary schools, but it is always told that the money has already been given to the Ministry of Works. Assisted primaries, on the other hand, get a maintenance grant from the government and can look after the repairs themselves, although the maintenance situation in many of these schools is not satisfactory either.

Faced with such an array of serious financial problems in the 1980s, it was apparent that some major rethinking of the structure and financing of the national education system was required, but to date only a few tentative steps have been taken. An important factor in slowing this decision-making has been the change in national government in 1986. In the last few years prior to the ouster of the PNM government, it proved politically impossible for

the PNM to grasp the nettle of Trinidad & Tobago's declining financial state, and the government attempted to maintain an attitude of `business as usual'. On the other hand, the NAR party, upon assuming power in 1986, seems to have been genuinely surprised to find the state coffers so empty and has taken several years to start to come to terms with the situation. They have moved to institute tighter financial controls within the Ministry of Education, as elsewhere within the state sector, and have succeeded, for example, in pushing through to completion some formerly problematic school construction projects. They are also managing to stretch the I.D.B. educational development loan, negotiated by the previous government, so as to be able to construct more primary schools with the same amount of money. On the other hand, as indicated above, they have not been able to solve the problems of facilities management, equipment maintenance and obsolescence, and are saddled with white elephants like the Mt. Hope Teaching Hospital.

But the most difficult and large-scale issue of all is the question of the appropriate size and structure of the Trinidad & Tobago national education system. The system, as conceived during the early post-independence period, was based on the concept of free education for all through age 18, with liberal provision of virtually free tertiary education for qualified candidates after that age. The system was also conceived in terms of a relatively lavish standard of educational facilities. At the present juncture, however, there seems no foreseeable possibility that this process of universalization can be satisfactorily completed, let alone that this high standard of facilities can be maintained, at state expense. As we have also seen, the Ministry of Education has expanded over the years in step with these development plans, taking on numerous complex functions which, in the present financial climate, appear overly ambitious. Faced with demands for structural adjustment from international lending agencies, the Trinidad & Tobago government has responded by instituting freezes on public service hiring and a program of early retirement. This has had the effect within the ministry of reducing the staffing in several departments to totally inadequate levels, while at the same time providing ready-made excuses for non-performance in certain other departments that were functioning poorly already. In the schools, serious gaps in the ranks of teachers have appeared, as for example in one educational district in which I carried out interviews where more than 60 percent of the head teacher posts were filled by acting heads. There is evidence here, I feel, that the Trinidad & Tobago government has yet to devise an effective means of relating its planning goals in fields like education to its budgetary mechanism, and this impression was supported in interviews with financial officers in several ministries who pinpointed weaknesses in this area.

The conclusion that the NAR government appears to be drawing in these circumstances is that the tradition of free education established under the PNM government has been carried to an extreme and is limiting further development of the system. Already, the institution of charges for Trinidad & Tobago students related to the economic costs of degree courses at U.W.I. at St. Augustine is a step in this direction. But the political unpopularity of extending this policy to other educational levels has prevented further such moves thus far, although it will probably be necessary to take another hard look at charging fees in certain sectors of the public education system in the near future. The present policy of providing free teacher training courses to in-service teachers is one example that springs to mind. Savings on the educational budget are also being effected by across-the-board salary reductions for teachers, a partial freeze on hiring of new teachers, and an early retirement

program. These steps have certainly strained the goodwill of the teachers and are also affecting the functioning of the schools.

What is required, in fact, is a fundamental rethinking of the size, the structure, and the financing of the Trinidad & Tobago educational system. In some cases, there is a clear need to push through to completion educational developments such as upgrading of the academic qualifications and training of primary school teachers and universalizing (and deshifting) the government secondary system. In other cases, it would be appropriate to rationalize sectors of the system, such as the multiple technical and vocational education programs and departments of the Ministry of Education itself, which have grown like Topsy and/or are too ambitious given the country's financial situation and prospects. The contradiction-laden relationship between the U.W.I. at St. Augustine, as part of a regional Caribbean institution, and the Trinidad & Tobago government, which provides the great bulk of its funding, must be carefully addressed as part of the present TETRAD (Tertiary Education, Training, Research and Development) review. It certainly seems apparent, following the abrupt and singeing $20,000,000 cut in the funding of the U.W.I. at St. Augustine in 1988, that the university cannot continue to operate effectively in the same manner that it has in the past. And yet, the recent history of the development of additional and competing institutions such as NIHERST reveals the tendency for political decision makers in Trinidad & Tobago to proliferate educational structures, rather than to make serious attempts at ensuring that already-existent institutions function more satisfactorily, and the current proposal in the Trinidad & Tobago government's "draft medium-term macro-planning framework for 1989 to 1995" (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, National Planning Commission 1988: 204) to establish a "community college", using NIHERST as a focal point, seems a further example of such misguided policies.

EDUCATION AND ITS ARTICULATION WITH OTHER INSTITUTIONAL SPHERES

a. Introduction

Up to this point in the present discussion, I have described the major elements of the history, geography, social composition, culture, economy and politics of Trinidad & Tobago since the late colonial period and have also presented a basic description of the formal education system of Trinidad & Tobago as it has developed during the post-independence period. We have seen how, at independence, the colonial structure of British domination was replaced by a popularly elected PNM government, under the direction of Eric Williams and a largely brown and black elite, who conceived of themselves as the "natural" successors to the British and French Creole white minority at the top of the creole social continuum. To pursue our analysis of social change up to the present, I will now consider the changing modes of structural and cultural articulation, in the post-independence period, between the educational system, on the one hand, and some of the major institutional sectors of Trinidad & Tobago society, on the other. In the course of this presentation, I shall attempt to assess the significance of the educational factor (both as an independent and a dependent variable) within this social change process by comparing our model of late colonial Trinidad & Tobago society with a model of present-day society.

b. Politics and Educational Change in Trinidad & Tobago

b.1 The Centrality of Education as a Political Issue

As already explained in earlier sections of this report, educational development was one of the central aims of the nationalistic political program of the PNM government at the time of independence, since it was considered to be an important mechanism promoting upward social mobility and thus a means of rectifying the inequalities of the plural society of colonial Trinidad & Tobago. However, in the context of the marked racial and ethnic segmentation of the society of Trinidad & Tobago, this focus on education as a mechanism of social mobility ensured that changes in the educational domain would be liable to be interpreted from a politicized perspective in relation to the question of which group within society would succeed to the elite positions of political and cultural dominance which, for the most part, had been the prerogative of whites under the colonial system. The existence of a multi-party democratic electoral system in which voting behavior closely followed ethnic/racial lines ensured that the post-colonial national government would not be controlled by whites. But the early success of the PNM resulted as much from its more effective political organization and leadership, which reflected in turn the higher levels of education and traditional preponderance of members of the black/brown (now "African") category in civil service and teaching posts, as it did from the slight numerical superiority of the black/brown population over that of their nearest rivals, the Indians. Then too, the Indian category was significantly divided according to religious affiliation, with the small Muslim Indian group and some of the Christian Indians preferring to affiliate themselves with the PNM rather than support the PDP and its successor, the DLP, which were dominated by Hindu Indians and their politico-religious organization, the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha.

As one prominent PNM political figure explained to me, the PNM government under Eric Williams hoped that its substantial expansion of secondary educational opportunities would help to create the conditions necessary for the rise of a strong non-white middle class, which would be able to counteract the dominance of the creole whites in the local economy. Culturally speaking, the PNM expected that the decolonization of the school curriculum, combined with universal educational access, would strengthen nationalistic sentiments and lead to the construction of a vibrant national culture. Although, in economic terms, these predictions may seem largely to have come to pass (to the comparative benefit of the Indian ethnic category, as we shall see), I would argue that there has been little in the way of development of a correspondingly strong middle class culture - a point that will be discussed more fully in a later section.

The goal of improving equality of access to secondary and tertiary education figured centrally in the PNM government's plans and much has been achieved in this regard, especially during the first two decades after independence. Although the widespread debate in 1988 over Cro-Cro's calypso "Corruption in Common Entrance" provides evidence of continued public concern over bias in access to educational opportunities, particularly with regard to the discriminatory effects of the combined operation of the Concordat and the Common Entrance Examination, much has been achieved in this area as well. Thus, a comparison of the statistics on education levels of the major racial groups drawn from the 1960 and 1980 national censuses and elsewhere, reported briefly in a later section, clearly shows a substantial reduction in the educational differentials between groups over this 20 year period.

Some of the urban bias in the distribution of educational facilities, already noted in earlier sections of this report, has also been corrected. Thus, for example, by the late 1970s, almost all areas of the country were within reach of secondary school facilities. Having said that, the urban areas are still much better supplied with secondary schools, and pupils in parts of the south, the east and the northern coast of Trinidad, as well as in the northeastern area of Tobago, often face daily roundtrips to school of three or more hours. Even areas which seem, on first glance, to be much better supplied with schools, such as the western end of the East-West corridor, witness large flows of students traveling a two hour or more roundtrip to school, and one soon realizes that educational planners in Trinidad & Tobago have placed inordinate faith in the efficacy of the public and private road transport systems and that the spatial factor was not adequately considered by the government in the course of its educational planning.

In fact, the continued urban bias in the provision of school places reflects the operation of vested interests among the Trinidad elite who have long resisted attempts to establish a more regionally localized system of educational provision. At the end of the colonial period, the recommendation contained in the Maurice report for the establishment of local educational authorities was shelved, since it ran against entrenched interests within the educational service and the white-collar elite more generally. Then too, Eric Williams and the PNM government wished to be in direct control of the national education system - which was seen as too important an area of political initiative to be left to local or denominational school boards.

A similar recommendation for the establishment of educational districts resurfaced at the beginning of the 1980s but has been opposed by school supervisors and other ministry officials, and the limited moves in this direction remain largely ineffectual. Finally, the concept of school admission based on zoning, which has been mooted for some years, runs directly counter to the long-time practice of many business and government employees, working in urban areas such as Port of Spain or San Fernando but living at considerable distances from these cities, who prefer to enroll their children in "prestige" schools near their place of work rather than in their local schools.

The PNM government was never inclined to risk alienating the more well-to-do members of its brown and black constituency who were strongly represented in urban white collar jobs through a sufficiently strong policy of bias in school construction toward rural areas (where Indian population predominated). It relied instead, in its efforts to improve educational access, on a subsidized public bus system and increasing availability of private motorcars and taxis, to transport students from the peripheries to the urban schools. Such a "solution" (which could always be said to be temporary since the country was supposed to be achieving universal secondary education in the near future and which glossed over the higher levels of academic achievement of students attending the urban prestige schools) not only perpetuated the educational disadvantage of rural areas and contributed to the long term drift of population from the rural to the urban districts but also led to quite remarkable problems of transport, traffic congestion, and lack of youth supervision during school journeys. This was exacerbated by the other major thrust of the PNM's efforts to expand the non-white "middle class" - namely its large-scale program of government housing construction, which was carried out with little reference to the need to provide school facilities on these new

estates. In the post-oil-boom recessionary climate, these spatial arrangements place an unnecessary financial burden on poor families whose children are now no longer provided free bus travel by the NAR government, which has set out to reduce or eliminate government subsidies as part of its structural adjustment program.

Speaking in general terms, the pace and character of educational expansion in the post-independence period have too often been dictated by short to intermediate term political considerations, rather than by longer term educational aims. This was particularly true during the decades of the 1960s and 70s when, because of the centrality of educational development to the PNM party platform, the pressures emanating from the PNM constituency during the Black Power movement and the availability of large financial resources during the oil boom, too much was expected too fast of the many educational changes undertaken. This is easier to see in hindsight, of course, and it must be said that the Trinidad & Tobago government's enthusiasm for education was probably not substantially greater than that of the many other Third World countries who gained independence at this period. But because of the very small scale of Trinidad & Tobago society, the high degree of centralization of its educational bureaucracy and related structures of policy formation, and the very large amount of money available for investment in education, both the positive and negative effects of these educational policies are particularly plain to see.

b.2 Education, Culture and Nationalistic Political Projects

An even more complex issue than that of educational access, which remains a thorny problem today, is the question of the appropriate content for the "national culture" which the successive Trinidad & Tobago governments have been trying to foster, and the appropriate role of the educational system in this process. The racial and ethnic segmentation of Trinidad & Tobago society has tended to ensure that putatively "national" cultural discourses have been associated politically with sectional rather than national interests, but it has nonetheless remained a consistent goal of the Trinidad & Tobago government throughout the post-independence period to foster the development of a national culture.

From the outset of his political career, Eric Williams had been in no doubt about the close linkage between education and the nationalist project:

> The task of building a West Indian nation is the decisive task of the present and the future ...The school today in the British West Indies is the most potent force dividing up our communities. The school tomorrow in the British West Indies must be the most potent force bringing together our communities. The West Indian school today despises and disparages its environment ... The West Indian school of tomorrow must make a positive fetish of the West Indian environment.

He went on to argue:

> What we need in a British West Indian Federation is a British West Indian philosophy of education. That inevitably means British West Indian control ... we cannot possibly support continued external influence over the new educational system designed to make us not good Englishmen but good West Indians (1955 lectures quoted in Williams 1969: 116-7).

The Mighty Sparrow, famous calypsonian and avid supporter of Eric Williams and the PNM, had his own version of this popular message:

According to the education you get when you small.
You'll grow up with true ambition and respect from one and all.
But in my days in school they teach me like a fool.
The things they teach me I should be a block-headed mule.
...
The poems and the lessons they write and send from England.
Impress me they were trying to cultivate comedians.
Comic books made more sense.
You know it was fictitious without pretence.
But like Cutteridge wanted to keep us in ignorance.
...
How I happen to get some education, my friends, I don't know.
All they teach me is about Brer Rabbit and Rumplestiltskin, O.
They wanted to keep me down indeed.
They tried their best but didn't succeed.
You see I was dunce and up to now I can't read.

("Dan is the Man")

But as I have noted in earlier sections of this report, the version of nationalism envisioned by Eric Williams and the rest of the leadership of the PNM was in fact more concerned with establishing indigenous access to power than with cultural reinterpretations. As such, it primarily involved the democratic transfer of control of the state and local economic resources to the non-white majority of local people, accompanied by the addition or strengthening of locally relevant elements in school curricula and other areas of national cultural life. As Williams pointed out (in a 1955 lecture, quoted in Williams 1969: 116):

... 1) we must not substitute Caribbean literature for the great literature of the world; what is needed is an extra course in Caribbean literature as an exemplification of or even divergence from world trends; 2) we must not exclude non-West Indian teachers - or other technically trained people - from our program; we need their technical help. What we must do is determine the philosophy ourselves, decide for ourselves what weight to give to its attainment and what funds to allocate to its implementation. That done, we need the best technical assistance we can muster.

Yet even this relatively modest nationalist program, which retained to a surprising degree an elite commitment to the anglocentric values of the creole continuum, was viewed with extreme suspicion by the French Creole and the Hindu political oppositions as an attempt to suppress their cultures and religions under a tide of black nationalism and secular education. But, as the Black Power movement of the early 1970s demonstrated, there were much more radical conceptualizations of cultural relevance and authenticity, incorporating different approaches to education, which were clearly not adequately catered for by the nationalistic program of the PNM government and its brown and black creole intellectual leadership. These range from relatively modest calls for the teaching of African languages in

schools (soon to be counterposed by claims for Hindi, Sanskrit, Arabic, etc. from the Indian community), through calls for the instilling of "racial pride" and/or cultural awareness via ethnically oriented teaching, to calls for a wholesale replacement of western pedagogical methods by the methods of education embodied in the initiation ceremonies of pre-colonial African societies (in a paper read by Dom Basil Matthews to the 1988 Emancipation Day C.O.A.A.T.T. seminar).

Eric Williams and the PNM leadership clearly did not adequately foresee the political potential of Black Power and other movements based on discourses of cultural authenticity, with their more radical educational and cultural goals. What meaning, in any case, could authenticity have had for privileged members of the creole continuum? Indeed, the authenticity argument had been specifically espoused in opposition to the values of the creole continuum. In the aftermath of the Black Power movement, therefore, the educational and cultural goals of the brown and black leadership of the PNM became subject to suspicion on the part of radical black political groups on the grounds of lack of authenticity and relevance for the black masses. There followed a rapid adjustment in educational and national cultural philosophy on the part of Eric Williams and the PNM, stung into action by the violence of the early 1970s, with greater attention being paid to vocational education and to the mobilization of cultural resources among the poor, especially in black communities. There was a concomitant development of institutions of "national" cultural promotion, like the annual "Best Village" competitions with their folkloric manifestations, reflecting an enhanced willingness on the part of the government to respond to cultural authenticity claims by giving recognition to popular cultural forms.

Given these political conditions, it is not surprising (but nonetheless very significant) that the areas of vibrancy in present-day Trinidadian national cultural life, such as steel band music, carnival and calypso, have emerged from the more economically disadvantaged sectors of society rather than from any cultural leadership on the part of the elite or a putative middle class. And yet, these cultural forms also remain subject to attack by other racial groups as predominantly representative of black or "Afro" culture and not therefore truly national.

Whereas "Afro" culture enjoyed the spotlight, after 1970, thanks to its close association with and promotion by the PNM government, public attitudes to and prominence of Indian cultural forms in relation to the national cultural life of Trinidad & Tobago have fluctuated markedly over the past several decades. Indians themselves have not been unified on this issue, with various shades of opinion, ranging from cultural integrationist to separatist which correspond closely to religious affiliations, enjoying ascendancy at different periods. Vertovec (1987: 162 et seq.), in particular, has documented these fluctuations, concentrating especially on the resurgence of Hinduism and Indian nationalist currents as a competitive response to the dominance of Afro-cultural forms following the 1970 Black Power events and the subsequent oil boom. This Indian politico-cultural response had clear educational correlates - including the increasing involvement of the traditionalist Hindu organization, Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha, in educational and cultural manifestations as well as parallel responses by reformist/modernist Hindu organizations, such as Hindi Nidhi. As Vertovec (1987: 164) pointed out, whereas anthropologists such as Schwartz (1964; 1965; 1967a; 1967b) and Nevadomsky (1980; 1982a; 1982b; 1983a; 1984; 1985), who did research in

Trinidad prior to the impact of the oil boom, interpreted the gradual educational and occupational advances affecting the Indian population as spelling the demise of significant Hindu practices, the opposite has been the case. Hindu nationalists have proved to be no more prepared than the advocates of Black Power to allow cultural integrationist tendencies toward a creolized national culture, a cultural "melting pot" approach to the nationalist project, to gain the upper hand. And for the elite of the creole social continuum, claims to authenticity and relevance from Black Power advocates, from the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha and other Hindu organizations, or from similar cultural nationalist groups continue to be dismissed as alien and politicized cultural projects.

These battles have been fought out in a variety of contexts over the years but one of special significance due to its wide popular influence, especially on the youth of the country, is the issue of access by competing ethnic interests to the national broadcasting media, in particular nowadays to Trinidad & Tobago national television. Access to the media is considered to be an important criterion of recognition, as well as a means of disseminating their viewpoint, by ethnically-based activist groups, and the Trinidad & Tobago government makes a very visible attempt to be even-handed in allocating broadcasting time to such groups. However, in terms of television broadcasting time, the lion's share is allocated to foreign, principally American, programs, whose cultural influence strongly runs counter to all local cultural projects, be they sectionalist or integrationist.

c. Education on the Periphery: The Tobago Situation

The peripheral social and economic status, and partial political segmentation, of the island of Tobago within the Republic of Trinidad & Tobago offers many illuminating points of comparison with that of its larger and more developed sister island of Trinidad, but these can only be sketched out briefly here. In many respects, the Tobago society has more in common with other small islands of the eastern Caribbean, such as St. Vincent, Grenada, St. Lucia, etc., than it does with Trinidad. Its economy is dominated by tourism and small-holder agriculture and its population is predominantly of African origin, with very small brown, white and Indian groups.

During the post-independence period, the attitude of the Trinidad & Tobago national government toward Tobago has blown hot and cold, as has the weather. The development of Tobago had been a goal of Eric Williams, who had established a Ministry for Tobago Affairs at independence and had set in train numerous projects. Following the devastation wreaked by Hurricane Flora on Tobago in 1963, the pattern of government intervention became one of clientelist handouts, under the guise of relief, and subsidies and loans (that were seldom repaid) became available for many development activities. But Eric Williams's initial enthusiasm for Tobago cooled after 1976 when Tobago voted against the PNM. The Ministry for Tobago Affairs was disbanded in that year, and there followed a period of neglect. Development funding for Tobago was still there in theory, but it was dispersed among various ministries in Trinidad - with little central planning evident. More recently, after the election of the NAR government which is headed by A. N. R. Robinson, a native of Tobago, there has been renewed government interest in the development of the island, and a quasi-independent legislative and administrative body, the Tobago House of Assembly, has been created to oversee the island's affairs. Functioning in many contexts as an unnecessary

extra level of government bureaucracy, the Tobago House of Assembly does nevertheless constitute a sop to Tobago separatist tendencies while at the same time providing more government employment for the island.

The effect of Tobago's peripheral status within Trinidad & Tobago can be clearly seen in many aspects of daily life, one of the more prominent of which is education. Although at the time of independence there were 35 primary schools and one government-assisted secondary school in Tobago (Bishop's High, which had been founded in 1927), primary school attendance rates appear to have been lower in Tobago (Committee on General Education 1959: 147-55). The horizons of Tobago secondary school students were more limited than those in Trinidad at this period, with virtually none, for example, competing for island scholarships. Today, although there are 35 primary (12 government, 14 Anglican, 7 Methodist and 2 Catholic) and 4 secondary schools (Bishop's High, a 7 year traditional government-assisted Anglican secondary, Scarborough Junior Secondary, Signal Hill Senior Secondary, and Roxborough Composite), the school participation rates in Tobago remain lower. According to 1987 figures (from an unpublished government document), whereas about 75 percent of Trinidad primary students go on to secondary school, only 44 percent do so in Tobago - reflecting the fact that although the proposed Mason Hall composite school has been promised for many years, it has yet to be built. Signal Hill Secondary School, although scheduled to become a comprehensive, has never been provided with the necessary technical and vocational education equipment, and Roxborough Composite also lacks needed facilities. In addition, in common with rural secondary schools throughout Trinidad & Tobago, Roxborough Composite experiences great troubles in keeping teachers. Many of its staff commute from far away and only three hail from the local Windward district of Tobago. In general, secondary teachers in Trinidad & Tobago consider that to be posted to a rural school such as Roxborough Composite is a hardship, and they usually apply for a transfer as soon as possible. This problem could be combated by the Ministry of Education and the Tobago House of Assembly by appropriately framed contractual conditions for teachers (which would also be suitable in the more rural areas of Trinidad) and/or by the establishment of local residential accommodation for teachers in rural areas, but to date nothing has been done.

The availability of salaried employment in Tobago has been limited throughout the post-independence period, being concentrated primarily around Scarborough where the government is the main employer. This situation has strongly conditioned attitudes to education in the Tobago population and, for many upwardly mobile parents, the purpose of secondary education for their children is seen largely in terms of securing such a job. To date, there has been only a relatively weak development of employment training programs specifically adapted to the Tobago economic situation, in fields such as hotel management, catering, tourism, boat building and so forth although, at the time of my visit, steps were finally being taken in some of these directions by the U.W.I. Extramural Studies Unit, by the adult education program of the Ministry of Education, and by the YTEPP program.

The achievements of the various agricultural education and training programs in Tobago have long been particularly disappointing since, despite the island's rich natural potential and its history of successful commercial agriculture up to the 1940s, attempts to stimulate the resurgence of commercial agriculture in recent years have largely failed. From

the late colonial period onwards, a diversity of initiatives in agricultural training have been attempted - the Kendal farm school, a SERVOL agricultural training project, the agricultural training program at the government Youth Camp at Mt. St. George, plus the C.X.C. agricultural science course at Signal Hill Senior Secondary - but with only limited success. The government has also been very liberal in its provision of loans and grants of land for agricultural purposes, but farming in Tobago remains predominantly a subsistence-oriented, part-time occupation practiced in conjunction with some small-scale fishing and periodic stints of laboring on public works projects funded by the Tobago House of Assembly. It is apparent that agriculture is looked upon by upwardly mobile individuals as a low status occupation of last resort. Persons with the managerial expertise and capital who might be in a position to operate a successful commercial farm are unlikely to choose this option nowadays, whereas those who are involved in farming lack the resources, the business skills and the experience to succeed at this level. As has been repeatedly demonstrated, formal agricultural education programs in themselves are unlikely to have much impact in such a situation.

For many years now, the rate of out-migration from Tobago to Trinidad and farther afield has been consistently high, and my interviews with teachers and pupils in Tobago confirmed that, for many, a primary goal is to make a career outside the island. Indeed, the parents of a significant number of Tobago students are living overseas, and their children board with more distant relatives or godparents during their period of schooling. This propensity for migration derives, in the main, from the employment situation in Tobago and from the widespread networks of relatives and friends who already live overseas, but the less-developed character of the educational system on Tobago also makes its contribution to this migratory tendency. Given the lack, on Tobago, of a technical institute and of tertiary educational facilities, not to mention a level of secondary education provision comparable to that available in Trinidad, it is inevitable that many of the better students will leave the island to complete their education. But given the small population of the island, which would make the provision of local further and higher education facilities uneconomic, such a situation appears to be inevitable.

d. Education and Religion in Trinidad & Tobago

The complex religious structure of Trinidad & Tobago mirrors the complex historical development of its multi-ethnic society, and the social positions of the various religions today still reflect the political and economic conditions of their establishment. These facts, combined with the prominent role that certain denominational bodies have long played in the educational system of Trinidad & Tobago, ensure that religious issues remain a source of active public debate and a focal point for potential conflict up to the present day.

As was briefly sketched in the introduction of this report, the Catholic Church has long been the largest religious group in Trinidad (although not in Tobago), despite the fact that the Anglican Church enjoyed the official support of Great Britain as colonial power. Although the Catholic church had a widespread membership among the creolizing black and brown community, especially among the mestizo Spanish-speaking "Coco-pagnol" grouping, its close association with the well-to-do "French Creole" whites did much to ensure its strength under British colonial rule. In fact, the apparent cohesiveness in late colonial and

post-independence political activity of the so-called "French Creole" social category, the membership of which is actually of diverse European origins in addition to French, is as much the result of the entrenched Catholicism of this group as it is to any other factor (see, for example, Braithwaite 1975 [1953]: 84-6).

The Catholic Church was especially active in promoting denominational education, first at the primary school level but from 1863 onwards at the secondary school level as well with the creation of St. Mary's College (the College of the Immaculate Conception). The influence of St. Mary's, as the training ground of generation after generation of white and brown Creoles (not to mention, during much of the 20th century, the Chinese Catholic elite) has been of inestimable importance in creating and maintaining the elite social networks of control common in many aspects of Trinidad & Tobago public life. As Brereton (1981: 124-5) notes, St. Mary's College had been set up in reaction to the creation by the colonial government in 1857 of a secular secondary school - first called Queen's Collegiate School (later renamed Queen's Royal College), and this opposition between denominational St. Mary's and secular Q.R.C. remains symbolically important even today. The fact, for example, that the levels of academic achievement at Q.R.C. have declined following the rapid expansion of government secondary education facilities (which produced a "brain drain" of Q.R.C. teachers into senior posts in the new schools), while St. Mary's was able to maintain its pre-eminent academic status as the leading denominational prestige school thanks to the preferential admissions procedures enshrined in the Concordat, is seen by many supporters of secular grammar school education as unjustified and undesirable.

Other religious groupings in addition to the Catholics also made early use of education as a means of furthering their religious aims. Aside from the Anglicans who, along with the Catholics, were involved in the educational field from the early 19th century onwards, other Protestant denominations, including the Presbyterians, Methodists, the Moravians, the Baptists, and the Seventh Day Adventists have all been active at the primary and/or secondary levels. The case of the Presbyterians is of special interest, due to the early involvement of the Canadian Presbyterian mission in Indian communities. The conversion of substantial numbers of Indians to Presbyterianism during the 19th and early 20th centuries is widely attributed to the western-style educational opportunities offered by the mission. This, of course, must be viewed in the context of the fact, mentioned above, that until 1949, the Trinidad & Tobago government was unwilling to provide financial support for non-Christian denominational schooling.

Indeed, the role of the state with regard to the recognition and financing of denominational schooling has been of central social significance within Trinidad & Tobago in a number of respects, during both the colonial and the post-colonial periods. There has been, and continues to be, a complex organizational and cultural dynamic in which the various subordinate cultural and/or racial segments of Trinidad & Tobago society have utilized religion and education as linked issues in their claims for a more equal place in society, developing at the same time cultural discourses which valorize their particular religious and educational forms in opposition to the dominant Christian and European values characteristic of the creole social continuum. This has led, in turn, to an increased politicization of certain religious denominations in the context of their fight for government recognition and support, with particular focus on government backing for their educational

bodies as a litmus test of social recognition. This has been notably the case with regard to various Hindu and Indian Muslim organizations, such as the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha (often referred to as the Arya Samaj), the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha (S.D.M.S.), the Anjuman Sunnat Ul Jamat Association (A.S.J.A.), the Tackveeyatul Islamic Association (T.I.A.) and others, whose emergence as politico-religious organizations in the late colonial period was closely bound up with efforts to promote their own educational activities.

Taking the case of the Arya Samaj, a Hindu sect whose history in Trinidad has been especially well documented in a thesis by Forbes (1984), we can see the clear linkage between educational, religious and cultural nationalist issues which has, so often, characterized the activities of such religious groupings. The Arya Samaj (the "Noble Society"), which had emerged in India during the 19th century as a Hindu reformist and nationalist group, was transmitted to Trinidad by Indian missionaries between the wars. The religious practices of the Arya Samaj focused on the Vedic scriptures and stressed the importance of everyone, not just Brahmins, having direct access to them through mass literacy. In consequence, the sect placed great emphasis on the education of its followers so that members of lower castes and women would no longer find it necessary to resort to Brahmins as literate spiritual intermediaries and gurus. At the same time, the Arya Samaj aimed at modernizing, rationalizing and institutionalizing Hinduism, which in the Trinidad context also implied the development of a Hindu politico-religious organization which could represent their interests to the colonial government in areas such as marriage and inheritance law, and denominational education. This politico-religious activity by the Arya Samaj and the conservative riposte by their main rivals, the orthodox Hindu organization Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha (S.D.M.S.), were also stimulated by currents of Indian nationalism associated with the moves toward independence on the sub-continent from the 1940s onward.

As Vertovec (1987) has effectively shown in his recent thesis on the impact of the oil boom and the political events of the 1970s on the Hindu community of Trinidad, such reformist influences on traditionalist Hindu belief and practice, which have been particularly suited to and strongly expressed in rapidly modernizing overseas Indian communities such as Trinidad, have generated tendencies toward the fusion of varying Hindu cultural traditions into a more unified religious outlook, in which ethical rather than status considerations have come to predominate. The idea that each person is able to approach the divine without a human intermediary (in the form of a guru/pundit), a belief manifested in the non-Brahminical bhakti devotional tradition, became increasingly widespread in Trinidad Hinduism, with a corresponding growth in popular interest in literacy in Hindi and Sanskrit and the study of Hindu literature and other cultural forms.

In keeping with its modernist views, the Arya Samaj was the first of the Hindu organisations to become actively involved in western-style education, founding the first of its privately funded "Vedic" schools in the 1940s. Understandably, given the poor educational opportunities for Hindus in Trinidad at this time, these early Hindu denominational schools experienced great problems in procuring Hindu teaching staff. In a few instances, Hindu headmasters and teachers were recruited from India, but for the most part Hindu schools were staffed by Christian Indian or black teachers. The Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha (S.D.M.S.) entered the educational field soon afterwards, and from the 1950s onwards competed actively against Hindu reformers such as the Arya Samaj, as well as against the

Indian Christians and Muslims, for cultural, educational and religious leadership within the Indian community.

In many cases, especially during the 1950s when the colonial government gave virtually free rein to competition between denominational school boards, rival religious groups built primary schools next door to one another within a single rural village, and a great deal of the resources of these denominations was expended on school-related activities. For example, between 1950 and 1956, the religious denominations built a total of 145 new primary schools in Trinidad & Tobago, 92 with government aid and 53 without government aid (Committee on General Education 1959: 33). The most active denominations building schools with government aid were: R.C. with 26, S.D.M.S. with 31, Arya Samaj with 8, and A.S.J.A. (Muslim) with 6. Those built without government aid included 10 R.C., 20 S.D.M.S., and 6 Arya Samaj. New government schools established in this period numbered only 10, two of which were gifts from the oil industry and two of which were housed in rented buildings. Such active involvement of the non-Christian denominations in the expansion of education is ample evidence of the fact that in the social environment of late colonial Trinidad, western-style education, more than any other single criterion, was the key requisite for Indians to achieve acceptance and upward mobility within national public life.

Other interesting cases illustrate the role of the state in the granting of social recognition and legitimacy to various religious bodies in the context of the competition by subordinate sections of Trinidad & Tobago society for cultural and social equality. During the colonial period, the denial by the government of legitimacy to certain religious sects, and in some cases such as that of the "Shouter" Baptists their actual banning, expressed the feelings predominant in elite sections of the creole social continuum that these models of religious and moral socialization were socially unacceptable or even threatening (see Braithwaite 1975 [1953]: 125-6). However, following the political upheavals of the early 1970s with their Black Power rhetoric, when the PNM government was making greater efforts to provide recognition for the suppressed cultural forms of the poor black members of society, it is noteworthy that there developed some overt government support for various low church Protestant and Afro-Christian sects which are popular in this segment of Trinidad & Tobago society. (And, as Holland & Crane [1987: 59] report, there has been a growth in the membership of Afro-Christian cults such as Shango.) In this connection, the considerable public speculation during his lifetime concerning Eric Williams's own religious beliefs is significant. Although a Catholic by family background, in his later life Williams was said to have developed an attraction for various non-established religions - in particular the Shouter Baptists and Adventists. This recognition did much to enhance the public legitimacy of these denominations, while at the same time further solidifying Williams's political support among the largely black membership of these churches (Thomas 1987: 46). In the case of the Adventists, Williams's support was manifested concretely in the form of substantial loans to this church's Caribbean Union College, which appear never to have been repaid (like many other government loans made during the oil boom period).

But as the government in the post-1970 period has moved progressively to legitimate various of the formerly marginal religions of the dispossessed black poor, it has also produced a situation in which these sects have become less appropriate as outlets for feelings of social deprivation, particularly for the younger members of society for whom the more

radical solutions of the Black Power movement hold considerable appeal. For some of these youth, withdrawal from the competitiveness and failures experienced in school and in other aspects of mainstream society into the alternative world of Ras Tafarianism has become an increasingly popular solution over the last two decades, while for the more activist, the Black Muslim religion offers a niche.

Whatever his personal religious views in later life, and I know of no unequivocal evidence on this matter, Eric Williams was politically astute enough to avoid direct confrontation with the major established churches, in particular the Catholics. With regard to denominational education, this feature of Trinidad & Tobago society was so deeply entrenched that Williams was constrained by political expediency to negotiate the Concordat of 1960 with the denominational school boards - an event which has had, in my view, more significant and lasting effects on the pattern of development of the Trinidad & Tobago educational system than any other in the post-independence period.

As already mentioned, the system of denominational schooling has been the means by which the larger and economically more powerful religious groupings, in particular the Catholic church, create and maintain influential social networks throughout the country. Secondary schools are more important for this purpose than primary schools, and the fact that, according to the Concordat, no new denominational secondary schools may be founded has meant that the Catholic church and the long established Protestant churches such as the Anglicans and the Presbyterians enjoy a prominent advantage. Understandably, there is some resentment against this situation among the Hindu and Muslim organisations, who have very few secondary schools.

Given the provision of the Concordat which guarantees headmasters control over 20 percent of the places in denominational secondary schools plus the requirement that denominational schools fund substantial proportions (25-30 percent) of both their capital and their recurrent budgets (excluding teachers' salaries), the situation is ready made for the well-to-do, especially the "old boys" of these schools, to gain preferential treatment for their children via substantial donations or other forms of support for the denominational school of their choice. In this respect, the title of Cro-Cro's (1988) award-winning calypso, "Corruption in Common Entrance", could be said to be rather misleading since, far from being corrupt, favoritism in the secondary school admissions process is logically entailed by official government policies and the financial logic of running government-assisted denominational schools.

Today, many of the religious denominations, large as well as small, are finding that the maintenance, let alone the further expansion, of their educational activities is posing severe financial and organizational strains. In some instances, especially where school buildings have become severely dilapidated, the churches have been forced for financial reasons to relinquish control of some of their schools to the state. These pressures have naturally been felt more severely by some of the smaller denominations, such as the Moravians and the Methodists, who have now almost entirely withdrawn from denominational education, but even some of the larger religious bodies, such as the Catholic and the Presbyterian churches, have sometimes found it difficult to pay their one-third share of capital repair/reconstruction costs and have had to settle for the establishment of joint

government-denominational management committees to run these schools (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education and Culture 1978). The present distribution of primary schools by board of management in Trinidad & Tobago is shown in the following table.

Primary Schools Controlled by Denominational Boards of Management

Source: Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education (1987)

African Methodist Episcopal	1	Moravian	2
Anglican	62	Presbyterian	72
Anjuman Sunnat Ul Jamat Ass.	7	Roman Catholic	124
Arya Pratinidhi Sabha	9	Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha	41
Baptist	4	Seventh Day Adventist	5
Kabir Panth Ass.	2	Tackveeyatul Islamic Ass.	5
Methodist	10	Trinidad Muslim League	3

Denominational primary schools	= 347
Government primary schools	= 122
Total primary schools	= 469

Interviews with various senior members of the Catholic clergy revealed a divergence of opinion concerning the value of the church's involvement in education. Certain dissenters from the majority pro-education view argued that the moral and religious standards in Catholic schools were falling. There is now said to be increasing intervention by the government's Teaching Service Commission in the hiring of lay teachers for denominational schools, and many of the teachers hired are now not even Catholics. At the same time, more and more Catholic clergy are moving out of school teaching. Previously, in 1950s and 1960s, lay teachers had been trained in R.C. schools and could themselves teach religious doctrine effectively, but such teachers are becoming scarcer today. In the view of these dissenters, at the primary school level at least, the church is experiencing a severe financial drain without a corresponding return in religious influence, although even these skeptics are not inclined to doubt the important social and religious influence still exercised today by the prestigious Catholic secondary schools such as St. Mary's or Fatima College.

At present, the financial burdens of supporting denominational schooling appear to be felt unevenly, with both the S.D.M.S. and the Arya Samaj currently undertaking the construction of new primary schools - in the latter case splitting the cost of construction evenly with the government (rather than on a 1/3 - 2/3 basis as normal) as a response to the government's present financial plight. At the same time, there is a noticeable tendency for a continuation of the long term decline in membership of the Presbyterian church, linked both to financial pressures (Hamid 1980: 92-4) and to the fact that Indians no longer have to be Christians in order to enjoy access to western-style education.

Despite the financial struggles of some denominations even to maintain their present level of educational involvement, it seems probable that the role of denominational education

within the Trinidad & Tobago primary and secondary school systems will, if anything, be strengthened under the current government. This is likely for a number of reasons. Given the straightened financial circumstances of Trinidad & Tobago at present, the government must look increasingly to non-governmental sources for educational funding, and it is relevant here to emphasize that from the point of view of the state, schooling in a government-assisted denominational school is significantly cheaper per student than schooling in a state school. In addition, one must consider the political orientation of key members of the NAR government, who are more supportive, on the whole, of the concept of denominational education than were their counterparts among the leadership of the PNM. Denominational education remains, therefore, a highly politicized topic within Trinidad & Tobago public life but it must be said that its roots run so deep that it is likely to remain a permanent feature of the educational landscape for the foreseeable future.

e. Education and the Economy

e.1 Educational Development and the National Economy in the Post-Independence Period

From independence to the present day, the expectations of the Trinidad & Tobago government and public alike have focused on the potential economic contributions of education, both for individual social mobility and for the economic development of the country as a whole. As we have seen, education was the chief vehicle of upward social mobility in the non-white sectors of late colonial society, and the PNM government's rapid expansion of the secondary school sector in the decades of the 1960s and 1970s was designed to facilitate such mobility, while providing the skilled labor necessary for a newly industrializing nation. The Trinidad & Tobago government has also consistently looked to the educational system for solutions to its chronic problems of structural unemployment and the related risk of political instability, which were so graphically illustrated by the 1970 Black Power riots, and this consideration has fundamentally influenced educational policy throughout the post-independence period. Moreover, thanks to the oil boom, Trinidad & Tobago has been in a position, more than any other English-speaking Caribbean country during this period, to expend very large sums on the development of its educational system.

In keeping with the heavy emphasis placed by the Trinidad & Tobago government in the post-independence period on educational expansion as one of the key elements in its strategy for national development, much political discourse has tended to focus on the question of the responsiveness and impact of the educational system in relation to national economic needs. In retrospect, one might judge that expectations have been too great in this regard, partly as a result of an apparent initial faith in the now largely discredited "human capital" theory that substantial investments in education would induce corresponding economic growth (see, for example, Karabel & Halsey 1977: 307 et passim), and partly because, given the historic patterns of education-based social mobility in the creolizing society of Trinidad & Tobago and the continued existence of an elite educational sector during the post-independence period, the educational orientations and goals of the middle and upper strata of Trinidad & Tobago society were substantially at variance with the national development aims and policies of the PNM government.

Out of concern for the employment situation and requirements for skilled manpower, a whole spate of government vocational training initiatives emerged from the late 1960s onwards - technical institutes, technical and vocational education programs in the comprehensive schools, youth camps, trade centers, vocational centers, an "O" level apprenticeship program and, most recently, the Youth Training and Employment Partnership Programme (YTEPP). As is evident both from this proliferation of often elaborate training schemes and from the reports of the many working parties and other planning documents that have been produced in the post-independence period, the Trinidad & Tobago government has yet to evolve a satisfactory approach to the vexed problem of vocational education. As we have already seen in an earlier section, the students who do enter the technical and vocational education stream do so under a cloud of failure to obtain a coveted place in a "prestige school" or, as is often the case for students in trade centers or youth camps, a failure to pass the Common Entrance Examination altogether. Then too, some of the training programs that have been promoted have been of dubious realism and relevance for a country of about one million people with a relatively modest industrial base. Eric Williams, for example, encouraged the establishment of a major independent administrative service within the general ambit of the Ministry of Education, known as the National Training Board, in an attempt to promote an expansion and coordination of technical and vocational education - a development that, on the whole, has proved to be a bureaucratic proliferation of dubious effectiveness.

Another key element in the PNM government's strategy to cope with the social ills occasioned by high rates of unemployment was the Special Works or DEWD program (Development and Environmental Works Division), a "make work" scheme of public works offering periodic and later (when oil boom funds began to flow) permanent jobs to the un- or under-employed. Although public works/social welfare employment schemes have a long history in English-speaking Caribbean countries as a means of soaking up surplus labor, the large scale and blatant abuses of the DEWD program during the period of Trinidad & Tobago history when, in Williams's words, money was "no problem" are blamed by many observers as a prime source of a perceived decline in the work ethic in Trinidad & Tobago society. Many headmasters and other educationalists complain that teachers, like many other public servants, were affected by "the DEWD phenomenon" - resenting the fact that they had to do a full day's work when they knew that less qualified people were clocking in for a few hours only to collect their pay. Several of my informants noted that the peak of "the DEWD phenomenon" corresponded with the period of most rapid expansion of the secondary school system, and thus of the teaching service, and argued that this had been a fundamental influence leading to a decline in teacher moral and commitment to their work. Students are also said to have been affected by the easy-going attitudes arising from the general degree of affluence. The present-day prominence of such discourses in private and public conversations as well as in the media, whatever their truth value, reflect a widespread tendency in Trinidad & Tobago society in recent years to blame the country's current economic ills on the "carnival" mentality which is said to have been fostered by inflated expectations at independence ("Massa day done", to quote Eric Williams) and the improvident attitude of the PNM government during the oil boom. As such, these discourses are clearly political in character, being much more frequently expressed by critics of the PNM than by the economically disadvantaged and largely black or brown members of

Trinidad & Tobago society who form the core of the PNM constituency and who benefited most from programs like DEWD. (For a contrasting and insider's viewpoint on such "Special Works" programs, see Howe & Rennie [1982] who, arguing from a Black Power/political economy perspective, see the DEWD Special Works program as a positive and significant step toward the empowerment of the black underclass.) Somewhat more dispassionately and realistically, Harewood & Henry (1985:21) write:

> The creation of direct employment by Government was therefore accepted but as an adjustive mechanism to contain the unhappy results that might ensue in areas of serious and chronic unemployment in the urban districts. The program was meant to be a palliative to preserve the air of social stability. It did, however, create the feeling among the underprivileged elements in the society that their economic plight was receiving attention from the authorities generally and from the highest authority, in particular, in the person of the Prime Minister.

Large quantities of government funding were thus invested in creating a substantial technical and vocational sector within the formal educational system and on combating unemployment via the creation of training programs for young school leavers and "make work" programs for the unemployed. However, up to the present day, the growth of employment opportunities in the industrial sector has not fulfilled expectations and, although especially during the post-1973 construction boom there was a shortage of certain categories of skilled labor, the more typical prospect facing the recent secondary school leaver who possesses technical or vocational qualifications has been one of scarce jobs. As Harewood and Henry noted (1985: 70), "Employment in manufacturing showed a surprising resistance to increase in spite of the emphasis on this Sector, hovering between 18 and 20 percent of the labor force, for the last decade of the period under review (i.e. the 1970s)." While scarcity of employment for skilled and semi-skilled labor in the industrial sector continues to be a major concern (and unemployment rates have remained as high or higher in the 1980s), there is also the problem that the technical training provided in secondary schools and other government training establishments is often inadequate and/or inappropriate for the industrial jobs which are available. As the Richards Committee Report on Technical and Vocational Education of 1985 (Richards 1984) noted, due to the slow pace of expansion in the industrial sector of the Trinidad & Tobago economy, the needs for engineering training are largely those of maintenance of already operative facilities rather than of design-engineering. Then too, due to the fact that many Trinidad & Tobago industrial enterprises are involved in the importation and assembly of machinery and other products already manufactured overseas, there is relatively low demand for employees trained in the initiation and construction of new engineered structures, and some of the technical and vocational training programs found in Trinidad & Tobago schools do not adequately reflect these facts.

During the peak period of the PNM government's emphasis on the importance of technical and vocational education, government ministers were wont to argue that students who obtained technical training would be "gobbled up in the labor market" (Camejo 1977: 89) and that, by implication, the overly academic nature of the traditional curricula of many Trinidad & Tobago secondary schools were to blame for the problem of unemployment. However, as Camejo (1977: 90) has shown, this view is too simplistic since, taking graduates of youth camps and trade centers as an example, students holding technical or vocational qualifications from these institutions often fail to find employment utilizing these skills. On

the other hand, significant numbers of students holding more "academic" qualifications, in the form of one or more "O" level passes, are prepared to enter industrial apprenticeship programs despite their lack of technical qualifications and their purportedly greater propensity to seek white collar jobs. There is evidence as well that, in the absence of highly qualified blue collar job applicants holding qualifications at the level of the National Craftsman's Certificate (i.e. graduates of either the John Donaldson or San Fernando Technical Institutes) or three to four years of relevant work experience, industrial employers have preferred to hire school leavers with high levels of literacy and numeracy as evidenced by "O" level qualifications rather than the National Assistant Craftsman's Certificate achieved by many youth camp or trade centre graduates. The above facts, combined with the long-standing high evaluation of professional (or at least white collar) employment in Trinidad & Tobago society and the continued educational prominence of the "prestige" secondary schools, have served to preserve the focus on traditional academic qualifications as the favored route for upward social mobility no matter what the government may do to try to promote other modes of education. (See Rubin & Zavalloni 1969 for some historical perspective on preferences for white collar employment among secondary students in Trinidad & Tobago.)

The cultural emphasis on classical grammar school style education, validated by traditional G.C.E. qualifications, was also echoed at the university level by something of a disdain for applied research and teaching and, especially during the decade of the 1970s, Eric Williams became increasingly frustrated by what he viewed as the unresponsiveness of the University of the West Indies at St. Augustine to the need for national economic development. Williams was dissatisfied, for example, with the small amount of technological research carried out at the UWI and the lack of interaction between university academic researchers and the Trinidad & Tobago industrial sector. The debate here essentially revolved around the proper role for a university in a developing country such as Trinidad & Tobago, with competing models such as that of the United States land grant colleges being proposed in opposition to the more "ivory tower" British university college, single honors degree model that had guided the formation of the UWI system. It must also be said that the university community had not endeared itself either to the PNM government or to the business sector due to the active involvement of many staff and students in the political unrest of the early 1970s, and Eric Williams hoped to be able to exert more direct controls over university affairs.

The creation by Williams of NIHERST in 1977 was an attempt to deal with these problems which, up to present, has produced little in the way of results. It is clearly the Trinidad & Tobago government's view that it should be achieving greater economic and educational benefits in return for the large sums of money it spends annually on the UWI. However, in interviewing government officials and other interested parties who espouse such a position, this view often turned out to be based on rather vague notions concerning the need for "optimization of the country's resources" (to quote one informant - see also Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, National Planning Commission 1988: 191), without clear specification of the appropriate role for a university in a country of the size and characteristics of Trinidad & Tobago. The "TETRAD" evaluation and planning exercise at UWI St. Augustine, which was underway during my stay in Trinidad & Tobago, was designed to produce such a specification, and it is too early to tell just how successful this will prove to be. Yet it is my

own opinion, based on extensive discussions with university personnel and others involved in these issues, that UWI science and engineering departments have little choice but to orient their efforts increasingly toward relatively inexpensive applied research of local social, economic and technological relevance, since they are unlikely to be able to compete with large and better funded metropolitan university science departments in many areas of pure research or in large scale industrial research and development programs. Such a view, however, is greatly at odds with more nationalistic conceptions of the university's role in society, as it is with university academics that continue to favor a traditional academic "centre of excellence" view of UWI's role.

It was also the case that, over his long tenure of office, Eric Williams became increasingly exasperated with what he perceived as the unresponsiveness of the private business sector to the needs of national development. Having promoted liberal tax shelters and other encouragements to active involvement in national development on the part of the private sector, particularly overseas capital, during his first years in office without achieving the rapid economic expansion and growth in employment that he had hoped for (see Carrington 1971), Williams increasingly opted for a central role of the state in the control of the industrial, agricultural and commercial sectors of the national economy. Apart from a spate of nationalizations of private businesses and the foundation of various government-controlled enterprises from the late 1960s onward, the PNM government also put substantial pressure on firms to become more involved in training and apprenticeship programs and instituted a special tax on businesses (the Unemployment Levy), the proceeds of which were to be used to fund programs aimed at reducing unemployment. In effect, Williams was able to hold a gun at the head of the private sector to extract more jobs, training programmes and social welfare benefits for his constituents by using the threat of unrest from the unemployed, as signaled by the numerous strikes, demonstrations, etc. during the period of the mid-1960s through to the mid-1970s, to drive home his point.

As a result of such pressures, the private sector has assumed a progressively greater role in sponsoring employment-training programs in the post-independence period. Prior to their nationalization, the major private oil firms ran active apprenticeship programs in collaboration with the government's Board of Industrial Training (BIT), and in recent years, several of the major banks, most notably the Royal Bank with its highly successful "ROYTEC" business skills program (the Royal Bank Institute of Business and Technology), have trained significant numbers of school leavers for careers in banking and commerce. Although demand for such occupationally relevant training remains high among students leaving secondary school at 16+ with G.C.E."O" level qualifications in academic and commercial subjects, at present only the lucky few can be accommodated on such courses and, in any case, the Trinidad & Tobago economy is finding it increasingly difficult to absorb the growing supply of secondary school leavers seeking white collar employment.

Blue collar employment has also become progressively more difficult to come by in the period following the oil boom but, here again, the more successful employment training schemes have been found largely outside the formal secondary school sector. State enterprises such as Caroni, T&TEC, TRINTOC, PTSC, BWIA and TRINTOPEC provide training schools, and the SERVOL program, a voluntary sector initiative based on principles of community participation and the development of student self-reliance, self-respect and

discipline, is a world-famous success story (Pantin 1983 & 1984). The greater enthusiasm and motivation displayed by students engaged in what are seen as "more relevant" work-study programs of the ROYTEC or SERVOL types, compared to the relatively low motivation displayed by similar students in traditional secondary education courses, seems to have taught a valuable lesson to educational planners. The government's 1985-90 5-Year Educational Plan (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education 1985: 147) contained proposals for providing tax relief and other fiscal measures as further incentives for firms to participate in the national training effort, and the NAR government has recently decided to provide funding for the expansion of the SERVOL program to a nationwide scale.

Particularly since the election of the NAR government in 1986, then, I would argue that there has been a shift of emphasis, in practice if not always in theory, with regard to the role of education in national economic development - a shift which in part has been motivated by the demands of the structural adjustment program during this period of economic stringency but which also reflects something of a shift of educational philosophy in government circles. Gone are the calls for the "prestige" secondary schools to incorporate a mandatory component of technical and vocational education into their curricula. The PNM government's emphasis on the importance of strengthening technical and vocational education within the secondary schools has not disappeared in the NAR manifesto (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, National Planning Commission 1988: 193), but the preference for early student career choice and specialization has been replaced by a policy in which more attention is now being given to the need for a sound general education at primary and early secondary levels, adapted to the lower average educational abilities of students in a mass education system, as a foundation for future more specialized study. Reacting against the central role of the state in youth training and employment programs during the period of the PNM government (and not disposing of sufficient funds to pursue such a policy in any case), the present government has tried to make a virtue out of a necessity by placing more emphasis on achieving the active participation of the business and voluntary agency sectors in these activities. It is also telling to note that present government vocational training programs for youth, such as YTEPP, are placing much more emphasis on training for self-employment rather than for salaried jobs in the industrial sector, as the unemployment rate spirals and the economy fails to take up the slack.

At the same time, despite ample evidence to the contrary, the Trinidad & Tobago government's National Training Board officially maintains the view that a manpower planning approach is feasible - i.e. that it is possible to relate educational development to perceived national economic needs so as to be able to optimize the utilization of the country's labor resources. (See, for example, the National Educational Development Plan for 1985 to 1990 [Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education 1985]). However, the realities of Trinidad & Tobago social stratification and industrial development in relation to the educational system, plus the strong currents of migration, give little cause for optimism in this regard. On the other hand, numerous passages in the Richards Report on Technical and Vocational Education (Richards 1984) reflect a more realistic attitude concerning the potential contributions of employment training programs, particularly within the secondary school context, to economic development aims and yet it is significant that many of the key recommendations of the Richards Report have not been adopted. For example, as the Richards Report notes, Eric Williams argued for a pattern of school output in relation to

purported national requirement for workplace personnel as: 10-15 percent professionals, 15-20 percent sub-professionals and technicians, 60-70 percent persons with general training but with definite exposure to sciences and industrial processes, and 10-15 percent skilled craftsmen. However, these proportions have never corresponded well with the reality of at least a 15 percent to 20 percent structural unemployment rate nor with the fact that, of the 70 percent to 80 percent of the primary school students who obtain places in secondary school, 75 percent of these enter the junior secondary/senior comprehensive stream where there are serious problems of inappropriate syllabuses and massive rates of examination failure.

e.2 Educational Implications of the Current Economic Situation

With the decline of the Trinidad & Tobago economy and the advent of the NAR government's structural adjustment program, the unemployment rate has moved steadily higher and many of the social welfare provisions instituted under the PNM have been abolished. The effects of this period of economic stringency on the educational system have become clearly visible, in the form of a freeze on filling permanent teaching and ministry posts, the institution of a voluntary program of early retirements, and a cut in teachers' salaries and benefits. For individual families, especially those of the unemployed, the elimination or reduction of government subsidies such as free student bus passes, free school meals, and school book and clothing allowances have been very hard to bear, and in my house-to-house interviewing in the course of social surveys in several East-West corridor communities, I encountered significant numbers of primary school age children, not to mention secondary school age children, who were not attending school because their parents could no longer afford it. (The situation is even more serious in the pre-school sector since, as already mentioned above, most nursery schools in Trinidad & Tobago are private and charge fees.) Such a situation, of course, may make a mockery of government claims concerning universal primary education, high literacy rates, etc. (see Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, National Planning Commission 1988: 190). It is noteworthy that the school supervisors make no serious effort, nowadays, to check on school truancy, since such absences are taken as "a fact of life" and a matter of individual parental responsibility. Such a state of affairs may signal political trouble for the NAR in the next election, if not sooner, and many of the black poor I spoke to were waiting for a return of the good old days of the PNM-sponsored DEWD program and other doleouts.

f. Education and Migration

As we have seen in the case of Tobago, Trinidad & Tobago society as a whole, like those of other creole Caribbean countries, has been fundamentally influenced by migratory currents since its creation, and its educational system has been centrally implicated in these social processes. Although more public attention has been given to overseas migration and its effect on Trinidad & Tobago society, it is important to balance this perception by a recognition of the significant effects that internal migration has had during the post-war period.

Braithwaite (1975 [1953]: 11-2) made some perceptive comments on the significance of internal migration for the process of urbanization of Trinidadian society in the 1950s and the breakdown of the relative social isolation of rural communities. While Trinidad rural

society (unlike Tobago) had long been subject to outside influences due to internal labor migration to the oil fields and agricultural estates, successive national censuses since independence have documented a substantial and continuing displacement of largely rural population from eastern and southern counties towards the west and north, stimulated in large measure by the greater employment and educational opportunities in the urban and peri-urban areas. (As Harewood notes in his contribution to this volume, the unsatisfactory definition of "urban" areas in the national censuses makes documentation of this trend difficult, especially since rapidly growing areas such as the East-West corridor and Chaguanas are excluded from the "urban" category.) The concurrent development of the Trinidad transport system, both public and private, and particularly the greatly increased level of automobile ownership during the oil boom period, has led to a substantial restructuring of Trinidad rural society, effectively eliminating any tendency toward a peasant-like character and rendering even very rural villages within reach of urban jobs and schools by daily commuting.

Turning to the phenomenon of overseas migration, it can be said that, culturally speaking, the ideology of the creole social continuum of the late colonial period was essentially outward looking in orientation - seeing the origins of its cultural canons as lying outside the local society. For C.L.R. James, Eric Williams, V.S. Naipaul and other prominent figures educated during the colonial period, England was the centre of the cultural universe, and a period of residence there was seen as a virtual necessity for the proper development of an aspiring intellectual. As James rhetorically put it in the preface to *Beyond a Boundary* (1986 [1963]),

> If the ideas (in his book) originated in the West Indies it was only in England and in English life and history that I was able to track them down and test them. To establish his own identity, Caliban, after three centuries, must himself pioneer into regions Caesar never knew (sic!).

This outward-looking orientation remains prominent today, so that Trinidad & Tobago is frequently portrayed as a cultural sponge, soaking up whatever influences are on offer - be it Jamaican youth culture, North American soap operas, or Brazilian football techniques. A variant and even more extreme version of this view, still commonly voiced today in letters to the editors of the *Trinidad Guardian* and other newspapers, is the argument that Trinidad & Tobago has no indigenous culture of its own and possesses only a hodge-podge of cultural elements derived from elsewhere. I heard this viewpoint expressed most forcefully in certain French Creole circles, which are wont to glorify the ancient European (and non-English) roots of their intellectual culture and to be very disparaging about the "cultural mimicry" of black Trinidadians.

As regards metropolitan cultural influences, by the late 1960s, North American culture had become more influential than English culture. By this time, more Trinidad & Tobago students were studying at American universities than at British ones, and this experience has been fundamental in forming the new generation of political, commercial and intellectual leaders (Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office 1970: 2) Then too, for this generation who were children or adolescents in the 1940s, there had been an extensive exposure to North American influences because of the presence of large numbers of American service personnel in the country during the war. This foreign presence generated

substantial shifts in the occupational patterns of the country and created an association in the minds of the population between North American employment and high incomes (Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office 1970: 68).

Given these facts, it is not surprising to encounter markedly ambivalent attitudes toward migration. Trinidad is described by Trinidadians themselves as a cosmopolitan society - the "Rainbow Island" which welcomes migrants from all over. It is also said that if you scratch a Trinidad & Tobago creole (i.e. black), you will find a small islander underneath and, particularly as a result of the great availability of manual jobs during the oil boom of the 1970s but for many years before that as well, Trinidad & Tobago received a substantial influx of relatively poor and less educated migrants from other Caribbean countries. For example, Braithwaite (1975 [1953]: 3) noted that in 1952, when the colonial government carried out a drive against illegal immigrants in Trinidad, they uncovered a total of 11,000 such persons hailing from other West Indian islands - especially Barbados, Grenada and St. Vincent.

Conversely, it is thought likely that in every generation, many of the best trained and academically most able local youth will be lost to the "brain drain". Indeed, this is seen by many people as perfectly appropriate and laudable, and the headmasters of the "prestige" schools have continued to fight, up to the present day (albeit unsuccessfully since 1986), for the right of island scholarship winners to use their grants to study at overseas universities.

Dissecting these attitudes further, it is possible to see that attitudes toward migration in Trinidad & Tobago correlate closely with ethnicity, race, educational level and economic status. As we have seen, during the colonial and early post-colonial periods, the secondary educational system operated to produce an elite, many of whom were white or light brown and were from well-to-do families who could afford the secondary school fees. Only the brightest of the poor black and Indian students could win scholarships for secondary school and then for higher education abroad. On the other hand, even if whites or other students of elite backgrounds failed to obtain top grades in secondary school and one of the scarce government scholarships, they could still reasonably expect to be able, if they so wished, to pursue further education or career opportunities overseas. (See, for example, Rubin & Zavalloni 1969: 173-4.)

For the elite of the creole continuum, even those who remained behind to make their careers locally, these features of the educational system helped to create a social and political mentality oriented toward migration and transience. As long as life was prosperous and stable in Trinidad & Tobago, one could enjoy one's elite position in society and yet, whatever was done politically in the society could be viewed as something that one didn't have to live with permanently - one could always escape overseas if things took a bad turn. This is, indeed, what happened at various difficult moments during the post-independence period. For example, substantial proportions of the white population, and also the Chinese, have left the country in the past two decades, this movement being stimulated by events such as the loss of white political dominance at independence, the pressures for a more multi-racial hiring policy in the business world, the nationalization of numerous private firms, the Black Power movement and the Defence Force Mutiny of 1970, as well as the declining economic circumstances of the 1980s.

On the whole, migration has had a different meaning for many Indians than it had for members of the creole continuum. Encouraged by Indian cultural nationalist groups, Hindu Indians in particular are wont to see their ancestors' migration to Trinidad in terms of a continuity with the rich cultural traditions of the sub-continent. Speeches at the annual celebrations of Indian Arrival Day often stress that Indians arrived from the mother country with their culture intact (a contrast with the situation of the African diaspora is implied here) and have subsequently saved the agricultural and commercial economy of Trinidad via their know-how and hard work. Indian nationalists see their task in terms of the need to preserve these core values while at the same time ensuring that Indians receive a fair slice of the national cake and, depending on Indian political perceptions relative to this equity issue (which fluctuate from time to time), their propensity to emigrate has varied. In more general terms, of course, since the average educational levels in the Indian category have increased disproportionately over the last three decades, there has also been a concomitant increase in overseas migration among the wealthier and better educated Indian population. This has been particularly notable in the declining economic circumstances of the late 1980s, when some Indian migrants to Canada went as far as to try to claim political refugee status (Trinidad Guardian, June 19, 1988), arguing that they were fleeing a system in which Indians could not expect to be treated equitably! A similar pattern has also obtained among the much smaller Chinese community, which has benefited greatly from the expansion of educational opportunities in the post-independence period.

Ideologies aside, citizens of Trinidad & Tobago of all cultural and economic categories experienced especially strong influences from overseas travel and migration as a result of the post-1973 oil boom and the subsequent economic downturn in the 1980s. Overseas travel came within the reach of a large proportion of the Trinidad & Tobago population due to the increased levels of earnings associated with the economic boom, and even many semi-skilled and unskilled workers were able to afford visits to North America for longer or shorter periods. Especially during the oil boom period, migration was a complex two-way process, with substantial inflows of workers, both legal and illegal, from poorer islands and outflows of people to more developed countries like Canada, U.S.A. and U.K. It is generally felt that during the late 1970s and early 80s, Trinidad was losing well-trained population and gaining lower skilled workers for about a net numerical balance of gain versus loss. However, it is difficult to estimate the scale of these population movements since it is widely agreed by knowledgeable demographers, government statisticians, etc. that the national census data after 1960, and other government population statistics, are unreliable for this purpose. On the whole, the Trinidad & Tobago government has been more interested in inflow than in outflow statistics and, particularly as regards emigration of non-students, Trinidad & Tobago immigration records do not provide satisfactory data. Current estimates of emigration have to rely on data from the receiving countries, which are not always consistent or comparable.

As already mentioned, until 1960, education beyond the secondary level was obtained almost entirely outside Trinidad & Tobago (Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office 1970: 7), and the statistical data we have on migration relating to the decade of the 1960s demonstrate clearly that persons receiving such overseas education were very likely to pursue their subsequent careers outside the country (Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office 1970: 13,27). This tendency reflected the higher professional salaries and the less closed

employment practices that obtained outside Trinidad, as well as the fact that highly trained professionals who returned home risked the under-utilization of their skills in a society with a lower degree of technological development and occupational specialization (Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office 1970: 51-4) than the metropolitan countries.

A very low proportion of the Trinidad & Tobago students attending institutions of higher education overseas during the decades of the 1960s and 1970s were publicly financed. For example, the Central Statistical Office of Trinidad & Tobago (Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office 1970: 10) estimated that only about 15 percent of Trinidad & Tobago students in universities overseas, principally in the U.S.A., Canada and U.K., were financed by Trinidad & Tobago government scholarships in 1968, and the proportion of Trinidad & Tobago government-financed students during the oil boom period of the 1970s, when personal levels of affluence in Trinidad & Tobago were much greater, is likely to have been even lower. On the other hand, the substantial growth of the U.W.I. at St. Augustine has been important in providing a viable alternative to migration for students of restricted financial means, and this has become more and more significant during the financial decline of the 1980s.

In keeping with the immigration regulations of the host countries, the general trend throughout the post-independence period has been that it is proportionately much easier for well-educated emigrants from Trinidad & Tobago in the professional/managerial and other skilled occupational categories to gain admission to the main receiving countries (U.S.A., Canada and the U.K.) than it has been for persons in the unskilled or semi-skilled categories. From the point of view of the Trinidad & Tobago government, although concern has been expressed from time to time about the substantial "brain drain" being experienced by country as a whole, the policy of the government has been surprisingly permissive - a reflection, I feel, of the attitudes of the creole continuum discussed above which have been pervasive in influential government circles as well as the profligate government attitude toward finance that obtained during periods of national affluence. Indeed, although the Trinidad & Tobago government did publish detailed data on government scholarships granted up through 1972 (Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office 1972), it is quite telling, I feel, that from 1973 (the start of the oil boom) onwards, it ceased publishing such information.

The government did attempt to stem the loss by instituting, for example, contractual provisions for holders of government "development" scholarships that stipulated certain minimum periods of employment in Trinidad & Tobago government service upon completion of the period of study, but in practice these provisions were relatively easy to circumvent by persons wishing to make their careers abroad. As a consequence of this as well as the fact that many Trinidad & Tobago students attending universities overseas were privately funded, the proportions of total trained manpower lost through emigration in many professional fields have been very high in the post-independence period. The one serious study that has attempted to quantify such outflows in various fields such as medicine, nursing, engineering, etc., which dates to the 1960s, arrived at figures of at least 65-70 percent of the country's total stock (Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office 1970: 25-7), and I would suggest that with the economic downturn in recent years, these figures would be no lower for the 1980s.

g. Education, Family and Gender

A complex set of issues relating to the interaction of educational processes and familial and gender relations is clearly of central importance for the present study but, before embarking on this discussion, it is necessary to make a general observation. In an ethnically and racially plural society such as Trinidad & Tobago, with its marked degree of economic stratification, the very use of the term "family" is fraught with problems. "Family" life in Trinidad & Tobago is characterized by marked divergences, correlated both with ethnic and economic distinctions, in normative forms of mating, residential patterns, domestic economy, gender roles, child socialization and other "familial" forms. In this context, the very use of the term "family" may often carry heavily value-laden implications, such as one frequently finds, for example, in the conversation of well-to-do members of the white or brown sectors of Trinidad & Tobago society who are wont to characterize their own nuclear family norms as "proper family life" in contrast to the various forms of mating and common law union which are prevalent in economically disadvantaged non-white groups. Or, to cite further examples, claims by different ethnic groups about the perceived cultural authenticity and moral superiority of the "traditional African extended family", "traditional African matrilineality", or the "traditional Indian joint family" must be interpreted as ideologically motivated statements linked to present-day social concerns in Trinidad & Tobago, rather than objective statements of historical fact. There is a strong consciousness in the various racial and ethnic sections of Trinidad & Tobago society today, as in the past, of marked cultural divergences in familial structures and values, and these perceived differences are often invoked, in conversation and in the media, as important causal factors affecting the school performance of the children of these different social groups.

The available empirical literature documenting the family structures of Trinidad & Tobago society in the 1950s and 1960s indicates that, within the creole social continuum, the Christian conception of the nuclear family was the preferred ideal while, in the poorer black and brown sections of this continuum, this normative form was often not achieved until relatively late in life, if ever. Typically, therefore, the poorer members of the creole continuum spent much of their adult lives in the context of more casual, non-coresidential "friending" or "visiting" relationships or common-law "living" relationships (Rodman 1971). In these conditions, lower class women normally produced their first child(ren) prior to marriage and possibly with several different partners.

Braithwaite (1975 [1953]), in his study of social stratification within the creole social continuum of the 1950s, makes it clear that adherence (at least outwardly) to stable nuclear family norms was a fundamental criterion of "middle class" status in late colonial Trinidad (see also Rubin & Zavalloni 1969: 128-9). Equally, a stable economic situation, permitting the establishment of an independent household at marriage, was normally a necessary precondition for the achievement of domestic respectability. In such conditions, and given the sensitivity to color within the creole continuum, Braithwaite (1975 [1953]: 43) noted that light skinned women tended to marry down (or isogamously) in the color hierarchy but up (or isogamously) in the wealth/status hierarchy. Braithwaite (1975 [1953]: 104) also makes reference to the ease of sexual access enjoyed by well-to-do men of the creole continuum to poorer women, either on the basis of casual affairs or more permanently with a mistress (today colloquially referred to as a "deputy"). At the time of writing of his study, Braithwaite

(1975 [1953]: 104-5) was already of the opinion that attitudes toward sex among "middle class" women were undergoing change in a more permissive direction, such that the patterns of pre-marital and marital relations of the "lower" and the "middle" classes were becoming more homogeneous.

Moving to the present day, my observations of marital relations among members of the creole social continuum generally confirm the findings of Rodman and Braithwaite and indicate that, although sexual permissiveness has probably been enhanced by access to modern methods of birth control and the repeal of the colonial bastardy laws, the situation has not changed radically since the 1960s. According to Harewood's fertility study (1984: 29), most black or brown women first enter a "visiting" sexual relationship, and the proportion of such women who do so has been increasing rapidly in recent decades. (On the other hand, given the strong moral weighting attached to legitimate marriage within the creole continuum, one must be aware of the possibility that older women may be inclined to under-report previous "visiting" relationships.) Especially in the conditions of high youth unemployment that obtained throughout the 1980s, the emphasis placed within the creole social continuum on the need for a man to provide housing and a stable living for his prospective wife, as a means of legitimizing the union (whether legal or common law), remains an effective bar to early marriage for many men. *Inter alia*, this emphasis on the often-unattainable (for most young persons) also explains the particular popularity of the PNM's public housing program, which was predominantly oriented to housing members of the PNM's black and brown constituency in public service employment.

Pursuing further the question of gender roles among poor young black males today, the economic barriers militating against the formation of stable marital relationships combine with other factors which together contribute to the male marginalization frequently remarked upon in the Caribbean literature (e.g. Rodman 1971; Miller 1986). Census data presented and discussed more fully in the next section of this paper reveal a substantial decline in male educational participation rates at the start of adolescence and this decline, with its attendant detrimental implications for social status, can be linked with a heightened male concern at this age with validating their adulthood, via relationships with the opposite sex and involvement in all-male peer group activities. Given that the social contexts familiar to these young men are ones in which relatively casual visiting unions are the most frequent type and the father role is peripheral in many of the domestic groups within the local social environment, adolescent males are likely to try to emulate their elders and to express their masculinity by engaging in similarly casual affairs as frequently as possible. (Indeed, as a number of young men indicated to me, a prime indicator of a young man's social maturity was to have a girl "make a baby for him".) This behavioral pattern tends to be further enhanced to the extent that the young men concerned become involved in the present-day, generationally-oppositional youth culture - conveyed and heightened by pop music and cinema as well as gang behavior, and drug taking and pushing.

These youth sub-cultural influences appear to be particularly powerful in urban settings, but it is important to remember that the basic facts of the marginalization and underachievement of poor young men is a widespread phenomenon whose cause(s) do not appear to be specific to a particular locality or short time period. Thus, for example, as reported by the Caribbean Examinations Council (Anon. 1986: 4-5), in every Caribbean

country involved in this examination program, the examination entry figures for women strongly outweigh those for men (with Trinidad & Tobago's participation figures being 61 percent for women and 39 percent for men). This is just one indication, among many, that male academic underachievement is not restricted to Trinidad & Tobago but is a pan-Caribbean phenomenon.

With regard to other ethnic groups such as the Indians, Chinese, Syrians, and Portuguese, Braithwaite (1975 [1953]: 44-5) viewed the majority of their memberships as remaining essentially "outside" the Trinidadian social system in the late colonial period. However, he argued that the emergent "middle classes" of these groups, who had accumulated their wealth chiefly through commercial or professional activities, tended to shed some of their cultural characteristics, while protecting their ethnic identities, by prohibiting intermarriage except with the dominant white group. In effect, therefore, Braithwaite was proposing that the dominant social change process likely to affect these "peripheral" ethnic categories was one of creolisation, as the values and behaviors of these groups came into line with the values of the creole social continuum.

Looking at the Indian category in the late colonial period in more detail, one finds a preference for arranged marriage and a substantial concern among many Indian families to ensure the pre-marital chastity of their daughters. In this connection, Indian women tended to marry very young and there was a low incidence of visiting relationships before marriage. Extended patriarchal family households were the norm. These social patterns were particularly common among Hindu and Muslim Indian families, with the minority of Christian Indians being rather less conservative (and better educated). Although there has been a substantial debate in the literature as to whether Trinidad Indian kinship patterns represented a continuation of "traditional" cultural practices imported from India or a significant adaptation to life in the overseas community (Klass 1961; 1991, Schwartz 1967, Niehoff & Niehoff 1960, Malik 1971, Nevadomsky 1980; 1982a; 1983b; 1985), it is equally important to recognize that in the ethnically plural setting of Trinidad & Tobago society, politically motivated discourses concerning the alleged continuity of cultural and religious practices with those of the homeland have often been prominent. In other words, in relation to the construction and perpetuation of ethnic identity, familial values, like other ethnically marked values within the Indian category, could be portrayed as "traditional", whatever their objective degree of continuity with those of the homeland.

In fact, familial structures and gender roles in the Indian category were undergoing increasingly rapid change from the late colonial period onwards. By the early 1970s, arranged marriages and extended family households had become much less common (Nevadomsky 1985, see also Mohammed 1988 and Klass 1991), although familistic values and negative attitudes toward intermarriage with blacks or browns remained strong (Klass 1991: 51-2). Indian women experienced a marked liberation from patriarchal familial control that was associated, as we shall see in more detail in a moment, with a substantial increase in their participation rate in education and an increase in age of first marriage.

In discussing mating patterns prevalent in Trinidad & Tobago society today, it is important to consider the phenomenon of the "deputy" (mistress), which is widespread in all ethnic or racial sectors. In the normative form of this relationship, a married man of higher

economic status who is in a position to finance two households establishes a second, parallel household with his mistress, who is often (but not necessarily) of lower economic status than himself. These "outside" households are often quite stable over time, with the mistress giving birth to children who, under present-day family law, enjoy equal status to that of the children of the legal marriage. Given the high rates of unemployment that have often existed in Trinidad & Tobago and the economic preconditions for the establishment of a household based on legal marriage mentioned above, a plentiful supply of potential deputies is usually on hand. But the persistence (and perhaps the even greater prevalence) of deputy relationships during the buoyant economic conditions of the oil boom suggests that this mating arrangement is well entrenched in Trinidad & Tobago society and is not solely linked to a lack of economic opportunity.

The interaction between educational change and familial and gender structures during the post-colonial period in Trinidad & Tobago has been quite strong and is well documented by recent demographic studies (Harewood 1978; 1984, Heath, DaCosta-Martinez & Sheon 1988). Harewood (1978: 71) has shown, for example, that the effect of the differential educational levels of the various ethnic groups in Trinidad is sufficient largely to account for the variation in ethnically specific fertility rates and that, as a result of the development of mass education in Trinidad, these differences in fertility rates have largely disappeared in the younger female age cohorts. Data collected in 1977 (Harewood 1984: 29) revealed "a dramatic decline in the proportion of Indian women entering their first union by age 25" such that, for women under 30 years of age at the time of the study, "it is (now) non-Indians who enter their first union at an earlier age". Among young Indian women, too, "entry into a visiting relationship has continued to increase and entry into legal marriage has continued to decline for successive younger cohorts" (ibid.).

All this could be taken as evidence that Indian women are becoming progressively "creolized" as they become more educated, a trend that was predicted, as we have seen, by Braithwaite in 1953. Increasing the level of female education has had the consistent effect, across all ethnic groups, of delaying a woman's entry into her first union (see also Rubin & Zavalloni 1969: 134) and, given the historically low average educational level of Indian women during the colonial period, their subsequent rate of change in this regard has been particularly striking. There is also the added factor that, by delaying their age of marriage, Indian women have clearly been using their increased access to education as a defense against pressures emanating from patriarchal Indian family values (see, for example, Rubin & Zavalloni 1969: Ch. VIII) and Mohammed 1988: 394). Harewood's fertility study (1984: 29; cf. F. Brathwaite 1983: 83) throws further light on the "creolization" issue by demonstrating that, despite the uniform effect of increased educational levels on both Indian and non-Indian women with regard to delaying entry into a first union, there is a marked difference in the behaviors of the younger educated Indian and non-Indian women with regard to their choice of first union type. Better educated non-Indian women (i.e., in this context, black and brown women of the creole social continuum) nowadays show a distinct preference for contracting a legal marriage, as opposed to a visiting or common law union, as their first union - thereby conforming to the long-standing association within the creole continuum between upward social mobility and legitimate marriage. Young, better educated Indian women, on the other hand, are more likely to enter a visiting union than less educated women - thus showing their rejection of patriarchal familial values as noted above. Data

such as these, in my opinion, clearly point to the fact that social change within the domain of Indian familial values, despite its evident rapidity, can hardly be said to be a matter of creolization. There remains a continued widespread taboo within the Indian category against marriage with black or brown creoles, with the offspring of inter-racial unions between blacks and Indians, known as douglas, being particularly looked down upon. And, as a prominent UWI academic remarked to me, this taboo continues to operate even in the case of Indian university students (and despite casual inter-racial sexual liaisons) - providing further confirmation of the point that increased education of Indians does not encourage their acceptance of creolization.

The persistence of different configurations of familial and gender role values in the two largest ethnic groups within Trinidad & Tobago society has important effects on the modes of socialization being experienced by children today in these varying social environments. Although extended family households are much less common today among Indians, familistic values relating to the extended kin network have not significantly declined. Much sociability within the Indian social category takes place within the extended kin network - weddings and other life cycle ceremonies, "limes" (sociable gatherings), etc. Such familial values may be viewed by those involved, depending on the particular circumstances, as either highly positive, in their enhancement of kin cooperation, support, and mutual reliance, or as detrimental, in their stifling of individualism and self-expression. The particularly high rate of male alcoholism in the Indian category, with attendant problems of domestic violence, is one negative result of familistic values gone sour, but on the positive side, these values do appear to enhance children's aspirations to succeed in school. (According to a report in the Trinidad Guardian on Aug. 30, 1989, 60 percent of those currently treated for alcoholism at the Caura Substance Abuse Centre were Indian, while 20 percent were African; the figures for cocaine addiction were exactly the reverse.)

The more flexible familial relations within the lower ranges of the creole continuum commonly give rise to the matrifocal extended household, the single parent household, or various heterogeneous household forms which are connected, as we have discussed above, with male economic marginality and underachievement in school. As Rodman described this (1971: 104):

> there is a great deal of interpenetration of nuclear family, kin and community relationships. The boundaries between these groups are not sharply defined, residentially or behaviorally, and are often completely ignored in particular circumstances.

As Rodman (1971: 104) also noted, in these conditions, much of "family life" takes place in public (including disputes, today referred to as "cuss-outs").

The public character of much of the daily life in a poor neighborhood, although obviously associated with the poor standard of housing, is also closely linked with male marginality to the domestic group. All-male sociability ("liming") groups provide the context in which reputations are built (chiefly in relation to sexual exploits, sporting and gambling prowess, knowledgeability in "hustling" for a living, and expertise in conversational repartee ["picong"]), and many unemployed or underemployed men spend the majority of their waking hours in such settings. As mentioned above, it is to these absorbing

social environments that adolescent youth are drawn, just at the crucial period in their education - following on from the probable experience of an actual or perceived "failure" (i.e., failure to get into a school of choice) in the Common Entrance examination.

If anything, the fluidity of social relations in poor black communities appears to have been increased in recent years in the growing squatter settlements surrounding the urban areas, with geographical mobility reducing yet further the significance of localised extended kinship networks. Even the PNM's public housing programs of the 1970s and early 1980s, which were otherwise widely welcomed in the poor black community, are seen to have had a detrimental effect in further breaking down mutually supportive social networks that existed in the longer-established communities. Families on the new estates are more socially isolated, which exacerbates the socially disruptive effects of one parent or matrifocal families as they have emerged in these contexts. Supervision of school-age children has also been rendered more difficult by errors of educational planning which have often made long distance traveling to school, and split-day school shifts, necessary. But even in longer-established poor black neighborhoods, it was not uncommon in 1988-89 to encounter primary school age children wandering about unsupervised during school hours. Discussing this matter with one primary school headmistress in such a community, she threw up her hands and remarked that in the primary class we were in the process of observing, only two of the children were from two-parent homes.

The detrimental educational effects of such unstable family structures are widely recognized within Trinidad & Tobago and frequently commented upon in the public press - often in Christian moralizing tones. Training programs of "family life education" and "parenting" have been developed within school syllabuses and SERVOL community centers (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Ministry of Education 1988b; Pantin 1983; 1984), and more attention is starting to be given to the development of early childhood educational facilities as a means of counteracting these problems. But what is being addressed here is clearly a deeply rooted phenomenon

h. Education, Stratification and Social Mobility

In considering the economic implications of recent educational developments from the point of view of the individual in Trinidad & Tobago society, the key issue has been the extent to which changes in the educational system have offered scope for greater individual social mobility. Closely linked to this issue, of course, and a persistent source of debate in the Caribbean social science literature more generally, is the question of conceptualizing the relevant dimensions of social status in a society such as Trinidad & Tobago, with competing models of social differentiation, including the Parsonian, plural society, class/color, plantation society, dependency theory and other more orthodox Marxist models all vying for supremacy. The relative importance of education and of economic status, as two among many of the stratifying variables embodied in these different theoretical accounts, has been debated almost endlessly and although one is not in a position to resolve such general issues here, it is nevertheless possible to make some relevant remarks.

The scope for economic betterment in Trinidad & Tobago society since independence has been relatively great, thanks to the substantial expansion of government and private

sector professional, skilled and semi-skilled employment opportunities for non-whites consequent on decolonization, the rapid increase in secondary and tertiary educational provision during this period, and the buoyant economy during the oil boom. The situation has been less rosy in the 1980s, however, after the oil boom ended. The unemployment rate has been growing substantially throughout much of the decade and, during this time, Trinidad & Tobago has witnessed the advent of the phenomenon of unemployment among university graduates.

The impact of these economic conditions on family budgets has been widely felt, particularly among the poor. Following the institution of a structural adjustment program by the NAR government over the last several years and the consequent major reduction or elimination of the PNM-instituted social welfare programs such as DEWD, the free school meal program, student book grants and clothing allowances, free student bus passes, etc., Trinidad society once again contains pockets of severe poverty, with attendant malnutrition not seen since the colonial period, particularly in the largely black squatter settlements in the urban areas. There has been a corresponding growth of a disaffected and largely black social group at the bottom of the social scale - condemned to a marginal existence by extreme economic disadvantage. As remarked elsewhere in this report, because of this economic situation, significant numbers of children from very poor families are now unable to attend school, or are attending school very irregularly with all the attendant risks of increasingly severe intergenerational transmitted deprivation.

While the problems spawned by such extreme poverty and disaffection will now be very much on people's minds in the aftermath of the attempted coup and related looting and social unrest of August 1990, many of my Trinidadian informants in 1988 and 1989 argued that the most prominent social phenomenon of the post-independence period has been the rise of a strong non-white "middle class", with expansion in the provision of secondary education and related improvements in access to white collar employment in the government and commercial sectors being two of the primary causes. It is interesting in this connection that while one rarely hears the term "working class" or "lower class" in daily parlance in Trinidad & Tobago (other than in political rhetoric of trade union officials, etc.), the term "middle class" is now quite widely used, most usually to refer to persons possessing a secondary education, holding white collar jobs with a corresponding level of income, and owning their own homes. (One should note that the PNM government was very active in fostering housing programs, especially for government employees, and the improved access to housing during the post-independence period is generally considered to have contributed substantially to the strengthening of the "middle class".)

A number of authors in the social science literature have looked at the issue of the interaction of educational and "social class" factors in Trinidad & Tobago society (Dyer 1968; Schwartzbaum & Cross 1970; Osuji 1987), variously considering the extent to which "social class" affects educational opportunities and/or performance, the role of education in influencing "social class" mobility, etc. A linked issue which has been given less prominence in the social science literature (see Winford 1974; 1976; Carrington 1974; Joseph 1978), but which is nonetheless very significant, is the correlation between social status and linguistic usage. In Trinidad & Tobago society, the majority of the population learn creole English as their first language, and fluency in creole remains a highly valued skill in many

social and creative contexts throughout a person's life. However, from school age onwards, people in Trinidad & Tobago are confronted with the necessity of using Standard Trinidad English, with an inability to use the "proper" forms in appropriate social contexts being educationally and socially disadvantageous.

Despite these linguistic and other factors that also affect an individual's social status, the definition of "social class" commonly used in educational studies in Trinidad & Tobago (often glossed as "socioeconomic status" or SES) is based solely on the occupation of the head of household in which the student is normally a member. This social parameter has the advantage of being easily incorporated into a questionnaire but, in a rapidly changing society such as post-independence Trinidad & Tobago, is unlikely to reflect the full range of social phenomena normally implied by the term "social class". For example, given the increased economic and educational opportunities in recent years, one often now finds that, within families of low income background during the colonial period, members of a single sibling group have experienced quite different career trajectories. Some members may occupy white collar posts while others hold blue collar jobs or are unemployed. We are not therefore dealing, in post-independence Trinidad & Tobago, with deeply ingrained and trans-generationally replicated class divisions in the lower and middle ranges of society; so-called "social class" reduces, rather, essentially to a question of income stratification.

Not only has there been a considerable fluidity of social status in the lower and middle ranges of Trinidad & Tobago society over the past few decades but there has also been only a weak development of an indigenous middle class culture in Trinidad & Tobago society that might provide a substitute for the overseas-oriented values of the creole continuum. Several reasons for this situation are proposed at various places in this report, including the deprofessionalizing effects of the educational expansion on teachers, the peripheralization of university teaching staff and institutions of intellectual culture more generally in public life, and the dominance of economistic and/or technicist attitudes within national government during most of the post-independence period. However, the single most important factor underpinning this state of affairs in Trinidad & Tobago society must be the marked ethnic segmentation of the "middle class" or the elite, which has tended to hamstring attempts at the development of truly national cultural forms by rendering such efforts open to charges of ethnic or racial favoritism.

A more prominent and consistent theme, therefore, than discourses concerning social class in Trinidad & Tobago society focuses on the issue of the relative social mobility of various racial or ethnic categories, and there is great public interest regarding the extent to which changes in the educational system have affected the patterns of access to desirable jobs on the part of these different groups. Always a discerning observer of the Trinidadian social scene, V. S. Naipaul, in his novel *The Mimic Men,* portrayed the particular fascination of the Trinidadian public concerning the hiring practices of the banking sector (1987 [1967]: 156):

> Deschampsneufs got a job in one of the banks. Those jobs in the banks! The resentment they aroused! They were reserved, quite sensibly, for those whose families had had some secure - rather than lustful and distant - experience of money; and these jobs had as a result acquired the glamour of whiteness and privilege.

Judging from the active debates in the national press during my fieldwork in 1989 concerning "black banks" versus "white banks", this issue has lost little of its emotive force since the 1950s.

In relation to employment opportunities more generally, the expectations of the economically and socially disadvantaged non-white categories of the Trinidad & Tobago population were substantially raised by the arrival of independence ("Massa day done", as Eric Williams said) and the expansion of secondary education, and some of my informants argued that the "Black Power" riots and related political unrest of the early 1970s were stimulated, at least in part, by the unfulfilled expectations of black youth both for more and for better employment (see also Howe & Rennie 1982: 130). Much of the business sector was controlled by expatriate firms and/or by "French Creole" or other light-skinned creole families, and it was widely felt that access to white collar employment in these firms was subject to racial discrimination and patronage (see Harewood & Henry 1985: 69 et passim; Harewood 1971; Camejo 1971 and Ryan 1991a).

A reasonably clear picture of the employment situation in 1970 can be derived from the Manpower Income Report, prepared by the Trinidad & Tobago Central Statistical Office on the basis of the 1970 national census data (Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office 1973). In the table presented below, the concentration of members of the white and Chinese categories in prestigious white collar employment spheres (categories I-III) is clearly visible. Blacks outnumber Indians in white collar and in blue collar industrial, service and construction jobs, while Indians are still substantially concentrated in agricultural employment. The same report also showed that Blacks outnumbered Indians in government jobs by about two to one, thus confirming their long-standing dominance in such employment.

Distribution of Occupations by Race
from 1970 National Census
(Source: Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office 1973)

Occupational Categories

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
African	11.0	9.7	4.2	5.5	35.4	6.1	8.7	19.4	100%
Indian	8.2	9.8	6.9	25.4	31.0	8.6	3.0	7.2	100%
White	38.8	43.5	5.5	0	10.2	1.2	0	0.8	100%
Chinese	15.6	46.1	21.4	1.3	5.2	2.6	0	7.8	100%
Mixed	11.9	27.3	10.1	7.9	24.6	5.6	4.1	8.2	100%

Job classification:
I = Professional and technical staff
II = Administrative, executive, managerial and clerical staff
III = Commercial, financial and insurance staff
IV = Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers, and forest workers
V = Craftsmen, production, process workers and laborers
VI = Transport and communication staff
VII = Construction workers
VIII = Service workers

The PNM government brought pressures to bear in an attempt to end discriminatory hiring by certain high profile firms, including the indigenization or nationalization of various businesses, and these steps, plus the expansion of employment opportunities due to the oil boom, have had visible effects. Then too, throughout the post-independence period, there has been a significant degree of out-migration by the white elite (and also substantial numbers of Chinese and Syrian/Lebanese - see Stewart 1991: 151). Nonetheless, as indicated above and in Ryan's (1991a: 64 et seq.) recent study of popular perceptions of the importance of racial factors in occupational access, the racial distribution of employment still remains an issue fraught with tensions today, and many of my informants continued to view access to jobs as being subject to racially nepotistic practices and patronage. For example, the predominance of blacks in government employment was viewed by many Indians, during the PNM government's long tenure in office, as evidence of racial discrimination against them - feelings which have not entirely disappeared even under the NAR. Indeed, only one-third of respondents surveyed by Ryan in 1989 felt that "every creed and race had equal opportunities in the public sector" (Ryan 1991a: 64).

Despite barriers imposed by discrimination, no doubt the most striking example of social mobility during the post-independence period, which has been based in large measure on the opportunities offered by the expansion of the secondary educational system, is that of the Indian population (see Reddock 1991: 232). As a black educator and former PNM politician confided to me, the rapid improvement in the educational qualifications of the Indian population at large, and their substantial penetration of the public service employment sector which had previously been largely the preserve of browns and blacks, has come as a great shock to persons like himself who had formerly thought of the majority of Indians as "dumb coolies" fit only for work in the canfields. This viewpoint was confirmed to me in numerous other interviews with prominent brown and black members of Trinidad & Tobago society, one of whom stated that, in his opinion, members of his group are less worried about the economic rise of the Indians in the commercial field, since this has been going on for some time and is basically now taken for granted. According to this informant, Indians are seen by blacks and browns as more suited culturally for commerce (compare Ryan's recent remarks on this phenomenon [1991b: 182-3]). But employment in public service is a different matter, since this has long been considered to be the traditional stronghold of the upwardly mobile and educated black person - very much in keeping with what I have termed the "creole continuum" model of social mobility.

The factors involved in this rapid Indian social mobility are complex and some of them are dealt with at more length elsewhere in this report, but they include the increased access to secondary and tertiary education in the post-independence period, a more collectivist orientation in family and extended kinship behavior, culturally conditioned attitudes to saving and capital formation, greater geographical mobility consequent on improved access to transport and widespread job opportunities during the oil boom, and a related shift in Indian population distribution from rural to urban districts. In the particular case of Indian women, as we have already seen, they have often made use of an extended period of education and subsequent salaried work to escape from the restrictions of early marriage and domesticity (see Mohammed 1988: 391 et passim), although the salaried labor force participation rate of Indian women in 1980 still remained the lowest among women of all major racial groups (Reddock 1991: 215). And for Indian youth in general during the post-independence period, there has been a tendency to seek to escape the low paid and stigmatized agricultural employment of their parents and grandparents in favor of urban salaried or self-employed occupations.

Statistical evidence for Indian social mobility remains patchy, largely because longitudinal studies of the racial or ethnic composition of the Trinidad & Tobago labor force have not been systematically pursued, but the composite picture that can be pieced together from various sources is a consistent one. Studies referring to the late colonial period show that the Indian social category experienced the lowest average level of income of any major group in Trinidad & Tobago, with other indices of relative Indian "economic well-being" (see Dookeran 1985: 63 et passim) being equally low. The pattern of Indian salaried employment in 1970, as revealed by the Central Statistical Office's Manpower Income Report cited above (Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office 1973), still showed the marked disadvantage of the Indian category relative to other racial groups but the trend in such comparative economic indicators was consistently positive and by 1975/76, as Harewood and Henry report (1985: 65), the average monthly income of Indian households

exceeded that of African households for the first time. Reddock's recently published work, based on data from the 1960 and 1980 national censuses as well as the Continuous Sample Survey of the Central Statistical Office from 1989, further confirms this trend. Reddock states (1991: 232):

> Whatever the findings of Dookeran in the early 1970s the situation is much changed at the end of the 1980s. By each of the three indicators used in this study - occupation, education, and employment status - Indians in general have been experiencing the most significant degrees of mobility overall, while whites in many instances have actually moved downwards.

In the particular case of Indian women, the progressive, albeit still modest, increase in their participation rate in the salaried labor force must be seen in the context of a general trend for all Trinidad & Tobago women to become more economically active in the public domain during the post-independence period, a trend which appears to be correlated with a substantial increase in the average female school-leaving age in the same period (Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Central Statistical Office 1977: iii; Harewood 1984; Heath, DaCosta & Sheon 1988: 6). As we have seen, this educational trend is more strongly accentuated for Indian women because of the relatively lower average educational levels that obtained in this category prior to independence.

Considering the general issue of the relative improvement in educational levels of the Indian and other racial categories further, in the course of my field research I obtained several detailed cross-tabulations from the 1980 national census which reveal some interesting patterns. For example, as the following table shows, a larger proportion of the African population of Trinidad (i.e. excluding Tobago) are in full-time education than are the Indian, although the differential has reduced very substantially over the past 20 years (see the 1960 census statistics quoted in Cross & Schwartzbaum 1969) and will probably have been eliminated by 1990.

Proportions of African and Indian Population in Trinidad Aged 24 Years and Under in Full-Time Education in 1980 National Census

	African	Indian
Male	53.8%	46.8%
Female	57.9%	48.4%

Further light is also thrown on these educational questions by a comparison of the educational achievements of three different age cohorts in the 1980 census, divided by race.

Educational Qualifications as a Proportion of Total Population Not Attending School Full-Time for 3 Age Cohorts in 1980 Census, by Racial Group and Sex for Trinidad Only

		25 - 29 years		40 - 44 years		60 - 64 years	
		Afr.	Ind.	Afr.	Ind.	Afr.	Ind.
no exam passed	m	69.9%	70.3%	80.9%	83.7%	93.8%	93.4%
	f	62.4%	72.3%	83.4%	91.7%	95.6%	96.8%
5 or more 0 levels or grade 1 or 2 Sch.C.	m	5.4%	7.8%	3.0%	3.6%	0.9%	0.8%
	f	8.7%	7.8%	3.6%	1.8%	0.9%	0.4%
university degree	m	1.6%	2.1%	3.2%	2.7%	0.5%	0.9%
	f	1.4%	1.5%	1.4%	0.6%	0.1%	0.2%

Although these data do not take account of the educated Trinidadians who have been lost to overseas migration, they do appear to suggest that, in the post-independence period up to 1980, Indian males performed better in school than African males, while African women performed best of all. The poor educational opportunities available to Indian females prior to independence are clearly reflected in the figures for the 40 to 44 year age cohort, while the differences between these figures and those for the 25 to 29 year cohort speak eloquently of the extent to which Indian women grasped their educational opportunity once it became available. Overall, these data confirm the major educational progress that women had achieved in Trinidad & Tobago during the post-independence period up to 1980.

A study by Jules (1991) provides us with even more recent data that largely confirm the trends already established. Looking at secondary school enrollments and drop-out rates, Jules shows that although males and females are admitted in roughly equal numbers to the secondary schools in her sample, males subsequently drop out more rapidly than females, there being no significant difference between Afro-Trinidadian and Indo-Trinidadian in this regard. Indo-Trinidadian women have the best school survival rate in this study, slightly ahead of that of Afro-Trinidadian women.

As another means of bringing the educational achievement picture up to the present day, I made a rough assessment of the present racial composition of a 20 percent sample of the UWI at St. Augustine student body, based on the 1986/87 student registration data. By counting the proportions of students with Indian surnames, a procedure that would tend to underestimate the percentage of Indian students since significant numbers of them have Anglicized surnames (although some of those with Indian surnames would be classified as "Mixed" race in the national census), I arrived at the figures in the following table.

Proportions of Undergraduate Students with Indian Surnames at U.W.I. at St. Augustine in 1986/87 Academic Year

Faculty of Agriculture	60%
Fac. of Arts & Gen. St.	38%
Fac. of Education	3%
Fac. of Engineering	39%
Fac. of Nat. Sciences	57%
Fac. of Social Sci.	26%
Average for 6 Faculties	42%

Fac. of Medicine - total clinical students	40%
Fac. of Law - total law students	58%

These figures, which should be compared with the fact that in the 1980 census the Indian racial category comprised 40.6 percent of the total population of Trinidad & Tobago, suggest that Indians have continued to expand their educational participation rate over the last decade. (See Ryan [1991a:71] for a similar analysis of university participation rates by ethnicity.)

Since the pioneering study of Rubin & Zavalloni (1969: 78) at the end of the colonial period, research in Trinidad has consistently documented the strength of Indian students' motivation to grasp any educational opportunity that came their way as a means of escaping a life of degrading agricultural labor. Christian Indian students were able to take this step sooner than Muslims or Hindus who, by and large, had to wait until the development of the mass education system in the post-independence period (Mohammed 1988: 382,389). But did this rejection of the life style that their parents and grandparents knew imply a corresponding rejection of Indian culture more generally and an espousal of Western modernist values according to the canons of the black to brown to white creole continuum? (After all, black youth were equally or even more vehement in their condemnation of agricultural employment than Indians.) In the context of our present discussion, this question is of far-reaching significance since it raises the issue of the extent to which the modern mass educational system of Trinidad & Tobago has been able (or is likely) to fundamentally transform the attitudes of Indian youth to social status and social mobility. This issue, in turn, can be seen to have potential repercussions in diverse areas of national life, not the least being a possible decline in the clientelist and putatively traditionalist modes of politico-religious mobilization such as those of the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha, whose strength was long deeply rooted among the poorly educated Hindu agricultural laborers of the sugar zone. This question is too complex to be fully thrashed out here, although as I have already argued in my earlier discussion of family values, my answer would not support Braithwaite's creolization or similar modernization theory theses, which tend to pay too little attention to polarizing effects of ethnic politics. As Vertovec's (1987) thesis and my own fieldwork show (and has been argued in Klass's recent [1991] restudy of Indian society in Trinidad & Tobago), despite the facts of a relatively improved access to education and higher grade employment opportunities for Indians, particularly Hindus, during the past several decades, such processes have not led to a homogenization of ethnic categories under the general rubric of creolization or modernization since they have taken place in the context of marked ethnic competition. Whatever the objective degree of cultural difference between present day

ethnic groups in Trinidad & Tobago, which seems indubitably to have narrowed thanks to the extension of education and greater social and geographical mobility of all groups in the society in recent years, ethnic differences continue to be subjectively asserted, or created for the purpose, in order to recruit followings or maintain group boundaries within the competitive polarities of ethnic politics.

CONCLUSION

The society of Trinidad & Tobago today has changed markedly from the society of the late colonial period. As we have seen, the great improvement of transport, the relative decline in importance of agriculture, the extension of secondary education and other modern facilities into the rural areas and the continuing attraction of the towns have had the effect of reducing rural-urban contrasts and largely eliminating the peasant-like character of life in the rural areas. At the same time, opportunities for social mobility have been enhanced. The advent of independent, democratically-elected government has substantially undercut the privileges of the formerly dominant white elite and many of them have emigrated. The progressively diminishing white community, along with other small groups such as the Chinese and the Syrian/Lebanese, are still disproportionately represented among the national elite, but they have been joined there by a heterogeneous grouping drawn from all the racial and ethnic groups of the islands.

Below the elite category, thanks to the combined effects of the oil boom and the great expansion of secondary and tertiary schooling in Trinidad & Tobago, social mobility has also been substantial. The formerly marked tendency for certain occupations to be undertaken by members of particular racial or ethnic groups has significantly declined, although it has not been altogether eliminated. In particular, civil service employment, like other white-collar jobs, is now racially and culturally more integrated, with Indians having made particularly rapid strides in this sector.

At the bottom of the social scale, however, there has been a recent worrying expansion and `entrenchment' of the very poor. The growth in this social sector appears to be due, largely, to the generalized processes of urbanization referred to above, combined with the substantial influx of relatively poor and unskilled migrants from neighboring Caribbean countries. The rate of this population concentration has clearly outpaced the growth of employment opportunities in the urban areas, even during the oil boom. The extremes of poverty were palliated, under the PNM administration, by government social welfare and make-work programs, but the last decade - the post-oil-boom, structural adjustment era - has witnessed a deterioration of the situation. During the same period, the emergence of an internationally-linked network of drug-dealing, combined with a more well-developed culture of gang behavior owing much to examples drawn from the United States and Jamaica, has offered an attractive, if anti-social, alternative to poverty.

This category contains both blacks/browns and Indians, but lower class consciousness appears to have developed much more strongly in the black category - especially in the squatter settlements that dot the landscape on the margins of the more urbanized areas. To a significant degree, it seems likely that the present Trinidad & Tobago educational arrangements have unwittingly contributed to the heightening of the feelings of deprivation

of this "underclass", since it is this group which is disproportionately subject to the institutionalized failure consequent upon the Common Entrance examination. It is the children of this group who experience the socially dysfunctional junior secondary schools, with their half-day shifts and increased problems of monitoring children's out-of-school time, their inappropriate and demotivating curriculum, their gang violence and the other negative features of present-day youth culture. But it is also this group who, having glimpsed the promise of social mobility offered by independence, are inclined to feel cheated and disinherited when they reflect on their lot. It was this feeling that Abu Bakr and his fellow Black Muslim plotters sought to mobilize during their abortive coup d'état in August 1990. Although the crowds who took to the streets were `street-wise' enough to confine their activities to looting (realizing, no doubt, that it was not a revolution that was in the offing), their actions should nonetheless have sent a signal to the rest of Trinidad & Tobago that a social time-bomb was primed and ticking.

Although an analysis of the patterns of economic stratification within Trinidad & Tobago society provides us with a framework for appreciating the potential for social mobility in present-day society, it must be recognized that the dominant politico-cultural cleavage remains that of ethnicity/race - especially the divide separating "Afro-Trinidadians" from "Indo-Trinidadians" (c.f. M.G. Smith 1984: 94). This is so despite the decline, objectively speaking, in cultural difference between the ethnic/racial categories in Trinidad & Tobago society since the late colonial period. In many respects, thanks to the development of mass education, greater geographical mobility, the pervasive influence of the mass media, and the development of "middle class", consumer-oriented culture consequent to the widespread improvement in standards of living, the lifestyles of most of the citizens of Trinidad & Tobago have been significantly homogenized. This cultural homogenization process has been visible within the black/brown segment of the creole social continuum as an effect of the 1970 Black Power movement, which encouraged this group to think of themselves as uniformly "African" - a term which formerly had been unpopular. Equally, as Premdas and Sitahal (1991: 347) have discussed with regard to the "re-Indianization of the Presbyterian (Indians)", for example, there have been processes of cultural homogenization at work within the Indian category as well. However, as we have seen, significant cultural differences do continue to exist within Trinidad & Tobago society - chiefly in the familial, religious and commercial domains. And it is on the basis of popular perceptions of these cultural differences, combined with attitudes toward racial distinction, that ethnic identities continue to be constructed as opposed categories in the competition for political power and social status within Trinidad & Tobago society.

In the context of this marked ethnic pluralism and the relative suppression during the colonial period of competing cultural voices by the anglocentric values of the creole continuum, the field of education has been, in the post-independence period, something of a battleground for social and cultural supremacy between the various ethnic segments that together make up Trinidad & Tobago national society. Although it is true in a general sense today, as Braithwaite (1975 [1953]: 82,114) claimed during the colonial period, that a highly positive attitude to education is a widely shared value that cuts across ethnic and class lines in Trinidad & Tobago, we have seen that markedly different opinions and viewpoints exist on issues of educational access and curriculum content. In other words, there is a general

agreement in Trinidad & Tobago about the value of obtaining an education, but this "shared value" merely sets the stage for socially divisive competition and disagreement.

With the educational system still oriented, to a substantial degree, toward enhanced social mobility and the production of an elite, a central question in the context of the post-independence educational expansion has been - which group(s) have profited most from the opportunity? The answer, as we have seen (and against the expectations of members of the creole continuum), is clearly - the Indians. All the various qualitative and quantitative measures of educational access and achievement that we dispose of for the past three decades reveal that the Indians, as a census category, have moved from a position at the bottom of the national table of educational qualifications to a position somewhat ahead of the African category. The non-Christian Indian groups, in particular, have made the greatest relative process, since Christian Indians began the post-independence period at a higher relative position than the Hindus or Muslims. As we have noted, this has not yet been translated into full parity for Indians in occupational access in the important area of government employment, where persons of African descent remain more numerous, but there has nonetheless been substantial progress. On the other hand, the dominance of Indians over persons of African descent in the small business sector does not appear to have lessened over this period (see Harewood & Henry 1985: 74-5).

In large measure, this article has been devoted to an analysis of the effects of the movement from the highly selective educational system of the late colonial period, with its tight linkage to the values of the creole continuum and to the English grammar school model, toward a mass educational system closely associated, from its inception, with nationalistic political goals. An inevitable concomitant of this great widening of access to secondary and tertiary education, which was a major aim and achievement of Eric Williams and the PNM government during their thirty years in power, has been the placing of educational questions at the centre of public awareness and the stimulation of debate on the national education system. Until the 1970 Black Power events which irrevocably changed the terms of this educational debate, it is clear that Eric Williams and his associates had not adequately foreseen the social implications of a mass educational system and tended instead to operate on the familiar assumptions implicit in the ideology of the creole continuum according to which education was viewed, unproblematically, as a mechanism that offered the potential for increased upward mobility and social equality for all members of society. To quote Harewood and Henry (1985: 73),

> True to their own experience, the black intellectuals, who came to power in 1956, saw education as the major avenue for economic mobility and for the escape from poverty for their mass base.

As a consequence of this somewhat naive conceptualization and the failure of the PNM government adequately to prepare its citizens for the likely impact of its educational policies, public expectations have often run unrealistically high and many citizens of Trinidad & Tobago have thus come to view some of the results of these educational changes with concern and disillusionment. The notion among many at the time of independence that expansion of secondary and tertiary education would make possible a "prestige" education for the majority has obviously not been realized. There has also been the phenomenon of inflation of educational credentials, which has meant that today, for example, traditional

measures of educational success in the form of a "full certificate" of 5 "O" level examination passes or, for that matter, even a university degree, are no longer guarantees of a job.

On the whole, despite expansion of the system, socially conservative conceptions of education have continued to predominate throughout the post-independence period. Although piecemeal attempts have been made to adapt curricula and examinations to the realities of West Indian life, schools continue to be plagued with problems in these areas. It is not therefore surprising that, as we have seen above, the last two decades have witnessed the emergence, in some of the large government secondary schools, of serious problems of student disorder and lack of motivation. There have been particular problems in the field of vocational education - an area in which the English educational model, from which that of Trinidad & Tobago was derived, is seriously deficient. Indeed, much as Miller (1976: 64) indicated for the Jamaican educational system, vocational education in Trinidad & Tobago continues to constitute an option only for the "so-called dull students who having `failed with their heads' are being given a chance to do well `with their hands'". Despite much government rhetoric to the contrary, and very large sums of money being `thrown' at the problem, I would argue that the latent function of vocational education programs in the Trinidad & Tobago system, i.e. to keep potentially disorderly youth off the streets, has been at least as important to the government, from 1970 up to the present, as is its manifest training function.

Looking back over the past thirty years, I would argue that a "window of opportunity" for significant upward social mobility was opened for many non-whites in Trinidad & Tobago society in the first two decades after independence (and especially after 1973 as a result of the oil boom and the expansion of secondary and tertiary education). But, progressively during the 1980s, this window has been closing through the combined effects of the economic downturn and the increasing educational levels of the population at large. The elitism of the educational system has been maintained, throughout this period, thanks to the (predictable) support of the elite themselves, who often occupy the key decision-making positions that would be capable of bringing about change. The elite have also managed to preserve their privileged access to the "prestige" school sector due to their ability to fund private pre-school and "prep school" education for their children, allied with the operation of the government Concordat for the denominational prestige schools. But it must be acknowledged as well that the elitist tendency of the Trinidad & Tobago educational system has also been supported by many of the less advantaged in society, who wish to see preserved what they still consider to be their main gateway to social mobility.

One can say that, during the early post-independence period, education was a necessary and sufficient condition for access to white collar employment in Trinidad & Tobago society but that, nowadays, it remains necessary but is no longer sufficient in the absence of further economic expansion. This has been a widespread trend in social change in much of the Third World after decolonization but has been relatively more accentuated in Trinidad & Tobago because of the particularly rapid pace of its educational change.

Education has transformed society but not, by and large, as envisioned by Eric Williams and the PNM. Contrary to the predictions of the "human capital" theorists in development economics (e.g., Schultz 1961; Psachoropaulos, Tan & Jimenez 1986, quoted in

Brizan 1991), increased access to and levels of secondary education for the population at large appear to have contributed in only a modest way to economic expansion and the reduction of unemployment (although these effects are admittedly hard to measure) but have substantially increased the available avenues of social mobility for some less-advantaged groups. However, the groups that have benefited most, relatively speaking, have not been the mass of black PNM supporters. In this regard, Harewood & Henry's prescient remarks (1985: 80), which were focused on the Trinidad & Tobago economy, apply equally well to the educational system:

> The moral of our piece is simple. Unless there is a genuine re-distribution such that income and assets position can scarcely be related to ethnicity, the internal tensions of the society, which may be manageable when everybody's income is growing, even though at different rates, can become highly explosive in periods of slow growth and recession. At such times, when sacrifices have to be made, the differential suffering has serious political and social consequences.

With the growth of zones of urban and suburban poverty and the failure of the new mass secondary educational system to develop appropriate educational methods for the lower 50 percent of the academic achievement range, it is not surprising that Trinidad & Tobago has experienced a marked expansion of social unrest and disillusionment, especially among black urban youth. Although it would be wrong, in my opinion, to consider the educational system to be the chief cause of this increasing inequality and related social unrest, it is certainly not in the general interest of Trinidad & Tobago society that the system is still so influenced by an elitist model, as epitomized by the Common Entrance Examination and the Concordat provisions, which communicates a message of failure to a large proportion of its participants. But should the Trinidad & Tobago government contemplate significant educational change in response to such considerations, it will be forced to walk a tight-rope between the Scylla of alienating the national elite, who are well represented in all present political parties and who are also parents interested in seeing their children step into their shoes, and the Charybdis of political unrest by the disaffected urban poor, the unemployed, and the school drop-outs, who must somehow be given a significant educational stake in the system.

In cultural terms, the difficult questions concerning the appropriate role and content of education, both formal and informal, in relation to the aim of constructing a national culture for Trinidad & Tobago society also remain unresolved. As we have already seen, the potential for any group or individual to exercise leadership in nationalistic cultural projects has constantly been vitiated by the pervasive ethnic politics of Trinidad & Tobago, which remains the primary stumbling block in this regard. At the same time, we have also noted the prominence and vitality of certain aspects of popular culture including the carnival and Hosey festivals, calypso, steel band, parang, tassa drumming, soca, etc. - forms derived almost entirely from the less advantaged sectors of society and each having its particular ethnic referent. While such active cultural leadership by the lower classes is surely to be applauded, it is certainly not desirable that the intellectual classes in Trinidad & Tobago society generally fail to play a more active role. This failure is historically rooted in the social conditions of Trinidad & Tobago's colonial experience - the overseas derivation of its educational and intellectual canons, coupled with the tendency for many of its greatest writers, artists and intellectuals to migrate abroad to seek recognition and fortune. At the

same time, an excessively technicist attitude toward education, noticeable both in the government's strong emphasis on vocational education and in the UWI at St. Augustine, where the scientific, technological and professional faculties have been central to the university's development, has also been partially responsible for the relative lack of a more widespread public involvement by the intellectual elite in the national cultural project. It is certainly high time, for example, that the university was equipped with a centre of performing and fine arts that could help focus efforts, and provide livelihoods, in this area.

With active nationalistic cultural projects dismissed as ethnically partisan or being sidetracked by sectional pressures, the centre stage has been left free for the perpetuation of the dominance of cultural forms derived from overseas. In the late colonial period, these cultural forms and educational values were principally imported from England, in keeping with the cultural logic of the creole social continuum. Today, these English influences have largely been replaced (despite the continued popularity of the English grammar school model) by cultural canons derived from North America - transmitted via the media and by the experience of overseas travel. Thus the culturally alienating logic of the creolization process, established during the colonial period, is still present and operative, despite the change in focus regarding the cultural ideals to be emulated. There is consequently a continued orientation among both the elite and the less advantaged members of society toward consumption of foreign culture and participation in overseas economic opportunities, and this in turn continues to reinforce these tendencies in education and national cultural life generally. Against such an ever-prominent discourse of cultural subordination, the counterposed voices of authenticity or nationalism find difficulty in expressing themselves.

What is education for? Development of the individual, national development, enhancement of citizens' prospects for overseas migration, education for jobs, basic literacy and numeracy, moral or religious education, propagation of racial pride, maintenance of the status quo, or what? Whereas the intellectual leaders of the creole continuum were quite certain of their educational aims, there has been a proliferation of competing educational goals since independence, which correspond closely to the ethnically plural structure of Trinidad & Tobago society, as well as to its patterns of economic stratification. During colonial times, C. L. R. James (1986 [1963]: 72) had no doubt that since the passions of "race, class and caste" were denied normal outlets, they "expressed themselves ... fiercely in cricket". Today, it is education that is one of the chief outlets for these passions - a playing field on which unfolds the continuing struggle of competing forces for political, economic and cultural hegemony.

A POSTSCRIPT: EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE PROVISION OF SOCIAL NEEDS

One of the stated objectives of our collaborative research project on "Education and Society in the Creole Caribbean" was to determine "whether and how these educational systems have served to promote development in their respective societies or to increase the potential for development". The definition of development adopted in the proposal was "those processes by which units of any kind, whether organisms, species or societies, increase their abilities to cope with their environments". The proposal goes on to argue that:

> ... a society's development can be assessed in terms of the numbers of skilled personnel of different kinds that are available and needed for the aggregate to cope with its internal requirements of all kinds and to exploit and expand its environment constructively. On this definition, a good index of the relative development of a social system is the degree of rationality in the ordering of its collective goals and in the allocation and use of available means, both material and human, for their pursuit.

However, such an approach to the evaluation of development, while apparently having the advantage of being relatively easy to quantify, does beg a number of thorny and value-laden questions which must inevitably be addressed in any attempt to assess the impact and future direction of educational change in Trinidad & Tobago.

In practice, utilization of the definition of development contained in our research proposal would impose the necessity of making a series of political value judgments which, in the highly plural cultural context of Trinidad & Tobago (as probably in any reasonably complex society), would lead to the favoring of the interests of certain groups over those of others. Put in another way, the phrase "collective goals" in the above quotation appears to posit a degree of consensus about desirable directions of social change which is absent in Trinidad & Tobago society today, as it was in the past. The reference to the concept of rationality in the definition, of course, envisions the possibility of a value-free assessment of development, whatever the declared political interests of the groups concerned but, in practice, this proves to be impossible. One example should suffice.

Given the immigration policies of most `First World' countries according to which preference is given to admitting persons with professional and other high level academic qualifications, the large increase in secondary and tertiary educational provision within Trinidad & Tobago during the post-independence period has undoubtedly contributed, as we have seen, to a substantial "brain drain" overseas. From a certain perspective, this can be counted as a wastage of the country's assets, since most of these persons will have benefited from state-funded education and the pool of trained labor within the country has been depleted by their departure. During the 1960s, the Trinidad & Tobago government made limited efforts to protect or recoup its educational investment in government scholarship holders by contractual stipulations that required persons trained on government development scholarship funds to fulfill a minimum period of government employment after completing their studies. But beyond such limited efforts, what should be/have been the government's attitude to the brain drain and related phenomena? How much of the country's educational investment should be devoted to achieving a level of higher education which will make Trinidad & Tobago graduates competitive on the international professional labor market, risking thereby a sizable outflow of such highly trained people but probably reducing as well the need to hire in expensive technical experts from overseas?

Would this money have been better spent, say, on less advanced and less technically oriented academic training at the tertiary level (particularly focusing on training for an eventual teaching career), combined with a much greater allocation of state resources to the pre-school through 14+ (i.e., the end of junior secondary school) educational phase, with the main aim being to produce a large number of more highly trained and effective primary teachers and a high level of functional literacy and numeracy for all children? If such policies had been proposed at the time of independence, they would no doubt have been

viewed with suspicion by the mass of the PNM's lower class supporters, who would have considered them to be a recipe for creating a large corps of functional but not highly skilled workers and a means of perpetuating the inequalities of the colonial system. To have been acceptable to the lower, non-white classes in Trinidad & Tobago society, such policies would have had to be proposed as part of a thoroughgoing attack on the elitist colonial educational system, with its system of denominational prestige schools. But denominational education was popular with many Trinidadians, rich and poor alike, and this political consideration probably explains Eric Williams's grudging decision to negotiate the Concordat in 1960. Although it seems certain that, if more radical educational policies had been pushed through, Trinidad & Tobago would be a very different society than it is today, but would it be a society that was better able "to cope with its internal requirements of all kinds and to exploit and expand its environment constructively"? An answer to this question, it seems to me, will inevitably be based on one's social values (specifically with regard to one's interpretation of the notions of "internal requirements" and "constructively" in the definition of development quoted above). I do not believe that anthropology, or any other social science for that matter, has the tools to formulate an objective answer.

Having expressed this caveat concerning the inevitably value-laden character of any discussion of educational development and the provision of social needs (and I stress that many more examples in addition to that provided above could easily be offered), I feel able to offer some suggestions for educational change in Trinidad & Tobago. Few of these are novel, but they are at least offered against the backcloth of an analysis of the changing structures and value orientations of present-day society, which should assist the reader in assessing the motivations behind these proposals. On the basis of this analysis, it is my view that:

1.) The major risk facing Trinidad & Tobago society in the next decade arises from resurgent levels of economic inequality and the continued prominence of ethnic cleavages. Faced with this situation, I would argue that the Trinidad & Tobago government must make every effort to prevent its educational system from further contributing to an accentuation of these patterns of inequality.

2.) The functioning of the Trinidad & Tobago educational system has been hindered in the post-independence period by unrealistic expectations on the part of successive governments that education would contribute in a direct and measurable way to the country's economic development. This has led to a simplicistic technicist bias in the development of education and to an attempt at excessively meticulous and detailed planning of the Trinidad & Tobago educational system in relation to perceived economic needs and goals, which has largely proved unsuccessful.

3.) Trinidad & Tobago, as a tiny Caribbean country, albeit a relatively wealthy one, is intimately linked with the wider world system. In such conditions, while the national educational system's pattern of development will inevitably reflect this linkage, the Trinidad & Tobago government must strive to ensure that the system responds, as far as possible, to locally adapted needs and fosters thereby an enhanced sense of truly national identity.

* * * * *

Following on from the general considerations listed above, I would propose the following changes. I stress at the outset that achieving change in any educational system should normally be a matter of evolution rather than revolution, since education, by its very nature, is a complex process requiring a relatively long time period to be effectively redirected.

One obvious area for change, which the NAR government has recently been making limited efforts to achieve, is at the state-funded pre-school level. This must be greatly expanded over the coming years (as sufficient well-trained specialist teachers become available) primarily as a form of compensatory education for the children of the disadvantaged in society. (The use of the voluntary organization SERVOL as prime-mover in this program is much to be applauded, given this group's richly deserved international reputation for effective methods of grass-roots development and early childhood education.) Indeed, this policy of compensatory education must be extended into the primary schools. Much more can be done to improve basic literacy and numeracy, through further upgrading of teachers' skills, and to compensate for inadequate home environments, one parent families, working mothers, etc., through after-hours activity groups and remedial classes. There may be potential here as well to utilize SERVOL-style community participatory methods - thereby breaking down the barrier that presently exists in many schools between parents and teachers.

However, the educational effects of such innovations at the primary school level will always remain limited as long as the necessity to retain the Common Entrance (11+) Exam exists, and it must be remembered that the screening functions of this exam arise not only from the inadequate overall national provision and uneven spatial distribution of secondary places but also from the "prestige school" syndrome. Given that it is politically unlikely that the denominational schools will be nationalized (although they should be required to adopt more comprehensive intake policies and the Concordat provision giving denominational secondary heads the right to select 20 percent of their schools' intakes should be abolished), strategies must be found to improve the academic reputations and effectiveness of the government secondaries.

A significant area of improvement, which would be relatively budget-neutral aside from the provision of additional responsibility allowances, would be to enhance the managerial powers of the headmasters of government secondaries, both with regard to matters of teacher employment as well as to school finance, bringing them much more closely into line with those presently enjoyed by denominational school heads. If available, substantial sums of money need to be spent urgently on achieving a truly universal secondary education system, on the deshifting of junior secondaries, and on the replacement of the 3+2 year system with a 5 year composite school norm. The necessary funds might well be forthcoming if the government and the international lending agencies have been sufficiently worried by the events of August 1990 (and do not misinterpret them simply as the work of a small group of religious/political fanatics) and if the socially disruptive effects of the present system are clearly highlighted. The point here surely is that despite the relatively greater development of the Trinidad & Tobago educational system compared with those of most neighboring countries, the effective "freezing" of the expansion of the system at a level at which there remain glaring inequalities is generating detrimental consequences for Trinidad & Tobago society as a whole. But whatever the funding situation, a radical reappraisal of the

junior secondary curriculum taught to the bottom 50 percent of the country's 11+ to 14 year old students is certainly required, leading to a marked reduction in the range of subjects taught, much more time spent on basic literacy and numeracy, abolition of the 14+ exam, and an innovative focus on learning basic life skills in areas related to work, family and public life, sports and leisure.

Looking further at the sphere of secondary education within Trinidad & Tobago, I would argue that technical and vocational education within the secondary schools is failing in its present form. The more satisfactory record of secondary-level technical and vocational education in other countries, several of the northern European countries for example, demonstrates that such failure is not inevitable; however, in the social and educational context of Trinidad & Tobago society, success is proving much more elusive. In any case, it must be remembered that: a) technical and vocational educational facilities in Trinidad & Tobago have over expanded to such a degree that it is unlikely that the government can continue to fund this level of provision, b) meticulous attempts at prediction of national manpower needs and the related educational planning structures at the National Training Board have proved to be largely ineffectual, and c) the government's hopes that technical and vocational education could go a long way toward relieving the problem of unemployment have turned out to be much too optimistic. This latter point has been made repeatedly over the years by many commentators (see especially Richards 1984), but perhaps most eloquently by Figueroa (1971, quoted in Mohammed 1991: 144): "To educate for manpower needs and not manhood is bound to end in frustration and perhaps bloodshed, for it raises people's expectations for dignity as well as bread." The case seems overwhelming that, as suggested above, Trinidad & Tobago should progressively move toward a basic 5 year composite school norm in which, for students in the lower academic streams, basic literacy and numeracy would comprise the main focus of study in the first three years, with technical and vocational education only figuring prominently in the final two.

At the top of the educational ladder, the recent institution of tuition fees (a "cess") for all Trinidad & Tobago students at the UWI, raises some interesting issues and possibilities with regard to the government's role in financing education. I think there is a strong case that the tradition of free state education at all levels, established at independence, has been carried to an extreme and now limits desirable further development of the system. Selective use of graduated scales of fees to further specific government policy objectives, combined with a system of means-tested scholarships to equalize social access, would now seem warranted. There are many examples of possible applications of such a policy, which would go a long way toward removing the financial constraint on educational development. Means-tested fees in the denominational school sector would be one - with any financial surplus thus generated being used to construct more government secondary schools. I would also propose that: a) state support of teacher training, and the single remaining teacher training college, be abolished, b) a B.Ed. program be instituted at UWI, with a preferentially low rate of cess being charged on this new course in order to attract applicants, c) an important element of coursework in the B.Ed. be devoted to subjects relevant to early childhood education, with another course stream being available in technical and vocational education (combined with use of the UWI's special university entrance regulations to recruit mature candidates with industrial or commercial work experience, but lacking normal university entry qualifications). In conjunction with the above changes, negotiations with the teachers' union

(TTUTA) should be begun with a view to fundamentally reorganizing the salary grading structure for teachers. The aim here should be to move to a position in which a university education would be the normal entry condition into the teaching service, at primary as well as secondary levels, with appropriate alternative career routes being available for vocational teachers. Over the longer term, such a policy would help to reaffirm the professional status of teachers, while developing skills that would do much to enhance the socially compensatory effects of education, especially for the earlier age groups.

Finally, I would reiterate the proposal which I made in the concluding section above that the UWI at St. Augustine be equipped with a centre of performing and fine arts that could help focus efforts and provide livelihoods in this important area for the development of a national cultural consciousness.

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STATISTICAL REVIEW OF POPULATION AND EDUCATION

IN

TRINIDAD & TOBAGO, BARBADOS AND GRENADA

JACK HAREWOOD[2]

2

A number of persons, in each of the three countries, assisted the section author either by obtaining data from publications not now easily available, or by preparing special tabulations not previously published. Among these were:

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INTRODUCTION

This survey provides statistical background for the preceding anthropological studies of Trinidad & Tobago, Barbados and Grenada. It is based on the statistical tables, compiled by the author in accordance with specifications by the project directorate, located in section VI and takes the form of a review for each country in turn and a concluding summary comparative comment on the sources, availability and comparability of the data. The survey was completed in May, 1991.

For each country we use data for three or four post-war years, selected by the project anthropologist in that country, to highlight changes in social and economic conditions and in education. The years have been selected especially to contrast the pre- and post-independence periods. They are as follows:

Trinidad & Tobago	Barbados	Grenada
1959/1960	1964/1965	1969/1970
1969/1970	1979/1980	1979/1980
1979/1980	1983/1984	1986/1987
1986/1987		

The topics covered are: population; economic background; labor force; and education, this last dealing with national expenditure on education, the educational level of the population, and Enrollment, teachers and, where appropriate, output at each level of education.

At the outset of the period covered in each country, formal schooling was provided at the primary level for ages 5 or 6 to 14 years, and at the secondary level from 12 to 18 years. There was no local university education. There was, however, some limited adult and technical education provided.

During the period under review there has been appreciable change in the quantity and quality of secondary education. At present there is some pre-primary education in all three countries. In Trinidad & Tobago this is not formally integrated into the education system; there are nursery schools and kindergartens operated by both public and private institutions. In Barbados there were no pre-primary schools in 1964/65. In 1979/80 and 1983/84, however, there were three Nursery Schools catering to children under 5 years of age. These are included as primary. In Grenada, only for the final year – 1986/87, is there information about pre-primary education. In that year there were 5 Nursery and 68 pre-primary schools. This information is dealt with in the text but is not included in the Tables.

Primary education now covers children from 5 to 11 years; by the end of this period

all children now sit a scholarship examination on the basis of which places in the secondary schools allotted. Before the mid-l960s, the best students were selected in most schools to sit this scholarship examination. Since then, however, starting in Trinidad & Tobago, all students are required to sit this examination, which is used to determine the order of the children rather than to pass or fail.

The pupils are allowed to select two or three schools of their choice and most of them, of course, opt to attend one of the older, traditional grammar schools. Since these schools can take only a small proportion of the total, the three governments have greatly increased the number of secondary school places by introducing additional secondary schools. In Trinidad & Tobago, from the early 1970s, students who cannot be accommodated in the traditional grammar schools are allotted, again on the basis of availability of places, into the new Junior Secondary schools where they are exposed to a broad curriculum for 3 years, after which they are offered places in the Senior Comprehensive Schools for ages 15 to 18 plus. There are also a few Composite schools (3 in 1980) which students enter at age 11 and go through the normal five-year period of secondary education, but are given a choice of courses in academic and vocational institutions.

In Barbados, in 1964/65, there was, in addition to the older Secondary Grammar schools, one (1) Comprehensive Secondary School. In later years additional secondary schools have been built and are distinguished as Older and Newer schools. There is no fundamental difference in the type of education of the two groups as in the case of Trinidad & Tobago, but the Older schools are, with justification, considered the elite and prestige schools of the system.

Grenada, like Trinidad & Tobago, has introduced the Junior Secondary school system, and by 1980 there were four such schools. As in the other countries the number of secondary schools has been expanded to meet the large growth in demand for school places.

In all three countries there are also private secondary schools. In Barbados a number of the private schools receive Government assistance and, in addition, some pupils who sit the 11+ examination but are not placed in the Government schools are given bursaries to the private schools.

Students who are not placed in a Secondary school as a result of the 11+ examination may opt to remain at Primary school up to age 15, taking a school leaving examination at age 14.

In both Trinidad & Tobago and Barbados a campus of The University of the West Indies has been set up during the period of our review. UWI was first established in Jamaica in 1948. In addition, there are extra-mural departments of the University, teachers training colleges and other institutions of grammar and technical tertiary education as detailed in the chapters for each country in this study.

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TRINIDAD & TOBAGO

a. Population and Emigration (Tables 1.1-1.5)

a.1 Population (Tables 1.1-1.4)

The population of Trinidad & Tobago increased from 829,000 in 1960 to 1,080,000 in 1980, an average rate of growth of 1.3 percent per annum over the 20-year period (Table 1.1). Allowing for an apparent under-count of about 4 percent at the 1970 census, the population grew more slowly in the 1970s (1.0 percent p.a.) than in the preceding decade (1.7 percent). After 1980, the population is estimated/projected to increase more rapidly (2-2.5 percent per annum), but the possibility that these later figures are too high cannot be ignored.

Table 1.2 shows that the crude birth rate (births per 1,000 population) fell by one-third between 1960 and 1970 (from 38 to 26) but increased slightly in the 1970s. It will be noted, however, that this slight increase was the result of a change in the age/sex structure of the population - a higher proportion being women of child-bearing age as the total fertility rate fell slightly in the 1970s. The crude death rate, on the other hand, fell slowly but steadily over the 20-year period 1960-1980.

Returning to Table 1.1, the declining CBR in the 1960s has resulted in a decline in the proportion of the population who are under 15 years of age, with a balancing increase in the two higher age-groups.

The two major ethnic groups in the country are persons of African and of Indian descent. The next largest group is persons classified as of Mixed origin. Table 1.3 shows a small but continuing drop in the proportion of African descent between 1960 and 1980. On the other hand, there has been increase in the proportion of Indian descent, particularly in the 1960s. The proportion 'Mixed' has fluctuated between 14 and 16 percent, a point referred to below. The other ethnic groups in the table - persons of European and of Chinese descent and 'Other' - are numerically small, but are much more important in the country's economic and social life than their numbers imply.

The information on ethnic origin has been obtained, at the censuses, in response to a direct question to respondents. There has been criticism of the categorization used and the method of collecting the data. In addition, there has been some evident inconsistency in responses, particularly of persons classified as Mixed. For example, the large dip in the proportion of persons classified as Mixed in 1970 may well reflect a greater tendency for such persons to identify themselves as 'African' during the period of 'Black Power' activity in that year. Despite these shortcomings, the classification by ethnic origin has proved of some usefulness in the preliminary analysis of population. Because of the small numbers in the other ethnic groups, such analysis is usually confined to a comparison of persons of African and Indian descent or, more usually, to a dichotomy of Indian and non-lndian

The three major religions in the country are Christian, Hindu and Muslim. The last two of these consist almost entirely of persons of Indian descent, though there is a small and

growing number of Muslims of African descent. The distribution of the population according to Religion, including the major Christian denominations, is given in Table 1.4.

In 1980, the largest single religious group was Roman Catholic--one-third of the total. The other two large groups were Hindu (one-quarter) and Anglican (15 percent). About 6 percent were Muslim. The other smaller denominations in the Table all had less than 4 percent, though many of them have denominational schools.

The proportion of the population reported as Anglican fell from 21 percent in 1960 to under 15 percent in 1980, while the proportion Roman Catholic, which was 36 percent in 1960 has since fallen to 33 percent. Two other smaller Christian denominations-- Methodist and Moravian--also declined as a proportion of the total, and so did Presbyterian (very slightly) in the 1970s. The other Christian denominations, on the other hand, while still quite small, have been steadily increasing in relative size. Of the two large non-Christian religious groups, the proportion Muslim has not changed significantly, but there has been a small increase in the proportion Hindu from 23 percent in 1960 to 25 percent in 1980.

In summary, then, there has been a small increase in the non-Christian religions, no doubt mirroring a somewhat larger increase in the population of Indian descent, while among the Christian group, there has been a shift away from the older and larger denominations to smaller and more recently established ones.

Table A. Percent Distribution of the Population of Trinidad & Tobago According to Administrative Area

Administrative Area	*Year*		
	1946	*1960*	*1980*
Total Population	557,970	827,957	1,045,042
Municipalities	23.7	17.5	12.4
Port of Spain	16.6	11.4	5.3
San Fernando	5.2	4.8	3.2
Arima	1.4	1.3	2.2
Point Fortin	. . .	. . .	1.6*
St. George	24.8	31.0	35.1
Caroni	11.1	10.9	13,3
Victoria	15.7	16.0	17.7
St. Patrick	12.4	13.1	10.3*
Eastern Counties	8.0	7,5	7.7
Tobago	4.9	4.0	3.7

*Prior to 1980 Point Fortin was included with St. Patrick County.

We conclude this section with a brief look at the geographic shift of population that has occured in the post-war period (Table A). In 1946, nearly one-quarter of the country's population was resident in the then three municipalities (Port of Spain, San Fernando and Arima). By 1980, despite the addition of a fourth municipality (Point Fortin), this proportion had fallen to just 12 percent. On the other hand, the County of St. George, which adjoins Port of Spain and in which the three largest wards are largely urban, increased its share of the population from 24 to 35 percent. There were only slight changes in the other administrative areas.

No satisfactory division of the population into urban and rural exists for the comparison of the data for the different censuses. As a crude indicator, the municipalities and the County of St. George can be taken as comprising the urban area. On this basis, however there is little change in the urban/rural distribution of the population, the proportion urban rising very slightly from 48.O in 1946 to 48.5 in 1960 and dropping to 47.5 in 1980. On the other hand the indications are that the geographic variation in the availability of amenities has been rapidly declining. An obvious indication, in the case of education, has been the rapid introduction of secondary schools into rural areas.

a.2 Emigration (Table 1.5)

Prior to 1960, the number of immigrants into Trinidad & Tobago, mainly from the neighboring smaller islands, far exceeded the number of emigrants. Since 1960, however, there has been appreciable net emigration, estimated at 110,000 in 1960-1969 and 94,000 in 1970-1979. [Guengant (1985)]. However, national statistics on international migration are limited and unreliable.

In this study, we confine our attention to the number of persons from this country recorded in the statistics of the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Canada as official immigrants. These are, necessarily, only a very small proportion of de facto emigration to these countries.

According to Table 1.5, the total number of migrants into North America in 1970 was 12,140, but this number halved in the decade to 6,100 in 1980, and in the next 5 years again fell by very nearly one-half to 3,500 in 1985. In 1970 the number of migrants into the USA was 7,350 and into Canada 4,800. By 1980, however, while migration to USA had fallen by 30 percent, the decline for Canada was 80 percent. In the first half of the 1980s, the decline for the USA was greater.

The number of students recorded in these statistics, on the other hand, increased by 80 percent between 1970 and 1985, from 1,600 to 2,700. In 1970 there were almost equal numbers of students in USA and Canada. The increase has been entirely to the USA.

In 1970, two-thirds of the migrants in the USA, and three-fourths of those in Canada were under 30 years old (Table B). Only 7 percent of migrants to Canada, and 15 percent of those to USA were over 40 years old in that year. By 1985, however, more than one quarter

of migrants to Canada was above 40. The latest figure for the USA (1979) showed 14 percent of the migrants in this age group.

Table B. Percent Distribution of Migrants in North America According to Age, and Sex Ratios

	Sex Ratio (M/1000)	*Age Group*			
		0-19	*20-29*	*30-39*	*40+*
Canada					
1970	952	31	46	17	7
1980	774	32	33	13	22
1985	772	24	32	16	27
U.S.A.					
1970	975	46	22	18	15
1979*	908	36	30	20	14

*The breakdown for 1980 for the USA is not available. The total number of migrants in 1979 was 5,225.

The decline in the number of migrants to Canada has been accompanied by a significant drop in the sex ratio, males falling from 95 per 100 females in 1970 to 77 in the 1980s.

b. Economic Background (Tables 2.1-2.4)

b.1 Gross Domestic Product (Table 2.1)

As can be seen from Appendix Table 2.1, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at current values, increased by a moderate 4 percent per annum, from $US536mn to $US822mn, between 1960 and 1970, but in the following decade, as a result of the substantial increases in the prices of crude and refined petroleum, grew by a massive 24 percent per annum from $US822mn to $US8,730mn. Following the crash in oil prices from 1983, GDP, at current prices had fallen by 3 per cent per annum between 1980 and 1985 ($US7,404mn). The GDP per head moved in a similar direction but at slightly lower rates of change, from $US838 in 1970 to $US8,084 in 1980 and $US6,268 in 1985.

The fact that it was increased prices rather than real output that accounted for the considerable increase in the 1970s is evident from the GDP at constant (1970) values, for which the rate of increase between 1970 and 1980 was only 3 percent (as against 24 percent above), so that the GDP at current values in 1980 was 7 1/2 times as high as it would have been had there been no price increases. Similarly, GDP per head at current values jumped to over $US8,000 in 1980: discounting the rise in prices the real GDP at 1970 prices was only $USl,060 per head. Real GDP per head also fell after 1983.

What is more remarkable is that the absolute rate of change per annum was greater in the period of decline (1980-1985) than during the period of rapid expansion. Thus, in the two periods 1970-1980 and 1980-1985, GDP at constant values first increased by 3 percent but then fell by 4 percent, while for GDP per head an increase of 2 percent was followed by a

decline of 5 percent per annum.

b.1.1. GDP by Industrial Sector (Table 2.2)

Table 2.2 shows the breakdown of the GDP at constant values by the three major industrial sectors - Agriculture, Industry and Services. Agriculture, which contributed only 5 percent in 1970, declined to 2 percent in 1980 and then rose slightly following the slump in oil prices. The changes in the other two sectors were minimal.

b.2 Average Export Prices (Table 2.3)

The average export prices of the two most important export items - crude petroleum and unrefined sugar - are shown in Table 2.3. In the case of petroleum, there was a fall of nearly 40 percent between 1960 and 1970 from $US16 per cubic meter to $US10, but by 1980 the price was 22 1/2 times higher at $US223. By 1986 it had halved to $US106.

In the case of unrefined sugar, there was little difference between the price at 1960 and 1970, but in 1980 there was an increase from $USl15 per tonne to $US437. While this increase was substantial it was not, of course, in any way of the order of increase in petroleum prices .

The $US exchanged at $TT1.71 in 1960, but increased steadily to $TT2.00 in 1970, $TT2.40 in 1980 and $TT3.60 in 1986.

b.3 **Central Government Expenditure (Table 2.4)**

Total Government expenditure which was just over $US91mn in 1960, increased moderately in the 1960s and then, with the oil boom jumped to $US2,341mn in 1980. Expenditure continued to rise, though at a considerably slower rate, in the period 1980-1986.

Total revenue was slightly higher than expenditure in 1960 and 1980, and slightly lower in the other two years.

Total loans increased throughout the period, being 3-3 1/2 times larger at each successive year in Table 2.4, and rising, over the period, from $US57mn in 1960 to $US2,194mn in 1986 .

The net result has been an increase in the overall surplus from $US61mn in 1960 to $US1,844mn in 1986.

Total expenditure was 17 percent of GDP in 1960. This ratio increased steadily to 38 percent in 1980 and 1986. Total revenue as a percentage of GDP also increased from 18 in 1960 to 43 in 1980, but thereafter fell back to 32 in 1986.

b.4 The Labor Force (Tables 2.5.1-2.5.2)

The total labor force increased from 354 thousand in 1965 to 471 thousand in 1986. The rate of increase was much greater between 1970 and 1979 (2.3 percent) than in the earlier or later periods (under 1 percent). As will be seen from Table 2.5.1, however, this large increase in the 1970s was primarily due to the more rapid growth in the population of working age. This is clear from the fact that the participation rate remained about the same level (59-60 percent) for the three years 1970, 1979 and 1986, after falling slightly from 63 percent in 1965.

Females comprised about one-third of the total labor force in 1986 and slightly less in the earlier years.

The unemployment rate, which was 14 percent in 1965, fell during the oil boom to 11 percent in 1979, but jumped to a record 17 percent in 1986.

According to Table 2.5.2 nearly one-quarter of the persons in the labor force were in Agriculture in 1965 and 1970, but the proportion fell steeply to 10 percent thereafter. Employment in Industry increased as a percentage of the total up to 1979, but fell with the decline in economic activity. On the other hand, the proportion of the labor force in the Services industry group increased appreciably after 1970 from 41 to 57 percent.

Professional, Administrative and Commercial workers increased after 1970 from 24 to 34 percent, while Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters &c fell during the same period from 22 to 9 percent. The remaining occupational group of workers - Craftsmen, Workers in Transport and Construction, Service Workers &c - increased from 54 to 60 percent between 1970 and 1979, but fell thereafter to 57 percent in 1986. Remarkably the occupational distribution

remained entirely unchanged in 1965 and 1970.

c. Education (Tables 3.1.1-3.8.3)

c.1 Public Expenditure on Education (Tables 3.1.1-3.1.4)

Total public expenditure on education was $US12mn in 1960 and twice that in 1970. With the oil boom, however, this figure jumped 9 1/2 times to $US235mn in 1980. Despite the economic downturn soon after, expenditure increased slightly to 1986 (Table 3.1.1).

Expenditure on education was 13 percent of total government expenditure for 1960, 1970 and 1986; in 1980, at the height of the oil boom, this proportion fell to 10 percent. As a percentage of GDP, expenditure on education grew slowly but steadily from 2 percent in 1960 to 5 percent in 1986.

Recurrent expenditure on education increased from under $USl0mn in 1960 to over $US250mn in 1986. It is noteworthy that despite the economic downturn starting 1983, recurrent expenditure on education in 1986 was 40 percent higher than in 1980 (Table 3.1.2).

While nearly three-quarters of the recurrent expenditure in 1960 was on primary education, by 1980 this had fallen to 47 percent, and it fell further to 41 percent in 1986. On the other hand, expenditure on secondary education increased from 12 percent in 1960 to 33 percent in 1980. Expenditure on university education has increased appreciably, but expenditure on technical/vocational education has declined from 4 percent in 1960 to just 1 per cent in 1986. (Table 3.1.2)

Capital expenditure on education, which was just $US3mn in 1970 sky-rocketed to $US55mn in 1980. Unlike recurrent expenditure, with the economic decline there was a drastic cut in capital expenditure in 1986, most of the expenditure in this year being on the UWI, Mt. Hope Medical Complex (Table 3.1.3).

In 1960 nearly one-half of the capital expenditure on education was devoted to primary education but this proportion has fallen considerably. Expenditure on secondary education, too, which was nearly 60 percent in 1970, had fallen to a mere 6 percent in 1986. By 1980 the University of the West Indies was receiving the major share of the capital expenditure.

In 1960, expenditure per pupil was $US40 primary and $US90 for secondary education. By 1986, these figures had increased to $US580 and $US772 respectively. While, therefore in 1960 the expenditure on a secondary student was more than twice that on a primary pupil, by 1986 this differential had been considerably reduced (Table 3.1.4).

c.2 Education and the Population (Tables 3.2.1-3.2.4)

The population 5-24 years of age, which comprises the bulk of the school population, increased by 1.4 percent per annum between 1960 and 1980 and is expected to increase at a similar rate, on average, to the end of the century. However, the rate of increase was high in the 1960s (2.2 percent), declined to under 1 percent for the period 1970-1990, and is

projected to increase again to 2 percent or higher after 1990. But once again these post-1990 figures may be too high (Table 3.2.1).

During the period of the censuses, 1960-1980, the distribution of this population by 5-year age group did not change between 1960 and 1970, but in the 1970s the proportion 5-15 declined, and was balanced by an increase in the two older age groups. The projected populations show no uniform change in age distribution; in general, the population 5-14 is projected to increase after 1980, balanced by a decline of the 20-24 year olds, with little change for the 15-19 age group.

The population 5-24 years of age, as a percentage of the total population, was about 45 percent for the period 1960-1980. The census figure for 1970 is higher--49 percent-- but this is undoubtedly a reflection of the under-enumeration of the adult population at that census referred to before. The table suggests a fall in the percentage of the total population after 1980 but, it must be remembered, these are projected figures and are, therefore, liable to error.

Table 3.2.2 shows the percent distribution of the population 15 years and older according to the highest level of education attained. The proportion with primary education has fallen from 86 to 65 percent between 1960 and 1980, and this has been balanced by an increase from 14 to 33 percent for those with secondary education.

As is well-known, the proportion with a secondary education is very much higher among younger than among older persons: in 1980 for example, this proportion is 47 percent for young persons under 35 years of age, as compared with only 14 percent for persons 35 years and older.

While roughly equal numbers of male and female students attend Primary and Secondary schools, at University only 1 in 4 of the students were female in 1960; by 1980 this ratio had improved to 1 in 3.

Table 3.2.3 gives a breakdown of the population 15 years old and over according to highest exam passed. Persons grouped in the residual 'Other' category are excluded, but the numbers are shown in the footnote to the Table

The vast majority of the population had passed no examination. In 1970 87 percent were in this category, the proportion being much higher for the population 35 years and older than for younger persons (94 and 81 percent respectively). This proportion fell by 1980 for both age groups.

The examinations passed are grouped into Primary school leaving certificate (4-5 percent), GCE 'O' level, less than 5 subjects (3-7 percent), GCE 'O', 5 or more subjects and GCE 'A' (4-6 percent), and Diploma/Degree (2 percent). Except for the last category, there has been an increase in each case between 1970 and 1980. The proportion with passes was higher for persons 15-34 years than for older persons for each category except Diploma/Degree, as many of the younger persons would not yet be old enough to attend university.

Of the total numbers, females comprised 51 percent in 1970 and 44 percent in 1980. Among those with passes, females comprised about one-half of each category except Diploma/Degree where they were only slightly more than one-third. In 1980 females were a higher proportion of those with GCE 'O' and 'A' level passes than 10 years earlier.

Table 3.2.4 shows the number of persons 20 years and older not attending school: (a) who have attended university; and (b) who are holders of a diploma or degree, per 10,000 of the population.

The proportion that has attended university increased from 83 in 1960 to 118 in 1970 and 284 in 1980. In 1960 this proportion was slightly higher for the population 35 years and older than for the younger age group, but with the expansion of the University of the West Indies campus in the country, the proportion 20-34 years old increased much more than the older group in the 1960s while both age groups increased equally and more rapidly in the 1970s.

There is no information on the holding of diplomas/degrees in 1960. The proportion almost doubled from 183 in 1970 to 254 in 1980. In 1980 the proportion was higher among the population 35 years and older than among those under 35 years of age.

Females were a smaller proportion of persons who have attended university (23-28 percent) than of persons with a diploma/degree (35-36 percent) .

c.3. Primary and Secondary Education (Tables 3.3.1-3.5.3)

c.3.1 Introduction

A serious problem here is that statistics on *private* schools are, at best, incomplete while, in fact, for much of the period under review there are no such statistics at all.

According to the Education Act, all *private* schools are required to register with the Ministry of Education and to make annual statistical returns to the Government. It is known that private schools have been important in two areas of education: (a) pre-primary; and (b) secondary.

Throughout the period under review, no statistics have been published or prepared on pre-primary education in private schools.

In the case of secondary education, registration was considered to be fairly complete in the 1960s and early 1970s, and most of the registered schools provided the required annual statistical returns. For this study, therefore, we have statistics on private secondary schools for 1960 and 1969/70. The importance of the private schools in those years is gleaned from the fact that 45 and 39 percent respectively of all secondary students were in private schools.

For some reason the system of registration has broken down and for the two later years in our study, no information at all is available for private secondary schools. This breakdown fairly coincides with the change in the education system, involving the large-scale expansion in Government schools, particularly Junior and Senior Secondary schools.

But private schools have not disappeared. One area in which information of these schools is now available is with regard to the number of students taking the CXC examinations, where it is seen that 12 percent of the students writing English Language and Mathematics, and 20 percent of those writing Principles of Business were in private secondary schools.

For these reasons, there is no point in adding together the statistics on private secondary schools with the complete data on Government and Assisted schools, nor to try to make any comment on trends in total secondary education (all schools).

c.3.2 Enrollment in Primary and Secondary Schools (Table 3.3.1-3.3.4)

Enrollment in Government and Assisted primary and intermediate schools increased by 2 percent per annum between 1960 and 1970, but in the next decade fell by 3 percent per annum. This was followed by a small rise of 1 percent per annum between 1980 and 1986. (Table 3.3.1).

In accordance with the general format, Table 3.3.1 adds together all secondary Enrollment but, as indicated earlier, we comment here on Government and Assisted, and on private schools separately. The number of students reported in private schools increased by 6 percent per annum between 1960 and 1969/70. Enrollment in Government and Assisted schools increased by 9 percent per annum in the 1960s, 11 percent in the 1970s, but only by 2 percent per annum in the period 1979/80 to 1986/87 .

There were slightly fewer females than males at primary schools throughout the period under review. At secondary schools, however, females comprised only 46 percent of the total in 1960, but 51 percent in 1970 and 1980, and slightly less in 1986/87.

The much higher rate of growth of the secondary school Enrollment has, of course resulted in a dramatic increase in the ratio of secondary to primary students from 12 percent in 1960 and 21 percent in 1970 to 55 percent in 1986/87.

The decline in primary school Enrollment in the 1970s is clearly related to the decline in the population of Primary school age (Table 3.3.2). But the fall in enrollment (25 percent) was greater than that in population (18 percent). The differential is to be explained by the change in the education system, with: (a) the abolition of the intermediate (all age) schools whose students in secondary classes used to be included among the enrollment in Primary (and Intermediate) schools; and (b) the introduction of the newer schools (particularly the Junior Secondary) to which students 12-14 years old who do not do well enough to go to a traditional school are now posted, instead of remaining in the Primary school as most of them would have done in the earlier years.

Using the age span 5-11 years as an approximation to the age of children in primary schools, Table 3.3.2 shows a steady fall in the ratio of students to population after 1970. But this is not particularly meaningful because of the change in the system of education just discussed. Since, as just stated many children aged 12-14 remained in primary schools in the earlier years, the ratio exceeds 1 up to 1979/80.

Table 3.3.2 also shows the ratio of students to population at the secondary school

level, using 12-18 as the appropriate age span. Here the ratio increases steadily and very significantly from .20 in 1960 to .62 by the end of our period. But here again, apart from indicating that there was an increase in secondary school attendance as is well-known, the figures are not particularly useful for the reasons already discussed.

A better indication of the expansion in secondary school enrollment is given by Table 3.3.3, which shows the number of students who sat and who passed the scholarship examinations from primary to secondary schools. Up to the 1950s, the 'elite' of the Standard 5 students in each school were pulled together in the 'Exhibition Class' and specially trained for the scholarship examination. During the 1960s, the proportion of Standard 5 students who were permitted to take the examination increased steadily. In 1966/67, however, it was directed that all children who qualified by age, regardless of the class they were in, should write the examination. As a result, the number sitting jumped from under 8,000 in 1961, to 41,600 in 1966/1967, although Standard 5 enrollment in that year was only 31,500.

The number of these students who gained places at secondary schools depended, of course, on the available accommodation. As is shown in the Table, after a modest increase between 1961 and 1970, with the introduction of the Junior Secondary Schools in the 1970s, the number of children placed in secondary schools jumped from 5,600 in 1970 to 18,400 in 1980 and 20,300 in 1986. The proportion of those sitting who gained places increased from 13 percent in 1970 to 70 percent and over in the 1980s

Table 3.3.4 gives a breakdown of all secondary school students (including students in all age schools) according to type of school. For 1960 and 1969/70 the Table includes students at private and all age/ intermediate schools. In the first year 49 percent were in the traditional secondary schools, 39 percent in private schools and the remaining 12 percent in intermediate schools. By 1969/70 the proportion in the traditional schools had increased to 57 percent at the expense of the other two types though the fall in private school enrollment may well be in large measure a reflection of falling completeness in registration and reporting by the schools.

For the last two years in the Table, confined to Government and Assisted schools, the proportion of students in the traditional schools fell from 37 to 31 percent. In 1979/80 the remaining 63 percent were in the Junior Secondary (43), Senior Comprehensive (16) and other secondary schools (4). In 1986/87 the Senior Comprehensive schools gained 3 and the Traditional schools lost 6 percentage points.

c.3.3 Primary and Secondary School Teachers (Tables 3.4.1-3.4.4)

We begin by looking at the numbers of primary and secondary school teachers and the pupil-teacher ratios in these two groups (Table 3.4.1).

In primary schools, the number of teachers increased between 1960 and 1969/70, but not as fast as enrollment, so that the pupil/teacher ratio worsened slightly. In the 1970s, when there was a significant decline in enrollment, the number of teachers increased slightly so that the pupil/teacher ratio improved from 36 to 26 students per teacher. In the last interval - 1979/80 to 1986/87 - enrollment increased by 6 percent and the number of teachers by 19

percent so that once again the pupil /teacher ratio improved, this time to 23.

For the secondary schools, Government and private schools are shown separately as data on the latter are available only for 1960 and 1969/70.

The number of Government and Assisted Secondary schools increased from 23 in 1960 to 93 in 1979/80. The number of Private schools reporting was 27 in 1960 and 69 in 1969/70, but there is no record of any private schools in 1979/80. The number of teachers in Government and Assisted schools was 2 1/2 times larger in 1969/70 (1,342) than 10 years earlier (521), but then tripled in the next decade (4,242) with the introduction of the Junior and Senior Secondary schools. The increase thereafter has been modest by comparison. In general the number of teachers in these schools has about kept pace with the growth in enrollment since 1969/70, so that after a slight improvement in the pupil/teacher ratio in the 1960s from 23 to 21, there has been little change since.

According to the reported figures, the number of teachers in Private Secondary schools also increased rapidly as the traditional schools found it impossible to keep up with the demand for secondary education at that time. The increase between 1960 and 1969/70 was 89 percent for Private schools as against 158 percent for Government and Assisted schools. Enrollment increased at the same rate as did the number of teachers, so that the pupil/teacher ratio remained unchanged at 32.

There has been an impressive increase in the proportion of primary school teachers who were fully trained from 41 percent in 1960 to 53 percent in 1969/70 and to 90 percent in 1986/87 (Table 3.4.2). For the first two years the table also shows that the proportion of teachers, whether trained or untrained, with completed secondary education increased from 54 to 63 percent between 1960 and 1969/70. Females have gained an increasing dominance: in 1960 52 percent of primary school teachers were female; by 1986/87 this had risen to 70 percent.

Table 3.4.3 dealing with Secondary school teachers shows Government Assisted teachers and teachers in Registered private schools separately where applicable. The proportion of trained teachers in Government and Assisted schools dropped appreciably during the period of rapid expansion in the 1970s from 51 percent in 1969/70 to 35 percent in 1980/81. By 1986/87, however, this proportion had risen again to 55 percent .

The proportion of these teachers with university degrees increased steadily over the review period from 47 percent in 1960 to 58 percent in 1986/87. The decline in trained teachers in the 1970s, however, occurred because of the large influx of teachers with university degrees but untrained. For teachers without university degrees, the proportion untrained has fallen steeply, while the proportion trained increased from 9 percent in 1969/70 to 30 percent 10 years later.

Table 3.4.4 shows Primary school teachers by denomination/ religion. There has been an increase in the proportion of teachers in Government schools, from 20 percent in 1960 to 30 percent in 1986/87, balanced by a drop in the proportion in non-Catholic Christian schools.

c.3.4 Secondary School Examination Results (Tables 3.5.1-3.5.3)

The examination results, by subject, for the Cambridge and London GCE and the CXC examinations are given in Tables 3.5.1-3.5.3. These tables show the number of students sitting the examination in each subject (group): the total is not, therefore, the total number of students but of subjects taken by all students.

The total number of subjects taken in the GCE 'O' level exams increased between 1973 and 1980 from 55,800 to 91,300 for Cambridge and from 28,000 to 37,200 for London. By 1986 /87, however, these numbers slumped to 13,300 and 20,200 respectively. This decline is accounted for by the introduction of the Caribbean Examination Council CXC exams in the early 1980s, the number of subjects taken in the General Proficiency examination in 1986 being 72,100.

For both the Cambridge and the London 'O' level exams the proportion of passes fell in 1980 and then rose again 7 years later. For the Cambridge the proportion fell from 42 to 28 and then rose again to 42; for the London the figures were 24, 18 and 45, there being a notable improvement in the last year.

In the Cambridge exams, excluding *Technical Studies* for which the numbers were small and the results poor, the pass rate was highest, in 1973, for English (50 percent) and fairly uniform for the other subjects, being 41 percent for Social Studies and 36-38 percent for the others. In 1980 there was a worsening in all subjects, the pass rate being very low for Mathematics (18) and 26-34 percent for the other subjects. Then remarkably the best pass rate in 1986 was in Mathematics (56 per cent), excluding the 100 percent passes for 5 students taking foreign languages.

With few exceptions, the pass rates were much lower for the London 'O' level exams. In 1973, the pass rates ranged from a low of 14 percent for foreign languages to 33 percent for Mathematics. Except for Science and Other there was a fall-off in 1980 in all subjects, while in 1986 the pass rates for all subjects improved, in some cases dramatically, for example Science from 22 to 54 percent, Other from 31 to 79 percent, and Technical Studies from 15 to 73 though in this case very few students wrote the exam in 1986.

Looking next at the 'A' level results, in the case of the Cambridge exams (Table 3.5.1) there was an increase in the number of subjects taken by all students together between 1973 and 1980 and a much larger increase in 1986. The pass rate did not change very much, however, being 55 percent for the first two years and 60 percent in the last year. There was little change in the total number of subjects taken over the period in the case of the London 'A' level exams, (Table 3.5.2), but in this case the overall pass rates were much lower - 17-23 percent. There was no uniform trend for the various subjects over the period. Those subjects in which the rates improved between 1973 and 1980 (English, Technical Studies and Other) all worsened in the following interval, while, with the exception of Foreign Languages, the reverse was true for the other subjects.

CXC results are not available for the earlier years of the examination, and are given in Table 3.5.3 for 1986 only. The pass rate was very much higher than for the GCE

examinations. Of the 72,100 subjects taken at the General level, two-thirds passed the examination. One-half of those taking Mathematics, and two-thirds of those taking English and foreign languages passed the exam, while the pass rate for the other subjects was over 70 percent for each.

At the Basic level, the overall pass rate (52 percent), was somewhat lower than at the General level. The pass rate was lowest for Mathematics (35 percent) and Social Studies (47 percent) and ranged between 58 and 67 percent for the other subjects.

There is information on the number of students writing each CXC subject from private secondary schools. At the general level, 12 percent of the subjects were written by private students, and their pass rate was only slightly lower than for Government and Assisted schools - 65 as against 67 percent. At the Basic level, only 4 percent of the subjects were written by students from private schools, but the pass rate was higher than for other schools - 60 as against 51 percent.

c.4 Technical/Vocational Schools & Teachers' Colleges (Tables 3.6.1-3.6.2)

c.4.1 Technical/Vocational Schools (Table 3.6.1)

Table 3.6.1 shows the percent distribution of students in Technical and Vocational schools according to course. As indicated in a footnote to the Table, the method of reporting for 1980/81 is different from the earlier and later years. It is possible that because of this neither the number nor the distribution for 1980/81 is strictly comparable with the other figures.

The total number of students fell by one-fifth from 6,600 in 1970/71 to 5,300 in 1986/87. The two largest courses in the first year were Mechanical/Production Engineering (F) and Business Education & Management (A), with 32 and 20 percent respectively . Four other courses - Land Surveying & Construction (E), Home Economics (D), Graphic & Applied Arts (C) and Electrical Engineering (B) - were of roughly equal size, ranging from 10 to 14 percent.

By 1986/87, Mechanical/Production Engineering (F) and Electrical Engineering (B) had remained at the same level, there was an increase in Land Surveying & Construction (E), while the other three just mentioned all suffered declines relative to the total. There were two other small groups Agriculture (H) with 2 percent in 1986/87, and the residual other (G) which increased from 1 to 5 percent.

The number enrolled in 1980/81 was the lowest of the three years (see comment above). The proportion of the total was higher than for the other two years in the case of Electrical Engineering (B), Home Economics (D) and Mechanical/Production Engineering (F), and significantly lower in the case of Graphic & Applied Arts (C) and Land Surveying & Construction (E) .

c.4.2 Teachers' Colleges (Table 3.6.2)

Table 3.6.2 shows the number of primary school teachers enrolled at teachers'

colleges, and the numbers who sat and who passed examinations in the selected years. There is no college for training secondary school teachers, these receiving training at the University of the West Indies.

The number of teachers enrolled increased from 610 in 1964/65 to 700 in 1970/71 and to 1,150 10 years later but then slumped to 330 in 1986/87. The number who passed the examination increased from 270 in 1964/65 to 360 in 1970/71 and 440 ten years later, but then slumped to 180 in 1986/87.

c.5 The University of the West Indies (Tables 3.7.1-3.7.5)

c.5.1 Under-graduate (Tables 3.7.1-3.7.3)

Under-graduate enrollment at the University of the West Indies was only 150 in 1960/61. Ten years later, however, when the campus in Trinidad (St. Augustine) was fully established, the number of students increased by 24 percent per annum to over 1,500. Since then it has increased by 5 percent per annum, to nearly double by 1985/86 (Table 3.7.1).

Females have increased as a percentage of all students, from a mere 11 in 1960/61 to 56 in 1981 before falling slightly to 50 in 1985/86.

Table 3.7.2 shows a breakdown of under-graduate enrollment according to field of study. Since 1970 44-46 percent of the students have been enrolled in Arts and Social Sciences, and 50-53 percent in the Sciences, with 4-5 percent in Law since 1980.

The largest faculties, in declining order of size, are: Arts and General Studies, Natural Science, Social Science and Engineering. The most rapid increase has been in Social Sciences where the proportion enrolled has increased from 8 percent in 1961/62 to 22 percent in 1985/86. In this latter year, the first three of the faculties just mentioned had roughly equal numbers enrolled.

Just under 60 percent of all female under-graduate students were enrolled in Arts & General Studies or Social Sciences, just under 40 percent in the Sciences and 4-5 percent in Law. This means that women comprised a much higher proportion of all under-graduates in Arts and Social Sciences than in Natural Science (Table 3.7.2).

In 1985/1986, Arts & General Studies (24 percent), Social Sciences (22 percent) and Natural Sciences (24 percent) had about equal proportions of the degrees awarded, while Medicine, Law and Agriculture also had roughly equal proportions 5-7 percent, the remaining 13 percent being in Engineering. This compares with 1960/61, when the St. Augustine campus was just being established, when 47 percent of the degrees awarded were in Arts & General Studies, and the remainder were fairly equally divided between Natural Science and Medicine (Table 3.7.3).

c.5.2 Certificate and Diploma Courses (Table 3.7.4)

Only 7 Trinidad & Tobago students were enrolled in U.W.I. for Certificate and Diploma courses in 1960/61. This number increased to 372 in 1980/81 and 465 in 1985/86,

of whom 81 and 127 respectively were registered for Education courses. Females comprised 41 and 52 percent respectively in these last two years. The number of Certificates and Diplomas awarded doubled between 1980/81 and 1985/86, the number in Education tripling from 56 to 164 (Table 3.7.4).

c.5.3 Post-graduate (Table 3.7.5)

Table 3.7.5 shows the post-graduate enrollment of Trinidad & Tobago students at U.W.I. There were only 84 such students in 1971/72, but with the expansion of post-graduate teaching at St. Augustine this number has grown very rapidly, being 3 times larger in 1980/81, and further doubling between 1980/81 and 1985/86.

In 1971/72 nearly two-thirds of the post-graduate students were in All Arts and the remaining one-third in Sciences. By 1980/81 this situation had reversed, and it was Sciences that had nearly two-thirds of all post-graduate students. In 1985/86, the largest proportion of students was in Engineering (32 percent), followed by Social Sciences (18 percent), Agriculture (16 percent) and Arts & General Studies (14 percent). There were also smaller numbers doing post-graduate work in Education, Medicine and Law.

c.6 Tertiary Students in Other Countries (Tables 3.8.1-3.8.3)

Some limited information on tertiary students in the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Canada is included in Tables 3.8.1 to 3.8.3.

The first Table, dealing with students in the U.K ., shows that after an increase from 1,370 in 1960 to 2,390 in 1969/70, there was a decline to 1,570 in 1973/74 and a mere 310 in 1983/84.

In 1973/74 when the number of students in the U.K. was still over 1,500, 73 percent of the students were in Nursing Institutions and 15 percent in "Other Higher Education" (i.e. other than University and Polytechnic). Only 6 percent were attending University. In the 10-year interval to 1983/84 the proportion in Nursing fell dramatically to 17 per cent, while the proportion attending University, on the other hand, increased very appreciably to 43 percent.

The number of tertiary students in the U.K. fell by an average of 126 per year in the 10-year interval 1973/74 to 1983/84, while the number in the U.S.A. increased over the 14-year period 1971 to 1985/86 by 94 per year (Table 3.8.2). In 1961 and 1971, for which some breakdown is available, 70 percent of the students were under-graduates and most of the others were undertaking graduate studies. In these two years, about 1 in 4 of the students were females.

The number of Trinidad & Tobago "Visa" students reported at Canadian universities in 1980 and 1986 is much lower than for the U.S.A., (Table 3.8.3), and no breakdown of these students is available. The figures for 1970 and 1979 are not comparable with the figures for the later years in the Table because of a change in the categories of students reported since 1980 (see Note to Table 3.8.3). The number of "Visa Students" in 1980 was 620, and after rising to 900 in 1983 and 1984, the number fell back to just under 750 in 1986. The total number of Trinidad & Tobago students ("Visa Students" plus "Permanent

Residents") increased from 820 in 1970 to 1,700 in 1977 and 1978 before falling back to 1,570 in 1979.

BARBADOS

a. Population and Emigration (Tables 1.1-1.5)

a.1 Population (Tables 1.1-1.5)

The population of Barbados increased only very slowly (0.3 percent per annum) in the period 1960-1980, and is projected to continue to increase at this rate to the end of the century (Table 1.1).

According to Table 1.2, the crude birth rate (CBR) halved between 1960 and 1980 and fell only slightly thereafter. When adjustment is made for the changing age-sex distribution of the population, fertility, as measured by the total fertility rate (TFR) fell somewhat more rapidly than the CBR. The crude death rate (CDR) fell slowly but steadily from 9 percent in 1960 to 8 percent in 1980.

Because of the declining CBR, the proportion of the population aged under 15 (Table 1.1) fell from 38 percent in 1960 to 30 percent in 1980, and is projected to remain in the vicinity of 24-26 percent thereafter to the end of the century.

As is seen in Table 1.3, 9 out of 10 persons in Barbados were of African origin, the proportion rising slightly from 89 to 93 percent between 1960 and 1980. The small Mixed group, on the other hand, declined, probably because of a shift in self-classification over time (see discussion on this topic in the Trinidad & Tobago chapter). The small population of European descent also declined over the 20-year review period, but only very slightly.

By far the largest religious denomination is Anglican (Table 1. 4) but this has declined significantly from 58 percent in 1960 to 41 percent in 1980. No other single denomination had as much as 10 percent of the population at any time under review. The next largest were Methodist and Pentecostal, both of which had 7-8 percent in 1980, the latter increasing slowly but steadily from 5 percent in 1960. There are many other small denominations not shown separately in the Table, nearly one-third of the population being classified as 'Other' in 1980. This proportion has increased considerably from over 10 percent in 1960. However, caution must be used in interpreting this growth because of the inconsistency in classification shown in the footnote to Table 1.4 .

The 1960 census of population made a special effort to provide data on the urban/rural distribution of the population by identifying small towns as well as *Special Areas* in St. Michael, Christ Church and St. James which were considered an extension of Bridgetown. On this basis, 21 percent of the population was considered urban. No such attempt has been made for the following censuses and hence no meaningful data on urban/rural distribution is available. Indeed, the area breakdown in the 1970 and 1980 census reports is only by parish.

Barbados, however, is a very small island, with an excellent road system and, especially since independence, all its community facilities, and particularly relevant for this study, its secondary schools have been well distributed over the country.

a.2 Emigration (Table 1.5)

The number of migrants to the USA increased 6 1/2 fold between 1965 and 1980. In 1980 there were 3,000 emigrants to North America, all but 400 of them going to the USA. Four years later, in 1984, this number had fallen by 40 percent to 1,800, the relative fall being about the same for the two countries. The number of Barbadian students registered in North America was 300 in 1980 and 400 in 1984 (Table 1.5) .

b. Economic Background (Tables 2.1-2.4)

b.1 Gross Domestic Product (Tables 2.1 and 2.2)

Over the period 1965 to 1984 the gross domestic product (GDP) at current values increased by just over 12 1/2 percent per annum. The rate of increase slowed somewhat from nearly 14 percent for the period 1965-1974, to 11 percent for the last quinquennium-- 1980-1985 (Table 2.1).

But, as is seen from the GDP at *constant* values, most of the increase was due to rising prices. While the GDP at current values increased, between 1974 and 1984, by nearly 12 percent per annum, the increase at constant 1974 prices was only 2 percent. In fact, the growth was about 3 1/2 percent per annum in the period 1974-1979, but 0.3 percent in the following 5-year period.

Since the population growth was slow, the GDP per head at current values grew almost as rapidly as the total GDP. The same is true for the GDP per head at constant values for the period 1974-1979, but in the following 5-year period there was no increase.

The contribution of the three major industrial sectors - Agriculture, Industry and Services - to the GDP at constant values has been remarkably constant over the 10-year period 1974-1984, with Agriculture contributing about 10 percent, Industry about 20 percent, and Services the remaining 70 percent (Table 2.2).

b.2 Average Export Prices (Table 2.3)

The average export prices of sugar and rum are given in Table 2.3. The price of sugar was three times as high in 1979 as in 1965, but remained more or less the same in 1984. The price of rum, on the other hand, increased much more during the period 1979-1984 than it did in the preceding 14-year period in the Table.

The $US was exchanged at $BD1.71 in 1965 and at $BD2.00 in 1979 and onwards.

b.3 Central Government Expenditure (Table 2.4)

Total Government expenditure increased, between 1965/66 and 1984/85 by an average 14 percent per annum from $US25 million to $US347 million. The rate of increase

was 14-15 percent in the first two intervals (Table 2.4) but slightly lower (11 percent) in the most recent interval.

Total revenue has been less than expenditure throughout the period under review, falling from 90 percent in 1965/66 to 82 percent in 1984/85. Loans have been negligible, so that the overall deficit has increased steadily from $US2 million in 1965/66 to $US60 million in 1984/85 .

In 1964/65 about 75 percent of total expenditure was recurrent and the remaining 25 percent capital. For the remaining years in the Table the breakdown has been around 80:20.

Total Government expenditure was 27 percent of GDP in 1965/66 but increased thereafter to about one-third of GDP. Total revenue was about one-quarter of GDP in the first two years in the Table and increased to 28-30 percent in the following two selected years.

b.4 The Labor Force (Tables 2.5.1-2.5.2)

The total labor force increased from 91 thousand in 1965 to 112 thousand in 1981, then remained unchanged in 1984. The average rate of increase was slightly higher in the interval 1976-1981 than in the preceding interval 1965-1976. The participation rate, however, changed only slightly over the whole period, being 63 percent in 1965 and 1984, after rising to 65 percent in 1981 (Table 2.5.1).

Females comprised 47 percent of the total labor force at the beginning and end of the interval, and slightly less (45 percent) in the intervening years.

The unemployment rate was lowest in 1981 (13 percent) and highest in 1984 (17 percent).

The proportion of the labor force in Agriculture (Table 2.5.2) has declined very sharply from 21 percent of the total in 1965 to under 10 percent in the 1980s. (No breakdown by industry group is available for the 1970s). This has been balanced by increases in Industry (from 20 to 24 percent) and in Services (from 60 to 68 percent).

There was a very marked decline in the proportion of the labor force in Farming and related occupations, from 20 percent in 1965 to 9 percent in 1981. There was little change thereafter. Professional, Administrative and related workers increased from 29 to 38 percent between 1965 and 1981, while Craftsmen, Workers in Construction etc. increased from 51 to 55 percent.

c. Education (Tables 3.1.1-3.8.3)

c.1 Public Expenditure on Education (Tables 3.1.1-3.1.4)

Total public expenditure on education was $US5 million in 1964/65 and increased by 14 percent per annum to $US43 million in 1979/80, and by 9 percent per annum to $US61 million in 1983/84 (Table 3.1.1).

Expenditure on education was 24 percent of total public expenditure in 1964/65 but has fallen to about 20 percent in the early 1980s. As a percentage of GDP, expenditure on education has remained at about 6 percent throughout the period under review.

With the increase in total recurrent expenditure on education from $US5 million to $US38 million between 1964/65 and 1979/80 (Table 3.1.2), the proportion on primary education halved. On the other hand, there were large increases in the proportion on secondary education (from 18 to 29 percent), U.W.I. (from 11 to 18 percent) and the School Feeding Programme, which did not exist in the earlier year (to 9 percent). Total recurrent expenditure continued to increase thereafter, though more slowly, but the proportion going to primary education increased (from 28 to 32 percent), and so did the proportion going to secondary education (to 34 percent), balanced by small declines in most of the other and smaller items. From 1979/80 onwards expenditure on Secondary Education has been greater than on Primary Education.

Total capital expenditure also increased rapidly between 1964/65 and 1979/80, and less rapidly in the next four years (Table 3.1.3). The proportion of expenditure going to primary education fell drastically (from 33 to 7 percent) in the first interval and then increased again (to 26 percent) in the second interval. The proportion going to secondary education, on the other hand, increased throughout from 27 to 62 percent. Forty percent of this expenditure in 1979/80 was devoted to technical/vocational training, but only 1-3 percent in the other years.

Surprisingly, expenditure per pupil was lower for the secondary than for the primary pupil in 1964/65 (Table 3.1.4). In 1979/80, however, expenditure per secondary school pupil was 40 percent higher than that on the primary school pupil. In 1983/84 expenditure per secondary pupil remained higher but only by 13 percent.

c.2 Education and Population (Tables 3.2.1-3.2.4)

The population 5-24 years of age increased by 1.2 percent per annum between 1960 and 1970, but fell slightly in the 1970s. It is projected to continue to decline to the end of the century, the rate of decline being the highest (2 percent per annum) between 1985 (estimate) and 1990 (projection). In numbers, the population increased from 94 thousand in 1960 to 103 thousand in 1980, but is projected to fall to 81 thousand by the year 2000 (Table 3.2.1).

Females comprised 51 percent of this population in 1960, and were 50 percent from 1970 to 1990 (projected). By 2000 it is projected that 48 percent of the population aged 5-24 will be female.

The population 5-24 years old which was 45 percent of the total population in 1970, declined to 42 percent in 1980, and is projected to fall further to 30 percent by the end of the century (Table 3.2.1).

In 1960 and 1970, the breakdown by age shows the 5-9 age group as the largest, and a declining proportion as age increases, the result of an increasing birth rate in the past. In 1980 there was little variation in the age distribution. In 1985 it is estimated that the

proportion will be higher in each successive 5-year age group. By the end of the century the reverse is projected, the 5-9 year age group being the largest, and the 20-24 age group the smallest.

There was an evident error in the classification by level of education for the year 1970, where only 8 percent of the population aged 15-34 are shown with primary education as their highest level (Table 3.2.2). This was an error at source - the 1970 Census - and cannot be corrected. The primary /secondary breakdown for 1970 is therefore ignored in this study. Between 1960 and 1980, the total population 15 years and older with only primary education declined from 83 to 51 percent, balanced by an increase in those with secondary education from 17 to 46 percent. The proportion with university education which was less than 0.5 percent in 1960, increased to 3 percent in 1980. As would be expected, the younger population (persons 15-34 years of age) had a higher proportion with secondary education than the older group.

While more than one-half of primary and secondary pupils were female, the proportion was very much lower at the university level, rising from 22 percent in 1960 to 40 percent in 1980.

Table 3.2.3 gives a breakdown of persons 15 years and older according to highest exam passed (see footnote to the Table). Eighty-seven percent of these persons in 1970, and nearly 80 percent in 1980 had passed no exam. The proportion of the total population in each of the categories other than Diploma /Degree was 3-5 percent except for the lower GCE group which was 9 percent in 1980. The proportion that had a Diploma/Degree was 2 and 4 percent in 1970 and 1980 respectively.

The proportion that had passed no examination was higher for the older group; in 1980 these proportions were 66 percent for persons under 35 and 91 percent for those over 35 years of age. On the other hand, the proportion was the same for both age-groups for Diploma/ Degree, and higher for the younger persons for each of the other three groups.

Females comprised 54-55 percent of the total population in 1970 and 1980, and 54-56 percent of those who had passed no examination in those two years. However, only 38 and 44 percent respectively of the persons with Diploma/Degree passes were female. This proportion was 52-56 percent for the other categories except the lower GCE group (1-4 'O' level subjects) in 1980 of which 60 percent were females.

Table 3.2.4 shows that there was a considerable increase in the proportion of persons 20 years and older who have been to University. The proportion per 10,000 of the population increased from 68 in 1960 to 123 in 1970, and then trebled to 360 in 1980. The proportion was slightly higher for the age-group 35 years and over than for the younger age-group in 1960, but in 1970 and 1980 the reverse was true.

There was also a very large increase in the proportion of the population with a university degree/diploma in the 1970s, the proportion per 10,000 increasing from 187 to 414. This proportion was higher for the younger age group in both 1970 and 1980.

Females increased, as a percentage of the total with university education from 22 percent in 1960 to 32 and 47 percent in 1970 and 1980 respectively, and as a percentage of those with a university/degree from 37 percent in 1970 to 44 percent in 1980.

c.3 Primary and Secondary Education (Tables 3.3.1-3.5.3)

c.3.1 Enrollment in Primary and Secondary Schools (Tables 3.3.1-3.3.4)

The total enrollment in primary and secondary schools fell between 1964/65 and 1983/84 from 67 to 57 1/2 thousand (Table 3.3.1). The rate of decline was more rapid in the last 4 years than in the preceding period under review - 2.1 as against O.4 percent per annum.

The decline occurred entirely at the primary level, where the numbers dropped from 46 1/2 to 32 thousand; on the other hand, enrollment in secondary schools went up from 20 1/2 thousand in 1964/65 to 25 1/2 thousand in 1979/80 but hardly changed thereafter.

Enrollment in private primary schools fell by one-half in the period under review, while enrollment in private secondary schools, which stood at over 3 2 thousand at the beginning of the period, has virtually disappeared.

Females comprised 49 percent of primary school students in 1964/65, and slightly less in the following years. On the other hand, 54 percent of secondary students were females in 1979/80 and 1983/84.

The ratio of secondary to primary students was 44 percent in 1963/64, and increased rapidly to 68 and 80 percent in 1979/80 and 1983/84 respectively.

The drop in total (primary plus secondary) enrollment must be the result of a decline in the population of primary and secondary school age, as the joint enrollment ratio has increased from .81 to. 88 (Table 3.3.2). There has probably been also some shift to a relatively higher enrollment in secondary schools.

Interestingly, the enrollment ratio for girls remains slightly lower than for both sexes together.

The ratio of school attendance to enrollment at the primary level has increased steadily over the period under review from 85 percent in 1964/65 to 93 percent in 1983/84.

Table 3.3.3 shows the number of pupils sitting and passing the scholarship examinations from primary to secondary schools in 1980 and 1983. Information was not available for 1964. The number who sat increased by just over 10 percent between 1980 and 1983, while the proportion who were placed in secondary schools increased from 72 to 79 percent.

Table 3.3.4 shows the number of students receiving secondary education by type of school. This number is larger than the number shown in Table 3.3.1 since the former table includes students receiving secondary education in all-age schools, who would have been classified by type of school (primary) in Table 3.3.1. Such students comprised 18 percent of

all secondary students in 1964/65, dropping to 8 percent in 1983/84.

The proportion of secondary students in private schools fell from 12 percent in 1964/65 to 1 percent in 1983/84.

The proportion of students in the Newer schools doubled between 1964/65 and 1979/80 and continued to increase: in 1983/84 over one-half of all secondary students were in these schools, although the total number of students had increased by only 12 percent over the period under review.

The proportion of students in Traditional schools fell from 45 percent in 1964/65 to 40 percent in 1979/80 and 39 percent in 1983/84. In 1964/65 the proportion of students in Assisted Schools exceeded the proportion in Government Traditional schools - 26 as against 19 percent. By 1979/80, however, there were more students in the Government schools .

c.3.2 Primary and Secondary School Teachers (Tables 3.4.1-3.4.4)

While the number of pupils in Primary schools fell steadily for the years in Table 3.4.1, the number of teachers increased between 1964/65 and 1979/80, and though there was a fall in the next four years, the number of teachers remained higher than in the first year. The pupil/teacher ratio therefore improved (i.e. declined) appreciably between 1964/65 and 1979/80 (from 40 to 24) and improved very slightly thereafter.

There was a very large increase in both students and teachers at the Secondary level over the period under review, the number of teachers growing from under 500 in the first year to nearly 1,100 in 1979/80 and 1983/84. The pupil/teacher ratio improved slightly from 22 to 19

In response to the changes in the numbers of students, the number of Primary schools decreased during the period under review, while the number of Secondary schools increased.

Table 3.4.2 gives a detailed breakdown of primary teachers by qualification for 1964/65. This shows that 4 out of 10 teachers were trained at that time, while just over one-half of all primary teachers had a complete secondary education. For the following years in the Table, only a simple breakdown into 'trained' and 'untrained' is available. The proportion of trained teachers increased from 41 percent in 1964/65 to 93 percent in 1983/84.

Information on the qualification of Secondary school teachers (Table 3.4.3) is not available on a uniform basis for 1964/65 and 1979/80, and is not available at all for 1983/84. Teachers with university degrees increased from 32 percent of the total in 1964/65 to 49 percent in 1979/80, while *trained* teachers (including those with special subject Diplomas) comprised 35 percent of the total in the first and 61 percent in the second of these two years.

A breakdown by Denomination (Table 3.4.4) is not included as there are no longer denominational schools in Barbados.

The number of Primary school teachers who gave up teaching was very high (121) in 1964/65 but only 16 in 1983/84. The numbers for Secondary school teachers were 27 and 23

respectively (Table 3.4.5).

c.3.3 Secondary School Examination Results (Tables 3.5.1-3.5.3)

The number of students taking the Cambridge GCE 'O' level examinations (subjects) increased from 6,600 in 1965 to 7,200 in 1980 before falling, with the introduction of the CXC exams, to 3,000 in 1 984. The proportion that passed remained at 40-43 percent in the first two years - 1965 and 1980 - but was much higher (52 percent) in the last year.

For 1965, the proportion passing was highest in Social Studies and 'Other'--over 50 percent in each case--but appreciably less for the other subjects, ranging from 28 percent for English, to 36 percent for Mathematics and Science. In 1984, only Foreign Languages and 'Other' had a pass rate of under 50 percent.

The numbers taking the 'A' level examination of the Cambridge GCE was much less - 427 in 1965, 1,103 in 1980 and 1,009 in 1984. The pass rates for all subjects together were 60, 52 and 63 percent respectively. In 1965 the pass rate was very high-- over 80 percent for Social Studies--and was 47-58 percent for the other subjects. No breakdown by subject is available for 1980. The pass rate in 1984 was between two-thirds and three-quarters for all subjects except Social Studies (16) and Other (55).

Information for the CXC examinations (both Basic and General) (Table 3.5.3) is given for 1983 only. The total number of subjects sat at the Basic level was 4,812, for which the pass rate was 81 percent. The pass rate was uniformly high for all subjects, ranging from 72 to 89 percent.

At the General level, students sat 7,858 subjects between them, with a pass rate of 84 percent. Here again the rates were high for all subjects, being lowest for Foreign Languages (73 percent), and highest (96 percent) for Social Studies. The pass rate for Mathematics was also over 90 percent and for Science just under 90 percent.

c.4 Technical/Vocational Schools & Teachers' Colleges (Tables 3.6.1-3.6.2)

c.4.1 Technical/Vocational Schools (Table 3.6.1)

Table 3.6.1 contains two sets of data: the first, for 1964/65 and 1979/80 only, relates to three institutions; while the second relates only to the Polytechnic. (See Note at the bottom of Table).

The total number of students in the three institutions was 2,600 in 1964/65 and increased by 45 percent in the 15-year period to 1979/80. In the first year 39 percent of these students were taking Academic subjects (I) for the GCE examinations; by 1979/80 this proportion was down to 10 percent. The proportion taking Mechanical/Production Engineering (F) also declined, from 21 to 11 percent. This was balanced by increases in the other 6 courses. The largest of these were: Home Economics (D) increasing from 24 to 32 percent, and Business Education and Management (A) that increased from 14 to 26 percent. Three of the courses - Land Surveying and Construction (E), Agriculture (H) and Other (G) - did not exist or, in the case of the first, had only a negligible number of students in the first

year.

The number of students in the Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic--the second set of data--increased from 600 in 1964/65 to nearly 1,800 in 1983/84. In the first year 90 percent of all students were taking courses in Mechanical/Production Engineering (F), and most of the remainder were in Electrical Engineering (B). By 1979/80 the former group had fallen to 28 percent as the other courses expanded, while the proportion in Electrical Engineering doubled. The other courses with large numbers in 1979/80 were Business Education and Management (A) and Land Surveying & Construction (E) each with just under one-quarter of the total enrollment. The main shifts by 1983/84 were a large decline in Business Education and Management (A) from 24 to 9 percent, and an increase of 10 percentage points in Mechanical/Production Engineering (F).

The reports for the first two years include some information on examinations taken by students of technical and vocational institutions. This information is given in Table A below.

Table A. Results of Technical/Vocational Examinations

Year	C & G		A E B		L C C		P E I		U of L	
	FullTime	*PartTime*	*FullTime*	*PartTime*	*FullTime*	*PartTime*	*FullTime*	*PartTime*	*FullTime*	*PartTime*
1964[65										
Entries	34	103	-	99	-	10*	-	-	-	164*
&Passes	82	52	-	55	-	50	-	-	-	12
1979/80										
Entries	154	124	-	34	130	97	71	129	12	-
&Passes	68	52	-	47	35	26	23	50	50	-

*Evening Students:

C&G = City and Guilds of London;
AEB = Associated Examining Board;
LCC = London Chamber of Commerce;
PEI = Pitman Examination Institute;
U of L = University of London: GCE "O" Level.

In 1964/65 the pass rate by C&G full-time students was very high (82 percent) while that by part-time students taking the London GCE exams was very low (12 percent). The part-time students at the other three institutes had pass levels of 50-55 percent. In 1979/80, C & G Full-time was again the highest, but much lower than in the earlier year (68 percent). P E I Full-time and L C C (Full- and Part-time) had pass rates of 23-35 percent. The other pass rates were 50 percent or slightly higher.

The 1964/65 report gave details of the courses taken. The C&G Part-time courses were: Electrical, Radio, Plumbing, Carpentry and Joinery, Mechanical Engineering and

Motor Vehicle Mechanics and all the students were male, while the Part-time consisted of Domestic Course and Home Management, with only female students. The courses were: Engineering Drawing, Building Drawing and Engineering Workshop. All the students were male. The L C C courses were Commercial, and U of L courses Academic. Females comprised 70 and 27 percent respectively of these L C C and U of L courses.

c.4.2 Teachers' Training College (Table 3.6.2)

The number of students enrolled at the Erdiston Teacher Training College in 1964/65 was 146, of whom 83 were first-year, 41 were second-year and 22 were on a one-year general course.

Barbados is the only country that provides training for both Primary and Secondary school teachers at its Teacher-Training College. The number of Primary teachers, receiving training in 1979/80 was 210 but fell to 179 in 1983/84. The number taking examinations, however, increased from 127 to 162 most of these in the last year being repeats.

The number of Secondary school teachers receiving training also declined between 1979/80 and 1983/84, from 46 to 34, while the number taking exams fell from 28 to 10.

Barbados Community College

The number of students enrolled in the Barbados Community College was 4,700 in 1979/80 and slightly fewer in 1983/84. (Table B)

Table B. Percent Distribution of Student Roll According to Division

Division	*1979/80*	*1983/84*	*TOTP*
Total	1,697 (847	1,648 (1,792)	(1,049)
Commerce	38	37	45
Fine Arts	6	3	4
Health Sciences	8	5	5
Hospitality Studies	-	11	11
Language Centre	-	3	3
Liberal Arts	18	13	16
Science	22	20	14
Technology	9	7	. . .

The number in brackets () after the 'Total' for each year is the 'apparent' enrollment, which counts a single student more than once if he is enrolled in more than one Division

The largest divisions were Commerce (38 percent), Science (20-22 percent) and Liberal Arts (13-18 percent). Hospitality Studies (11 percent) and the Language Centre were not in existence in the first.

In 1983/84 females comprised 64 percent of the total student enrollment. There were relatively fewer females in Health Sciences and Science and hardly any in Technology. Females comprised a higher than average percentage of Commerce and Liberal Arts.

c.5 The University of the West Indies (Tables 3.7.1-3.7.5)

c.5.1 Under-Graduate (Tables 3.7.1-3.7.3)

In 1964/65 there were 162 under-graduate students at the University of the West Indies, but this number grew rapidly to 551 in 1974/75 and 1,044 in 1979/80, at a rate of 12 percent per annum over the whole period. Female enrollment has increased from one-in-four in 1964/65 to more than one-half in 1983/84. (Table 3.7.1)

According to Table 3.7.2, two-thirds of all students were enrolled in Arts, 30 percent in Science and 4 percent in Law. This distribution has remained virtually unchanged over the whole period under review.

In 1964/65 most of the Arts students were in Arts and General Studies, but by 1983/84 students in Social Studies exceeded the former faculty. The proportion of all students in Natural Science increased slightly from 21 percent in 1964/65 to 24 percent in 1983/84. The proportion in the other Science faculties has remained at under 5 percent in each case - only 1 percent in Agriculture.

The number of under-graduate degrees increased from 99 in 1974/75 to 173 in 1983/84. (Table 3.7.1). The distribution of first degrees by faculty does not differ much from that for enrollment just discussed, except that the proportion for Law was higher (8 percent) at the expense of all Sciences (Table 3.7.3).

c.5.2 Certificate and Diploma Courses (Table 3.7.4)

Enrollment in Diploma and Certificate courses has remained at about 60 over the period 1974/75 to 1983/84, 40-50 in Education. Females increased from 43 to 53 percent. The number of Certificates and Diplomas awarded was under 50 in 1979/80 and 1983/84, nearly 40 of these being in Education in each year.

c.5.3 Post-Graduate (Table 3.7.5)

The number of post-graduate students has increased from 22 in 1974/75 to 55 in 1984/85. Just under 60 percent of these were in Arts in 1974/75 and 1984/85 and somewhat less in the intervening year 1979/80. Of the remainder just under 10 percent were in Law (7

percent in 1979/80) and the remainder in Science.

The largest proportion was in Arts and General Studies (36-39 percent), followed by Natural Science (17-22 percent) and Social Science (13-14 percent in the first two years and 20 percent in 1984/85). The proportions in the other smaller faculties have fluctuated in most instances. For example, 9 percent of all post-graduates were in Engineering and in Education in the first year but only 2-4 percent in the following years, while 11 percent were in Agriculture in 1979/80 but only 2 percent in 1984/85. (Table 3.7.5)

c.6 Tertiary Students in Other Countries (Tables 3.8.1-3.8.3)

From the information available on Barbados students studying in the United Kingdom, this number has suffered a considerable and continual decline from nearly 1,500 in 1964/65 to under 100 in 1983/84. In 1964/65 nearly all of these students were studying Nursing (92 percent) and up to 1974/75 Nurses accounted for two-thirds of all students in the U.K. This proportion continued to decline to one-third in 1979/80 and 14 percent in 1983/84. If, therefore, we were to consider non-Nursing students only, the much smaller number increased from 113 in 1964/65 to 170 in 1979/80, but was halved in the following four years.

Of all students, the proportion receiving University education increased from 3 percent in 1964/65 to 54 percent in 1983/84, the actual numbers being almost the same in these two years and somewhat higher in the intervening years (Table 3.8.1).

The number of tertiary students in the USA has grown slowly but steadily from 106 in 1965 to 271 in 1983/84. The only breakdown is for 1974, which showed that two-thirds were under-graduates. One-third of all students were female (Table 3.8.2).

The number of 'visa' students in Canada increased from 88 in 1980 to 110 in 1986 (Table 3.8.3).

GRENADA

a. Population and Emigration (Table 1.1-1.5)

a.1 Population (Tables 1.1.4)

The population of Grenada increased by 0. 4 percent per annum between 1960 and 1970. A census was taken in 1981 but it was incomplete in that members of the Army and related groups were excluded. It is estimated that between 1970 and 1980 the population again grew by 0.4 per cent per annum. The projected population to the year 2000 grows even more slowly--0.2 percent per annum (Table 1.1)

There was a large and rapid decline in the Crude Birth Rate between 1960 and 1980, the CBR being nearly halved in the 20-year period. The Crude Death Rate also fell appreciably in this period especially in the 1960s (Table 1.2)

Because of the declining CBR, the proportion of the population aged 0-14 fell from 48 percent in 1960 to 39 percent in 1980 balanced by a small increase in the proportion aged 60 and over and a larger increase in the population aged 15-59 years (Table 1.1). It is projected that the proportion of children will continue to decline and the proportion of adults 15-59 will continue to increase.

The proportion of females fell slowly from 54 percent in 1960 to 52 percent in 1980, and is projected to continue to fall slowly to the end of the century.

About 95 percent of the population is classified as either of African descent or Mixed at each of the three censuses 1960-1980 (Table 1. 3). However, in 1960 the proportions African and Mixed, respectively, were 53 and 42 percent, while in 1970 Africans had jumped to 84 percent and Mixed had slumped to 11 percent. This casts doubt on the usefulness of data by ethnic origin for this country for 1960. Persons of Indian descent comprised about 3 percent and those of European descent less than 1 percent.

Roman Catholics comprised 63-64 percent of the total population in 1960 and 1970, and somewhat less (60 percent) in 1980. The next largest denomination was Anglican, which declined steadily from 25 to 17 percent between 1960 and 1980. (Table 1.4). The other denominations were all less than 5 percent, the largest being Seventh Day Adventist and Methodist. Only a very negligible number of persons were classified as non-Christian; these are included with 'Other'.

The 1960 census identified two *Special Areas* - Hillsborough (Village) and Petit Martinique (Island) - as urban, which when added to the capital St. George's, classified 9 percent of the total population as urban. There is no such breakdown for subsequent censuses.

a.2 Emigration (Table 1.5)

Unlike Trinidad & Tobago, the number of migrants to North America increased very appreciably between 1970 and 1980, from 500 to 1,400 and remained at much the same level in 1986. Most of the migrants were to USA, only about 200 going to Canada. In 1970, 3 out of 4 of the emigrants to the USA were students. In 1980 and 1986, however, only about 1 in 10 were students.

b. Economic Background (Tables 2.1-2.4)

b.1 Gross Domestic Product (Tables 2.1 and 2.2)

Between 1972 and 1986, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at current values, increased by 8 percent per annum from $US32 million to $US103 million, the rate of increase being slightly greater in the 1980s than in the 1970s (Table 2.1). Because of the slow rate of population growth, this meant that the GDP per head tripled in the 14-year period under review, from under $US350 to nearly $USl,100.

The $US exchanged at $EC1.92 in 1970 and at $2.70 in 1980 and afterwards.

Constant values for the GDP were available for 1980 and 1986, with 1984 as the base year. This shows that GDP in real terms increased by 4 percent per annum in this interval as compared with 8 1/2 percent for GDP at current values. In like manner, the GDP per head at constant prices increased by 3 percent per annum as compared with 7 1/2 percent per annum at current values.

Agriculture contributed 21 percent to the total GDP at constant values in 1980, but by 1986 this had declined to 17 percent. There was little change in the contribution of Industry, while the contribution of Services increased slightly, from just under to just over two-thirds. (Table 2.2)

b.2 Average Export Prices (Table 2.3)

Average export prices of Nutmegs and Cocoa increased between 1970 and 1980 but then fell in 1986. The increase in the first interval was considerable, the price of Cocoa being 7 times and the price of Nutmegs 3 1/4 times as high in 1980 as in 1970. The price of Bananas, on the other hand, fell between 1970 and 1980, then increased between 1980 and 1986, but all within the range of $US15-21 per 1,000 lbs.

b.3 Central Government Expenditure (Table 2.4)

Total Government expenditure was $USl1 million in 1970 and $US70.4 million 16 years later, increasing at 11 1/2 percent per annum. The rate of increase was slightly higher after 1980. Of the total expenditure, roughly one-third was capital and two-thirds recurrent.

Total revenue has been appreciably lower than expenditure throughout the period. In 1970 and 1980 revenue amounted to about 64 percent of expenditure. In 1986 it slipped to 55 percent.

Loans were small in the first two years - just under US$1 million in 1970 and

$USl million negative (loan repayment) in 1980. In 1986, however, loans amounted to nearly $US9 million.

The overall deficit which was $US3 million in 1970 was US$23 million in 1986

Both total expenditure and total revenue increased as a proportion of GDP between 1980 and 1986, the increase being much greater for expenditure .

b.4 The Labor Force (Tables 2.5.1-2.5.2)

The figures for Grenada are from the population census reports and are not consistent over the period: for 1960 the available figures are for the **working population,** defined as persons who worked for any time during the 12-month period preceding the census. For the following two censuses the figures in the tables are derived from the tabulation of the adult population according to main activity, persons who worked had a job or were looking for work being taken as the **labor force.**

There were 25 thousand persons in the working population in 1960. In 1970 the labor force was 28 1/2 thousand and it increased to 31 1/2 thousand in 1981.

The worker rate in 1960 was 54 percent, while the labor force participation rate at the two later censuses was 58 percent. (Table 2.5.1)

Females comprised 40 percent of the working population (1960) and just under 40 percent of the labor force. Unemployment, according to the 1970 census, was 10 percent of the labor force, while at the 1981 census it was much higher - 18 percent.

According to Table 2.5.2, employment in Agriculture was 44 percent of the working population in 1960. In 1970, 35 percent of the labor force was in Agriculture, and this proportion fell to 29 percent in 1981. The 1981 census shows a large decline in the proportion of the labor force in Industry to 18 percent as compared with 26 percent in 1970. The possibility that this reflects some inconsistency at the enumeration or coding stage cannot be ignored.

The breakdown by occupation shows a significant fall in farmers and related workers, while professional, administrative and related workers as well as craftsmen, service workers etc. increased, though there was a small drop in the latter between the last two censuses.

c. Education (Tables 3.1.1-3.8.3)

c.1 Public Expenditure on Education (Tables 3.1.1-3.1.4)

Total public expenditure on education, starting at $USl.2 million in 1970, increased by nearly 13 percent per annum to $US4.3 million in 1980, and by nearly 10 percent per annum to $US7.7 million in 1986. (Table 3.1.1)

Expenditure on education was 16 percent of total public expenditure in 1970, but fell steadily to 11 percent in 1986. Expenditure on education was 6-7 percent of GDP in 1980 and 1986.

Table 3.1.2 gives the percent distribution of recurrent expenditure on education according to level of education for 1970, 1978 and 1987. Between 1970 and 1987 expenditure on primary education fell from two-thirds to one-half of total expenditure and expenditure on teacher training fell from 7 to 3 percent. On the other hand, expenditure on secondary education more than tripled from 7 to 23 percent.

No breakdown of recurrent expenditure is available for 1980. A breakdown is available for the year 1978 from UNESCO (1982). Of a total expenditure of $US3.3 million more than one-half of expenditure on education was on Primary education, one-fifth was on Secondary education, and 15 percent on Administration. Expenditure on Technical and Vocational training was only 3 percent.

A breakdown of Capital Expenditure (Table 3.1.3) is available only for 1970: one-half was on primary and one-third on secondary education; the remainder was shared by Technical /Vocational and Teacher Training.

According to Table 3.1.4, expenditure per primary pupil increased from $US20 in 1970 to $US103 in 1978 and $US153 in 1986/87. At the secondary level expenditure in 1970 is estimated at a mere $US20, but this increased greatly to $US158 in 1978 and $US266 in 1986/1987. Expenditure per secondary pupil was 53 percent higher than per primary pupil in 1970, and grew more rapidly to be 74 percent higher by 1986/87.

c.2 Education and Population (Tables 3.2.1-3.2.4)

The population 5-24 years of age increased by 2.3 percent per annum between 1960 and 1970. It is shown as having declined by just under 1 percent per annum between 1970 and 1981, but the under-coverage of the 1981 census has already been commented on. It is projected that this population will continue to decline and at an increasing rate after 1990 (Table 3.2.1).

The population 5-24 was 44 percent of the total population in 1960 and 52 percent in 1970. This percentage is projected to fall to 37 percent by the end of the century .

Between 1960 and 1970 there was a decline in the proportion of this population who were 5-9 years old as well as in the oldest age group - 20-24 years. This was balanced by a large increase in the 10-14 and a smaller increase in the 15-19 groups.

The proportion of the population 15 years and older with a secondary education has increased over time from 8 percent in 1960 to 14 percent in 1981, while the proportion with a primary education fell from 92 to 85 percent (Table 3.2.2). The change understandably occurred among the young population, the proportion with a secondary school education among persons 15-34 years of age increasing from 11 to 21 percent while that for persons 35 years and older remained unchanged at 5 percent. Similarly, the proportion with only primary education fell from 89 to 78 percent for the younger group but again remained virtually unchanged for persons 35 years and older. The proportion of the population with a university education was 1 percent or less throughout the period for both of the two age groups shown, except for the older age group in 1980 when it was 2 percent.

Table 3.2.3 gives a breakdown of persons 15 years and older, according to the highest exam passed. (Those classified in the residual 'Other' category as regards exam passed are excluded). Most of these persons--94 percent in 1970 and 88 percent in 1980 had passed no exam. The remainder were fairly evenly distributed among the examination groups shown, 1 percent having a Diploma/Degree, 5 percent the GCE 'O' level (1-4 subjects) in 1980, and about 2 percent in each of the other groups.

Of the total population, 56 percent were female in 1970 and 53 percent in 1980. Females were 50-60 percent of each group except Diploma/ Degree where only 29 and 32 percent respectively were female in 1970 and 1980.

c.2.1 Persons with University Training (Table 3.2.4)

According to Table 3.2.4, of the population 20 years and older not attending school, the proportion per 10,000 with university education was 61 in 1960, 91 in 1970 and 133 in 1980. This proportion was very much higher, in 1960, for persons 35 years and older (77)

than for those 20-34 years of age (38). In 1980 the proportion was similar for the two age groups (132-134) .

The number per 10,000 population with a diploma/degree increased from 117 in 1970 to 161 in 1980, the proportion being higher for persons 35 years and older in both years.

Females comprised 24 percent of the total with university education in 1970, and slightly more (28 percent) in the following years. Of those with a diploma /degree, females increased from 29 percent in 1970 to 32 percent in 1980.

c.2.2 Nursery and Pre-primary Education

Pre-primary education is available for children under 5 years of age as a gradual preparation for primary education.

In 1979/80 there were 77 pre-primary schools with a total of 114 staff and 2,408 pupils on roll, an average of 21 pupils per teacher.

In 1986/87 73 schools for children under 5 years were reported, 5 designated as Nursery and 68 as pre-primary schools. Between them there were 171 teachers and 3,500 pupils, with an average pupil/teacher ratio of 21.

c.3 Primary and Secondary Education (Tables 3.3.1-3.3.5)

c.3.1 Enrollment in Primary and Secondary Schools (Tables 3.3.1-3.3.4)

While figures are available for enrollment for the various years, it has not been possible to ensure absolute comparability partly because of the apparent incompleteness, in some years, and absence in others of data for private schools. Also, figures for children under age 5 (the preschool population) attending nursery schools are available for some years but not others. These figures are left out of the tables but referred to in the text.

Enrollment in Government and Assisted Primary schools fell from 30 thousand in 1970 to 22 1/2 thousand in 1979/80 and 20 thousand in 1986/87, a decline of 3 percent per annum in the first period and 1 1/2 percent in the latter. There is no information on private Primary schools in 1970; in 1979/80 enrollment in these schools was 600 and in 1986/87 1,100. Included in the primary school enrollment are students in All-age schools who were in secondary school forms. In 1979/80 there were 4,400 and in 1986/87 3,200 such students. In the absence of data, I have estimated 4, 900 for 1970 (Table 3.3.1). Enrollment in Government and Assisted Secondary schools increased from 3 thousand in 1970 to 7.2 thousand in 1979/80 and then fell to 6.4 thousand in 1986/87, the rate of change being 9 percent in the first interval and -2 percent in the following. The enrollment in 1980 includes 1,500 pupils in 4 Junior Secondary Schools. By 1986 /87 these schools were being phased out and are not shown separately. Enrollment in private Secondary schools was reported at 400 in 1979/80; no information is available for the other years.

Total enrollment in Government and Assisted Schools (primary and secondary) therefore, fell by 1.2 percent per annum in the period 1970 to 1979/80 and 1.6 percent in the

following 7 years.

Females comprised just under one-half of primary students (47-48 percent), as against 54-56 percent of secondary students.

The ratio of secondary to primary students increased over the period from 1 in 10 in 1970 to 1 in 3 in 1979/80 and 1986/87.

Table 3.3.2 shows the number of students receiving primary and secondary education. In this table, students in secondary forms at All Age schools are included with Secondary instead of in Primary as in Table 3.3.1. To permit comparison, the small number of secondary school students in private schools is omitted.

Apparent enrollment ratios are shown based on the population aged 5-11 years for Primary and 12-18 years for Secondary. This shows a ratio of 1.13 (1970), 1.08 (1980) for Primary, attesting to the fact that some children over age 11 (and possibly under 5) are attending Primary school. The ratio for Secondary education is high, increasing from 0.46 in 1970 to 0.69 in 1979/80. At the primary level, school attendance, as a ratio to enrollment was 86 percent in 1970 and 89 percent in 1986/87.

Table 3.3.3 shows the number of pupils sitting and passing the scholarship examinations from primary to secondary schools. This number was 2,700 in 1970, increased by 1 percent per annum to 3,000 in 1980; and then fell slightly to 2, 900 in 1986.

The proportion of students gaining places increased from 7 percent in 1970 to 16 percent in 1980 and 42 percent in 1986. The figures for 1970 in this Table are from Brizan (undated) but the 1980 figure from this source is quite different from the Ministry of Education 1980 Report. Brizan, also showing the Ministry as his source shows 3,179 sitting and 32 percent passing the Common Entrance in 1980.

A detailed breakdown of students attending Secondary school by type of school as in Table 3.3.4 is not available except for 1979/80. Just under one-half were attending Traditional schools - 19 percent Government and 30 percent Assisted. Another 13 percent were attending the Newer Schools. The proportion of these students who were receiving their education in the secondary classes in All Age schools was 38 percent in 1979/80 and fell to 33 percent in 1986/87.

c.3.2 Primary and Secondary School Teachers (Tables 3.4.1-3.4.4)

The number of teachers in primary schools has fallen steadily from over 1,000 in 1970 to 772 in 1986 /87. The fall was much more rapid in the 1970s (2.4 percent per annum) than in the 1980s (0.4 percent per annum). However, the number of teachers did not fall as rapidly as enrollment, so that the pupil/teacher ratio improved, falling from 30 in 1969/70 to 28 in 1979/80 and 26 in 1986/87 (Table 3.4.1).

The number of teachers in secondary schools increased from 193 in 1969/70 to 333 in 1979/80 and then fell back to 304 in 1986/87. Despite the increase, the student/teacher ratio worsened from 16 in 1969/70 to 22 in the following years (Table 3.4.1).

Table 3.4.2 gives a breakdown of Primary teachers by qualification for 1969/70 and 1979/80. Teachers with 4 or more 'O' levels and 1 or more 'A' levels are classified as having completed secondary education. The classification used for 1986/87 is different from that of the earlier years, as is shown in the Table.

In 1969/70 41 percent of the teachers were trained; 10 years later this proportion had fallen to 33 percent. Thirty percent of all teachers are classified as having completed secondary education in 1969/70 according to the criteria just mentioned; in 1979/80 the proportion reported in the Education Report was very much higher--62 percent.

Of secondary school teachers (Table 3.4.3), 41 percent were university graduates in 1972 and 23 percent in 1979/80, while 52 and 69 percent respectively had completed secondary education. Of all teachers, 26-28 percent were trained. In 1986/87, for which a different classification is provided, 26 percent were graduates, 6 percent were principals and 22 percent qualified and 43 percent certified.

Table 3.4.4 shows a breakdown of teachers and pupils by religious denomination. Of the teachers, just under one-half were in Roman Catholic and one quarter in Government schools in 1980 and 1986/87. Anglican and Methodist schools had 15-16 and 8-9 percent respectively. The distribution of pupils was very similar for the years 1970 and 1986/87. For both teachers and pupils there has been a slight drop in the proportion Roman Catholic and a slight increase in the proportion Government.

The number of Primary school teachers who gave up teaching fell from 137 (13 percent) in 1980 to 52 (7 percent) in 1987. No information is available for Secondary school teachers (Table 3.4.5).

c.3.4 Secondary School Examination Results (Tables 3.5.1-3.5.3)

The number of subjects taken at the Cambridge GCE 'O' level examination was 2,750 in 1970, 6,350 in 1980 and 4,800 in 1986. The number increased by 8 percent per annum in the first interval and fell by 5 percent per annum in the second. The proportion of passes was remarkably constant, falling from 33 percent in the first year to 30 percent in 1980 and returning to 32 percent in 1986 (Table 3.5.1).

The number of students taking English increased from 950 in 1970 to over 1,200 in the following years. The pass rate in this subject fell from 36 to 24 percent and then increased again to 30 percent. There was a very large increase in the numbers taking Science from 400 in 1970 to nearly 1,600 in 1986, while the pass rate increased over the period from 29 to 36 percent. Between 1970 and 1986 the pass rate fell in all other subjects.

The number of subjects taken at the 'A' level (Cambridge) was 140 in 1970 and 272 in 1980. The pass rate fell from 38 to 20 percent. In 1970 sixty-eight students took Science with just under a 50 percent pass rate, and 26 took each of Mathematics and Social Science. Only 12 percent of those taking the latter subject passed.

In 1986 students sat 1,768 subjects at the CXC examinations. A breakdown into 'General' and 'Basic' is not available to the Author for all subjects (see footnote to the Table),

but it is estimated that over 1,650 sat at the General and over 100 at the Basic level. The most popular subjects for both levels were English, Mathematics and Business Studies, but more than 100 students also took the other subjects at the General level except Science. The pass rate was just under 40 percent for both levels, ranging between 32 and 40 percent for the General and between 27 and 50 percent for the Basic level.

c.4 Technical and Vocational Schools and Teachers Colleges (Tables 3.6.1-3.6.2)

c.4.1 Technical and Vocational Schools (Table 3.6.1)

Only limited information has been found here (Table 3.6.1) . For 1969/70 the Education Digest gives information for only the Commercial and Domestic Arts Institute. Just over 100 students were enrolled, two thirds of them in Business Education (H) - Typing, Stenography, Accounting - and the remainder in Domestic Science (I) .

For 1981/82 there were just over 500 students in 5 institutions (see Table 3.6.1). Of these, one-third were attending the Technical and Vocational Institution (C), just over one-quarter were at the School of Nursing (D), and just under one-quarter at the Institute for Further Education (B). Nine percent were at the Agricultural Training College (A). There is no breakdown by subject of the enrollment at the general institutions. By 1984/85 there was an appreciable increase at the Institute for Further Education (B), balanced by a decline at the School of Nursing (D).

c.4.2 Teachers' College (Table 3.6.2)

The Grenada Teachers' College was started in 1963. The number of teachers enrolled in 1969/70 and 1979/80 was 79 and 95 respectively. The numbers who passed the examinations in those years were 28 in 1969/70 and 42 in 1979/80. (Table 3.6.2). According to Brizan (undated) 651 teachers were trained (passed the examinations) during the period 1963/1980, but there were only 271 trained teachers in the teaching service in 1980 so that 380 or 58 percent of the trained teachers had left the service.

c.5 The University of the West Indies (Tables 3.7.1-3.7.5)

The number of Grenadian under-graduate students enrolled at the campuses of the University of the West Indies was 55 in 1970/71, fell to 44 in 1980/81 and then rose to 59 in 1986/87. The proportion female increased from 27 to 46 percent over this period (Table 3.7.1).

In 1970/71, 22 percent of the students were enrolled in Arts and 78 percent in Science (Table 3.7.2). All of the Arts students were doing Arts and General Studies. The 78 percent Science students were distributed as follows: 33 percent Natural Science, 20 percent Medicine and the remainder equally divided between Agriculture and Engineering (13 percent each). In the following years there were also students studying Law, the proportion being 7 percent in 1980/81 and 14 percent in 1986/87. In these years about one-half of the students were in the Arts faculty and the remainder (45 and 35 percent respectively) were

doing Science.

With the development of the Social Science faculty the proportion in this faculty moved from nil in 1970 /71 to 23 and 35 percent respectively in 1980/81 and 1986/87 with a resulting decline in Arts and General Studies to 11 percent in the last year. The loss of Science students was shared by all faculties.

The number of under-graduate degrees awarded was 7 in 1970/71 and 20 in 1980/81. (Table 3.7.1) A breakdown of the degrees awarded by faculty is given in Table 3.7.3 .

Ten students were enrolled for post-graduate study in 1971/72. This number fell to 3 in each of the subsequent years. (Table 3.7.5). In 1971/72 the 10 students were fairly spread over the faculties, half of them doing Arts and the other half Science.

c.6 Tertiary Students in Other Countries (Tables 3.8.1-3.8.3)

There were 178 Grenadian students in the U.K. in 1964/65. This number increased to 278 in 1969/70 at a rate of 9 percent per annum, before falling rapidly to 93 in 1979/80 and a mere 7 in 1983/84 (Table 3.8.1). Up to 1979/80 most of the students were trainee nurses - 88 percent in1969/70 and 59 percent in 1975/80. The proportion attending university fluctuated, being 8 percent in 1964/65 and 1979/80 and only 2 percent in 1969/70. Students at Polytechnics comprised about 6 percent of all students up to 1979 /80, while those in other institutes of higher education (see Table) fluctuated like university students.

Only very limited information is available for the U.S.A. and none for Canada where Grenadian students are included with other small countries of the Region**.** In the USA (Table 3.8.2) there were 103 tertiary students in 1980/81 and 136 in 1986/87. No breakdown is available.

THE DATA: SOURCES, AVAILABILITY AND COMPARABILITY

We conclude with a statement on the sources of the data used in this report and a brief comment on the availability and comparability of such data in the three countries. This is neither comprehensive nor is it intended to make any value judgments on the nature or quality of the data available; these are quite outside the scope of this study.

a. Sources

Table 1.1	Population Census Reports; Official Projections by the Government Statistical Office for Trinidad & Tobago and Barbados and by the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Port of Spain Subregional Office, for Grenada
Table 1.2	Statistical Digests and Vital Statistics Reports of the countries; the United Nations Demographic Yearbooks
Tables 1.3 -1.4	Population Census Reports

Table 1.5	See footnote to Table 1. 5
Tables 2.1 -2.2	Trinidad & Tobago - National Income Reports of the Central Statistical Office (CSO) Barbados - Reports of the Barbados Statistical Service and the Central Bank Grenada - World Bank (1 976): *Economic Position and Prospects of Grenada (p*. 8) for 1972; Annual Abstract of Statistics
Table 2.3	Unpublished data provided by National Statistical Offices
Table 2.4	Government Financial Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure; Miscellaneous Reports and Statements. For Grenada 1980 - *Report of the National Economy for 1981 and Prospects for 1982*
Tables 2.5.1-2.5.2	Trinidad & Tobago and Barbados - Miscellaneous Labor Force Survey Reports. Grenada - Population Census Reports
Tables 3.1.1-3.1.4	Data on Expenditure on Education from Miscellaneous Reports and statements from the Ministry of Education in each country
Tables 3.2.1-3.2.4	Population Census Reports
Tables 3.3.1-3.3.4	Trinidad & Tobago - CSO: Miscellaneous Education Statistics Reports, Annual Statistical Digest. Ministry of Education: Statistics on Public Education Barbados - Ministry of Education: Digest of Education Statistics, Miscellaneous Education Reports Grenada - UNESCO (1982): *Education Sector Survey,* Ministry of Education (1973): *A review of the Historical Development of Education in Grenada, (1982): Report for 1980; Annual School Directory and Basic Educational Statistics*. File papers of the Ministry of Education. BRIZAN, George See below - Table 3.6.1-3.6.2
Tables 3.4.1-3.4.5	Same as for Tables 3.3.1-3.3.4 above, and other miscellaneous
Tables 3.6.1-3.6.2	As above. Grenada - BRIZAN, George (undated) *The Education Reform Process in Grenada 1979-1981*. Ministry of Education and Culture: *The Educational System 1985-1986*
Tables 3.7.1-3.7.5	The University of the West Indies Annual Statistics Reports
Table 3.8.1	British Council: Overseas Students in Britain (annual)
Table 3.8.2	International Institute of Education: *Open Doors* (annual)

Table 3.8.3 Canadian Ministry of Supply and Services: *Universities: Enrollments and Degrees*

A number of other sources were consulted, including:
(a) miscellaneous official and unofficial reports of the ministries of education and statistical agencies
(b) special tables prepared by the ministries of education for other purposes or in response to requests for this project
(c) reports of international bodies (IBRD, World Bank . . .) particularly in the case of Grenada

b. Availability of Data for this Study

Much of the data needed for this report was available in official reports though these were not always easily available. Though available, often the data were not in the form stipulated. Much of the time the data could be re-grouped into the desired form, occasionally with some interpolation or judgment sub-division. In other instances, however, as is evident in the Appendix tables, no breakdown in the stipulated form could be obtained. In some cases, special tabulations were commissioned.

In a few instances, the stipulated data could not be obtained. This was the case, for example, for some secondary school examination results for some years.

c. Comparability of the Data

Two aspects of comparability of the data are involved: (a) comparability between the countries; and (b) comparability within each country over time.

Looking first at inter-country comparability, some of the data are, or should be, clearly comparable, either because they are based on internationally agreed standards, such as Gross Domestic Product and the GCE examination results, or are simple and straightforward, such as the population census count by age and sex. On the other hand, there are instances where the data for the different countries are clearly not comparable: for example, where a different classification is used as in the Table showing teachers by qualification; or where the original sources are different as is the case with the labor force data where the Grenada data are from the population censuses while the data for the other two countries are from labor force surveys.

In most other instances, comparison must be made with caution. For example, in the breakdown of students by type of school, students attending some Technical/Vocational schools have been included with secondary in one country. Again, the type and level of education/training given to students in Technical/Vocational schools and teachers training colleges are not uniform. The criteria for distributing education expenditure by level of education and activity are evidently not uniform between countries.

Even within countries, data at different times may not be comparable. This may well be the case with the distribution of expenditure on education just mentioned. In a number of instances the method of reporting or the classifications used have been changed over time. For example, in Trinidad & Tobago, as was indicated in Section 2 above, the number of students enrolled at Technical/Vocational schools is reported for the year (average) in some years, and for each term separately in others. In Grenada, the number of students enrolled in Junior Secondary schools is shown separately from 'students in Secondary schools' in some instances but are included with the latter in other years.

Since the education statistics in each country are, or should be, primarily for use in policy-making, management and evaluation of the national education program and service, it is reasonable that comparability with other countries or even comparability within the country over time may have to be sacrificed from time to time. This does impose upon any responsible user, the need to take precautions to ensure that statistics are indeed comparable before comparing them and to avoid pronouncements based on such comparisons when he/she has not confirmed or is unable to confirm their comparability.

THE TABLES

Table 1.1. Percent Distribution of Total Population According to Age - Sex Distribution and Rate of Population Growth

	Total Population '000s	*Females as % of Total*	*Avg Annual Rate of Growth*	*Age Distribution 0-14*	*Age Distribution 15-59*	*Age Distribution 60+*
Trinidad & Tobago						
1960	829	50		42	52	6
1970	981[1]	51	1.7	40	53	6
1980	1,080	50	1.0	34	58	8
1986	1,199	50	1.8	33	59	8
1990	1,321	50	2.5	35	57	8
2000	1,608	50	2.0	34	58	8
Barbados						
1960	232	55	-	38	52	9
1970	235	53	0.1	37	51	12
1980	244	53	0.4	30	56	14
1985	252	52	0.6	26	60	14
1990	255	52	0.2	24	62	14
2000	259	51	0.2	26	63	12
Grenada						
1960	89	54	-	48	45	8
1970	93	53	0.5	47	44	9
1980	97[2]	52	0.4	39	51	10
1990	99	51	0.2	33	58	10
2000	101	50	0.2	28	63	9

[1]The 1970 Census count for Trinidad & Tobago of 941,000 was adjudged an under-count, and adjusted upward on the basis of other available data.

A Census was taken in Grenada in 1981, but the count of 89,000 excluded members of Army and other groups. The 1980 Estimate, used as the base population for the ECLAC projection, takes these omissions into account.

Table 1.2. Birth and Death Rates

	Crude Birth Rate	*Crude Death Rate*	*Total Fertility Rate*
Trinidad & Tobago			
1960	38.2	8.3	5.4
1970	26.2	7.2	3.6
1980	28.3	6.7	3.3
1986	N/A	N/A	N/A
Barbados			
1960	33.8	9.2	4.4
1970	20.4	8.6	3.0
1980	16.6	8.1	1.8
1986	16.1	8.0	
Grenada			
1960	44.5	11.4	6.3
1970	28.3	7.8	
1980	23.4	6.7	

Table 1.3. Percent Distribution of the Population According to Ethnic Origin: 1960-1980

	Ethnic Origin						
	*Total Population (000s)**	*African Descent*	*Indian Descent*	*Mixed*	*European Descent*	*Chinese Descent*	*Other*
Trinidad & Tobago							
1960	828	43.3	36.5	16.3	2.4	1.0	0.5
1970	930	42.8	40.1	14.4	1.2	0.9	0.5
1980	1,052	41.0	40.8	16.4	0.9	0.5	0.4
Barbados							
1960	232	89.9	0.2	6.0	4.3	---	0.2
1970	235	91.6	0.3	4.0	4.0	---	0.2
1980	241	93.3	0.5	2.6	3.3	---	0.2
Grenada							
1960	89	52.7	4.2	42.2	0.8	---	0.1
1970	93	84.4	3.4	11.2	0.7	---	0.2
1980	89	82.7	3.2	13.3	0.6	---	0.2

* Excludes Ethnic Origin "Not Stated".

Table 1.4. Percent Distribution of the Population According to Religion: 1960-1980

	Total Population (000s)*	*Anglican*	*Hindu*	*Methodist*	*Moravian*	*Muslim*	*Pentecostal*	*Seventh Day Adventist*	*Roman Catholic*	*Presbyterian*	*Jehovah Witness*	*Other*
Trinidad & Tobago												
1960	828	21.1	23.0	2.2	0.9	6.0	0.5	1.5	36.2	3.9	0.5	4.1
1970	931	18.1	24.7	1.7	0.7	6.3	N.A.	1.8	35.6	4.2	N.A.	6.9
1980	1,045	14.8	25.2	1.4	N.A.	6.1	3.5	2.5	33.3	3.9	0.8	8.5
Barbados			*Pilgrim Holiness*			*Church Of God*				*Brethern*		
1960	232	57.6	5.5	7.9	2.2	2.3	4.8	2.0	2.8	2.6	0.7	10.7
1970	235	53..1	N.A.	8.6	2.2	2.8	6.2	2.6	3.9	1.9	N.A.	18.6
1980	238	40.8	N.A.	7.3	1.8	2.7	7.8	3.6	4.5	1.2	N.A.	30.4
Grenada					*Presbyterian*							
1960	89	24.7	0.1	4.0	1.7	0.3	0.9	3.0	63.1	0.5	0.4	1.3
1970	93	21.8	N.A.	3.5	. . .	0.7	1.7	3.5	64.0	0.5	N.A.	4.3
1981	88	17.3	N.A.	2.8	1.0	1.5	3.9	5.7	60.0	0.4	N.A.	7.4

* Because of inconsistency in reporting the 'No Religion' and 'Not Stated' categories at the three censuses of population, the 'Total Population' used in this table varies as follows:

1960/1970 – includes 'No Religion' and 'Not Stated' along with religions and denominations not shown separately in the Table in the residual 'Other/ group.

1980 – exludes 'Not Stated', includes 'No Religion'/

Table 1.5. Migrants To and Students In North America

	Migrants			Students		
	Total	*U.S.A.*	*Canada*	*Total*	*U.S.A.*	*Canada*
Trinidad & Tobago						
1970	12,140	7,350	4,790	1,579	780	799
1980	6,114	5,154	960	1,762	1,138	624
1985	3,516	2,831	685	2,741	1,927	814
Barbados						
1965	#	406	#	#	106	#
1980	3,042	2,667	375	308	220	88
1984	1,835	1,577	258	412	302	110
Grenada						
1970	532	329	203	284	253*	31
1980	1,359	1,198	161	#	103	#
1986	1,293	1,045	248	#	131	#

* Number of admissions to U.S. universities and colleges, not number of matriculants.

Data not available.

Sources:
U.S.A. – (1) *Immigrants Admitted* and (2) *Foreign Students:* United States Immigration and Naturalization Annual Reports; (2) Statistical Yearbooks of the Immigration and Naturalization *Open Doors* (An annual report published by the Institute for International Education.
Canada – (1) *Landed Immigrants* and (2) *Visa Students.* (1) *Immigration Statistics* An annual report published by the Canada Immigration Division, Department of Manpower and Immigration and later by Employment and Immigration Canada). (2) *Fall Enrollment in Universities and Colleges* (An annual report published by Statistics Canada); and *Universities, Enrollment and Degrees* (An annual report published by Statistics Canada).

Table 2.1. Economic Indicators

	GDP (US $MN)	*GDP (US $MN)*	*GDP per Head (US$)*	*GDP per Head (US$)*	*Population '000s*
	Current Values	*Constant Values*	*Current Values*	*Constant Values*	
Trinidad & Tobago					
1960	535.7	-	647	-	828
*1970	821.9	821.9	838	838	981
1980	8,730.2	1,145.2	8,084	1,060	1,080
1985	7,404.1	934.5	6,268	791	1,181
Barbados					
1965	92.4	-	393	-	235
*1974	320.2	320.2	1,306	1,306	245
1979	598.1	384.4	2,404	1,545	249
1984	1,037.3	389.3	4,108	1,542	525
Grenada					
1972	31.8	-	346	-	92
1980	62.1	72.0	686	795	91
1986	103.4	91.6	1,081	957	96
*(1984)					

* Base Year

Table 2.2. Percent Distribution of GDP at Constant Values According to Industrial Sector (US $Million)

	Total	*Agriculture*	*Industry*	*Services*
Trinidad & Tobago				
*1970	5	41	54	821.9
1980	2	42	56	1,145.2
1985	3	41	56	934.5
Barbados				
*1974	11	20	70	320.2
1979	10	21	68	384.4
1984	10	22	69	389.3
Grenada				
*1980	21	15	64	72.0
1986	17	16	67	91.6

* Base Year

Table 2.3. Average Export Price (Average Unit Value) of Selected Items (US$)

Trinidad & Tobago	*Unit*	*1960*	*1970*	*1980*	*1986*
Crude Petroleum	Cubic Meters	15.85	9.88	222.54	105.60
Sugar (Unrefined)	Tonne	112.63	114.69	437.49	406.25
+ US$ Rate of Exchange		1.7143	2.00	2.40	3.60
Barbados	*Unit*	*1965*	*1979*	*1984*	
Rum	Gallon	1.62	2.87	7.00	
Sugar	Tonne	121.38	366.01	365.41	
+ US$ Rate of Exchange		1.7126	2.00	2.00	
Grenada	*Unit*	*1970*	*1980*	*1986*	
Nutmegs	1,000lb	281.48	918.52	825.93	
Cocoa	1,000lb	266.67	1,688.89	1,100.00	
Bananas	1,000lb	19.96	14.95	21.30	
+ US$ Rate of Exchange		1.92	2.70	2.70	

Source: Government Statistical Departments
+ Value in local currency of US$1

Table 2.4. Summary of Central Government Expenditure

		Expend-iture as a % of Total	*Expend-iture as a % of Total*			*Surplus/ Deficit*	*Surplus/ Deficit*	*As % of GDP*	*As % of GDP*
	Total Expend-iture	*Recurrent*	*Capital*	*Total Revenue*	*Total Loans*	*Recurrent*	*Capital*	*Total Expend-iture*	*Total Revenue*
Trinidad & Tobago									
1960	91.1	77	23	94.7	57.0	24.7	60.6	17	18
1970	194.6	78	22	174.2	196.4	23.1	176.0	24	21
1980	2,340.6	60	41	2,673.3	712.4	1,281.3	1,045.1	38	43
1986	2,752.8	89	11	2,402.7	2,193.6	(36.6)	1,843.5	37	32
Barbados									
1965/66	24.9	76	24	22.5	N/A	3.5	(2.5)	27	24
1974/75	97.8	81	19	79.9	(0.7)	0.8	(18.7)	31	25
1979/80	200.7	79	14	177.2	0.1	19.9	(23.5)	34	30
1984/85	347.0	81	19	286.0	0.8	6.1	(60.2)	33	28
Grenada									
1970	11.0	68	32	7.0	0.9		(3.1)		
1980	34.1	65	35	21.8	(0.9)	(0.6)	(13.2)	55	35
1986	70.4	65	35	38.7	8.8		(22.0)	67	37

Source: Report of the National Economy of 1981 and the Projects for 1982

Table 2.5. Labor Force

	Labor Force As Percentage of Population of Working Age	*Percentage of Labor Force in Agriculture*	*Percentage of Labor Force in Industry*	*Percentage of Labor Force in Services*	*Unemployment as a Percentage of the Labor Force*
Trinidad & Tobago					
1965	63	23	33	45	14
1970	60	23	36	41	13
1979	59	10	41	49	11
1986	59	10	34	57	17
Barbados					
1965	63	21	20	60	15
1976	64	N/A	N/A	N/A	16
1981	65	9	23	68	13
1984	63	8	24	68	17
Grenada					
1960	54	44	22	34	N/A
1970	58	35	26	39	10
1981	58	29	18	52	18

Table 2.5.1 Labor Force, Labor Force Participation Rate and Unemployment Rate.

	Labor Force				
	*Number (000s)**	*Average Annual Rate of Growth*	*Participation Rate*	*Females as % of Total*	*Unemployment Rate (% of L.F.)*
Trinidad & Tobago					
1965	353.6	---	63	32	14
1970	363.6	0.6	60	30	13
1979	446.3	2.3	59	31	11
1986	471.1	0.8	59	33	17
Barbados					
1965	91.1	1.2	63	47	15
1976	104.0	1.2	64	45	16
1981	112.4	1.6	65	45	13
1984	112.3	---	63	47	17
Grenada					
1960	25.1	---	54	40	---
1970	28.6	1.3	58	38	10
1981	31.6	0.9	58	39	18

* Grenada: For 1960 the data relate to the Working Population, that is, persons employed for some time during the 12 months preceding the census enumeration. For 1870 and 1980 the data are based on the classification by main activity.

Table 2.5.2. Percent Distribution of the Labor Force According to Industry and Occupation

	Industry			*Occupation*		
	Agriculture	*Industry*	*Services*	*Professional &c*	*Farmer &c*	*Craftsman &c*
Trinidad & Tobago						
1965	23	33	45	24	22	54
1970	23	36	41	24	22	54
1979	10	41	49	31	10	60
1986	10	34	57	34	9	57
Barbados						
1965*	21	20	60	29	20	51
1981	9	23	68	36	9	55
1984	8	24	68	38	8	54
Grenada						
1960	44	22	34	18	43	39
1970	35	26	39	21	33	45
1980	29	18	52	28	28	43

* Barbados: The Breakdown for 1965 relates to the *Employed Population* only, and *not* to the total Labor Force.

Table 3.1.1. Total Public Expenditure on Education

	Total Expenditure on Education (US$ MN)	*Average Annual Rate of Growth*	*Expenditure of Education as a Percentage of Total & Expenditure*	*Expenditure of Education as a Percentage of GDP*
Trinidad & Tobago				
1960	12.1	-	13	2
1970	24.7	7.4	13	3
1980	234.9	22.5	10	4
1986	238.5	0.3	13	5
Barbados				
1964/65	5.4	-	24	6
1979/80	43.1	13.9	21	7
1983/84	61.2	8.9	20	6
Grenada				
1970		-	16	…
1980	4.3	12.8	13	7
1986	7.7	9.7	11	6

Table 3.1.2. Percent Distribution of Recurrent Expenditure on Education According to Level of Education/Activity

	Total Recurrent Expend-iture	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on Primary Education*	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on Secondary Education*	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on Teacher Training*	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on Technical/ Vocational Training*	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on UWI*	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on General Admini-stration*	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on School Feeding Program*	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on Other*
Trinidad & Tobago									
1960	9.8	73	12	…	4	-	5	2	5
1970	21.8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1980	179.5	47	33	1	2	9	7	…	1
1986	250.6	41	30	1	1	16	5	3	2
Barbados									
1964/65	4.6	57	18	1	2	11	8	-	3
1979/80	38.2	28	29	2	2	18	7	9	4
1983/84	54.4	32	34	2	3	16	4	8	2
Grenada[1]									
1970	0.9	66	7	7	1	-	13	1	6
1987		50	23	3	2	2	15	-	6

[1]Data in this form is not available in 1980 under the Revolutionary Government

Table 3.1.3. Capital Expenditure on Education by Level of Education/Activity

	Total Capital Expend-iture	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on Primary Education*	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on Secondary Education*	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on Teacher Training*	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on Technical/ Vocational Training*	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on UWI*	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on General Admini-stration*	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on School Feeding Program*	*Percent of Recurrent Expend-iture on Other*
Trinidad & Tobago	(US$ mn)								
1960	2.3	46	15	13	10	-	-	-	15
1970	3.0	31	59	…	2	3	-	-	5
1980	55.4	4	22	1	-	39	-	-	33
1986	20.4	9	6	…	…	83	-	-	1
Barbados	(US$ thous)								
1964/65	0.8	33	27	…	1	-	-	13	26
1979/80	5.4	7	36	2	40	-	12	4	…
1983/84	6.8	26	62	…	3	-	7	1	1
Grenada	(US$ thous)								
1970	0.3	49	32	8	11	-	-	-	
1980	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1987	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 3.1.4. Enrollment in Government and Government Assisted Schools and Recurrent Expenditure on Education by Level of Education

	Primary and Intermediate Enrollment '000s	*Primary and Intermediate Recurrent Expenditure US$M*	*Primary and Intermediate Expenditure per Pupil US$*	*Secondary Enrollment '000s*	*Secondary Recurrent Expenditure US$M*	*Secondary Expenditure per Pupil US$*
Trinidad & Tobago						
1960	181.8	7.2	40	12.9	1.2	90
1980	166.8	83.8	503	82.5	59.3	719
1986/87	176.5	102.3	580	96.9	74.8	772
Barbados						
1964/65	43.7	2.6	60	17.4	0.8	46
1979/80	34.7	9.8	283	25.2	10.0	396
1983/84	30.7	16.9	551	25.5	15.9	623
Source: Digest						
Grenada						
1970	29.8			3.0		
1980/81	21.4		77	5.7		
1986/87	23.5			6.4		

Table 3.2.1. Population 5-24 Years of Age

	Total 5-24 '000s	*Females as a % of Total*	*Average Annual Rate of Growth*	*% Distrib According to Age 5-9*	*% Distrib According to Age 10-14*	*% Distrib According to Age 15-19*	*% Distrib According to Age 20-24*	*5-24 as % of Total Populatio n*
Trinidad & Tobago								
1960	365.6	50		32	28	22	18	44
1970*	456.6	50	2.2	32	27	23	18	49
1980	487.8	50	0.7	25	25	27	23	45
1986	504.6	50	0.6	26	24	24	27	42
1990	517.7	49	0.6	31	24	23	23	39
1995	572.8	49	2.0	31	27	22	20	39
2000	638.5	49	2.2	29	27	25	19	40
Barbados								
1960	94.4	51		32	27	22	18	41
1970	106.6	50	1.2	29	28	24	18	45
1980	103.4	50	-0.3	24	25	26	24	42
1985	97.5	50	-1.2	21	25	26	28	37
1990	87.9	50	-1.0	23	22	27	27	34
1995	83.6	49	-0.6	27	23	22	27	32
2000	81.2	48	-0.6	29	27	23	22	30
Grenada								
1960	38.7	51		36.0	27.7	20.1	16.2	44
1970	48.5	50	2.3	33.3	31.3	21.5	13.9	52
1981	44.5	50	-0.8	27.0	25.8	26.3	20.9	46
1990	42.6	49	-0.5	26.5	23.6	25.5	24.4	43
1995	40.3	48	-1.1	26.2	26.0	22.7	25.1	
2000	37.8	49	-1.3	25.6	26.2	25.6	22.6	37

*Unadjusted 1970 Census Figures

Table 3.2.2. Population 15 Years Old and Over According to Highest Level of Education by Age

	Primary 1960*	*Primary* 1970*	*Primary* 1980[1]*	*Secondary 1960*	*Secondary 1970*	*Secondary 1980[1]*	*University 1960*	*University 1970*	*University 1980[1]*
Trinidad & Tobago									
15-34 yrs	79	67	51	20	32	47	1	1	2
35+ yrs	93	90	83	6	9	14	1	1	2
Total 15+ yrs	86	78	65	14	21	33	1	1	2
Females % (15+)	51	50	50	49	51	52	23	28	34
Barbados									
15-34 yrs	71	8	28	28	91	69	1	7	3
35+ yrs	88	40	73	12	59	24	…	1	2
Total 15+ yrs	83	25	51	17	74	46	…	1	3
Females % (15+)	58	60	55	55	54	53	22	32	40
Grenada									
15-34 yrs	89	84	78	11	16	21	…	…	1
35+ yrs	94	95	93	5	4	5	1	1	2
Total 15+ yrs	92	89	85	8	10	14	1	1	1
Females % (15+)			53			58			28

The table includes persons still attending school.
*Includes "No Education"
[1]1981 for Grenada

Table 3.2.3. Percentage Distribution of the Population 15 Years Old and Over* According to Highest Examination Passed

	None		*Primary School Leaving*		*GCE <0> 1-4*		*GCE <0> 5+ <A>*		*Diploma/ Degree*		*Total Numbers*	
	1970	*1980*	*1970*	*1980*	*1970*	*1980*	*1970*	*1980*	*1970*	*1980*	*1970*	*1980*
Trinidad & Tobago												
Total 15+ Years	87	80	4	5	3	7	4	6	2	2	521,665	712,431
15-34 Years	81	75	7	6	55	11	6	6	1	1	282,780	432,328
35 Yrs. & Over	94	88	1	3	0	1	2	5	2	3	238,885	280,103
Female % (15+)	52	43	50	51	50	56	47	53	36	35	51	44
Barbados												
Total 15+ Years	87	79	5	3	3	9	3	5	2	4	134,762	154,856
15-34 Years	81	66	6	5	7	16	4	9	2	4	56,191	72,432
35 Yrs. & Over	91	91	4	1	1	2	2	2	2	4	78,571	82,424
Female % (15+)	56	54	54	56	54	60	52	54	38	44	55	54
Grenada												
Total 15+ Years	94	88	2	3	2	5	2	2	1	1	42,858	48,502
15-34 Years	91	83	3	5	3	8	2	3	1	1	19,404	25,334
35 Yrs. & Over	96	94	1	2	0	1	1	1	1	2	42,858	48,502
Female % (15+)	57	53	60	59	55	57	50	55	29	32	56	53

*Excluded from the Table are persons for whom Age or the Highest Exam Passed is NOT STATED, as well as persons classified in the residual 'Other' category as regards Examination Passed. The numbers classified as 'Other' are:

Trinidad & Tobago		Barbados		Grenada	
1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
12,722	2,041	1,355	2,537	469	615

For 1980, the figures for BARBADOS and GRENADA are confined to persons *not* attending school.

Table 3.2.4. (a) Persons Who Have Attended University and (b) Persons With a Diploma or Degree Per 10,000 Population: Confined to Persons 20 Years and Older Not Attending School

	Persons who Attended University			*Persons with Diploma/Degree*		*Total Population -- Numbers*		
	1960	*1970*	*1980*	*1970*	*1980*	*1960*	*1970*	*1980*
Trinidad & Tobago								
Total 20+ Years	83	118	284	183	254	396,049	434,813	521,068
20-34 Years	81	142	308	185	235	167,259	188,470	259,781
35 Yrs. & Over	84	100	260	182	273	228,790	246,343	261,287
Female % (20+)	23	27	28	36	35	51	51	50
Barbados								
Total 20+ Years	68	123	360	187	414	122,241	122,328	144,820
20-34 Years	65	171	381	219	439	42,552	41,443	61,495
35 Yrs. & Over	70	98	345	170	397	79,889	80,885	83,325
Female % (20+)	22	32	47	37	44	58	56	59
Grenada								
Total 20+ Years	61	91	133	177	161	38,516	38,633	42,808
20-34 Years	38	82	134	103	152	15,547	14,514	19,035
35 Yrs. & Over	77	96	132	126	167	23,068	24,119	23,773
Female % (20+)	24	28	28	29	32	54	57	54

Table 3.3.1. Enrollment in Government and Assisted and in Private Primary and Secondary

	Primary					*Secondary*					*Total*					
	Numbers (000s)					*Numbers (000s)*					*Numbers (000s)*					
	Government $ Assisted	Private	Total	Avg Annual Growth Rate	Female as % of Total	Government $ Assisted	Private	Total	Avg Annual Growth Rate	Female as % of Total	Government $ Assisted	Private	Total	Avg Annual Growth Rate	Female as % of Total	Secondary Students Per Primary Student
Trinidad & Tobago																
1960	181.8	-	181.8	-	49.4	12.1	9.8	21.9	-	45.8	193.8	9.8	203.6	-	49.0	12
1970/71	227.2	-	227.2	2.2	49.5	28.5	18.5	47.0	8.6	51.9	255.7	18.5	274.2	2.8	49.9	21
1979/80	166.8	-	166.8	-3.1	49.4	82.5	…	82.5	10.6	50.6	249.3	…	249.3	-0.3	49.8	49
1986/87	175.5	-	176.5	0.8	49.4	96.9	…	96.9	2.3	50.2	273.4	…	273.4	0.9	49.7	55
Barbados																
1964/65	43.7	2.8	46.5	-	49.1	17.4	3.7	20.5	-	46.1	61.1	5.9	67.0	-	48.5	44
1979/80	34.7	2.6*	37.3	-1.5	48.2	25.2	0.2*	25.4	2.5	53.7	59.9	2.8	62.7	-0.4	50.5	68
1983/84	30.7	1.3*	32.0	-3/1	48.7	25.5	0.1*	25.7	0.3	53.6	56.2	1.4	57.6	-2.1	50.0	80
Grenada																
1970	30.3	. . .	. . .	-	48.3	3.0	. . .	. . .	-	55.8	33.4	. . .	. . .	-	49.1	10
1979/80	22.4	0.6	23.1	-3.0	48/7	7.2	0.4	7.6	8.8	54.0	29.6	1.0	39.6	-1.2	50.2	33
1986/87	20.0	1.1	21.1	-1.6	47.1	6.4	…	6.4	-1.7	55.6	26.4	1.1	27.5	-1.6	49.2	32

Schools

NOTE: ALL-AGE schools are included in the PRIMARY. Students receiving Secondary education in these All-Age Schools are, therefore, included with Primary schools in this Table. However, Tables 3.3.2 and 3.3.4 which show the numbers of students receiving Primary and Secondary education, these students are shown as Secondary students. The numbers of such students are:

TRINIDAD & TOBAGO	1960 – 2,922;	1969/70 – 2,632	
BARBADOS	1964/65 – 4,522;	1979/80 – 2,886;	1983/84 – 2,209
GRENADA	1970/80 – 4,435;	1986/87 – 3,232	

*Infants and Juniors in Private schools are included with Primary.

Table 3.3.2. Gross Enrollment Ratios: Number of all Primary and Secondary Students As a Ratio to Relevant Age Group

	Population Aged 5-11	*Population Aged 12-18*	*Enrollment Primary*	*Enrollment Secondary*	*Enrollment Ratios Both Sexes* Primary	*Enrollment Ratios Both Sexes Secondary*	*Enrollment Ratios* Both Sexes *All*	*Enrollment Ratios Female Primary*	*Enrollment Ratios Female Secondary*
Trinidad& Tobago									
1960	159.8	125.8	178.8	24.8	1.12	0.20	0.71	1.10	0.19
1969/70	197.5	158.9	224.6	49.6	1.14	0.31	0.77	1.13	0.33
1979/80	162.5	178.8	166.8	82.5	1.03	0.46	0.73	1.02	…
1986/87	188.7	156.3	176.5	96.9	0.94	0.62	0.79	0.94	…
Barbados									
1964/65	47.1	35.5	42.0	25.0	0.89	0.70	0.81	0.81	…
1979/80	35.0	37.7	34.3	28.3	0.98	0.75	0.86	0.97	0.69
1983/84	30.1	37.3	31.3	27.9	1.04	0.75	0.88	0.83	0.74
Grenada									
1979/80	11.6	16.4	18.0	11.6	1.08	0.69	0.90	1.34	0.47
1986	…	…	16.7	9.7	…				

Table 3.3.3. Number Sitting and Percent Passing Scholarship Exams (Common Entrance) from Primary to Secondary School

Trinidad & Tobago			Barbados			Grenada		
Year	Number Sitting	% Gained Places	Year	Number Sitting	% Gained Places	Year	Number Sitting	% Gained Places
1961	7,867	42	1964	N/A	N/A	1970	2,139	7
1967	41,583	13	1980	4,974	72	1980	3,007	16
1981	26,272	70	1983	5,510	79	1986	2,943	42
1987	27,860	73						

Table 3.3.4. Percent Distribution of Students Receiving Secondary Education According to Type of School

	Total Enrollment ('000s)	*Traditional Schools Total*	*Traditional Schools Government*	*Traditional Schools Assisted*	*Newer Schools Total*	*Newer Schools Junior Secondary*	*Newer Schools Senior Secondary*	*Newer Schools Senior Comprehensive*	*Newer Schools Composite*	*Private*	*Secondary Students in*
Trinidad & Tobago											
1960	24.8	49	…	…	-	-	-	-	-	39	12
1969/70	49.6	57	…	…	-	-	-	-	-	37	5
1979/80	88.4	37	17	20	63	43	3	16	1	…	-
1986/87	96.7	31	12	18	69	42	3	19	5	…	-
Barbados											
1964/65	25.0	45	19	26	24	**no breakdown**	**no breakdown**	**no breakdown**	**no breakdown**	12	18
1979/80	28.3	40	22	18	48	**no breakdown**	**no breakdown**	**no breakdown**	**no breakdown**	1	10
1983/84	27.9	40*	22*	18	51*	**no breakdown**	**no breakdown**	**no breakdown**	**no breakdown**	1	8
Grenada											
1979/80	`	49	19	30	13	13	-	-	-	-	38

*BARBADOS – Breakdown of Government Schools not given for 1983/84. Assumed here that the proportion of students in Traditional schools was unchanged from 1979/80

Table 3.4.1. Schools, Pupils and Teachers in Primary and Secondary Government and Assisted Schools

	Primary				*Secondary*			
	Schools	*Pupils (1000s)*	*Teachers*	*Pupil/ Teacher Ratios*	*Schools*	*Pupils (1000s)*	*Teachers*	*Pupil/ Teacher Ratios*
Trinidad & Tobago								
1960	431	181.7	5,444	33	27/27	12.1/9.8	521/307	23/32
1969/70	468	227.2	6,398	36	45/69	28.4/18.5	342.580	21/32
1979/80	465	166.8	6,443	26	93	82.5	4,242*	20
1986/87	469	176.5	7,685	23	96	96.9	4,878	20
Barbados								
1964/65	118	43.7	1,093	40	16	10.9	497	22
1979/80	113	34.7	1,469	24	20	20.1	1,074	19
1983/84	111	30.8	1,353	23	21	20.5	1,081	19
Grenada								
1970	57	30.4	1,004	30	14	3.0	193	16
1979/80	61	22.4	792	28	17	7.2	333	22
1986/87	57	20.0	772	26	18	6.4	304	21

Table 3.4.2. Primary School Teachers by Qualification

	Total	*Trained Teachers*			*Untrained Teachers*			*Pupil Teachers*	*Total With Secondary Education*	*Female as % of Total*
		Trained Teachers Total	*Trained Teachers Completed Secondare*	*Trained Teachers Other*	*Untrained Teachers Total*	*Untrained Teachers Completed Secondary*	*Untrained Teachers Other*			
Trinidad & Tobago										
1960	5,444	41	17	24	46	37	10	13	54	52
1969/70	6,398	53	34	19	46	29	17	1	63	59
1980	6,443	92	…	…	8	8	…	…	…	61
1986/87	7,685	90	…	…	10	…	…	…	…	70
Barbados										
1964/65	1,241	41	29	11	59	22	37	-	51	
1979/80	1,469	60	…	…	40	…	…	…	…	
1983/84	1,335	93	…	…	7	…	…	-	…	
Grenada										
1969/70	1,004	47	16	26	59	14	45	-	30	
1979/80	774	333	333	…	66	29	37		62	
	Total	*Principal*	*Qualified*	*Cert. I*	*Cert. II*	*Probationer*	*Student*	*Temporary*		
1986/87**	772	7	38	4	27	16	5	2		

Table 3.4.3. Percent Distribution of Secondary School Teachers by Qualification

	Total (Numbers)	*With University Degrees Trained*	*With University Degrees Untrained*	*Without University Degrees Trained*	*Without University Degrees Untrained*	*Special Subject Diplomas*	*Other*	*All Teachers Percent Trained*	*All Teachers Percent Female*
Trinidad & Tobago									
1960 A	521					13		…	43
1960 B	307					13			45
1969/70 A	1,342	33	16	9	28	4	9*	51	44
1969/70 B	580	5	4		-	6		…	45
1980/81	4,242	5	48	31	17			35	51
1986/87	4,878	25	33	30	12			35	53
Barbados									
				A Level Passes	*A Level Passes*	*O Level Passes*	*O Level Passes*		
1964/65	493	12	20	2	14	21	30	-	-
				Special Grade	Special Grade	Other	Other		
1979/80	1,074	31	18	4	1	26	20		
1983/43									
Grenada**									
		Graduate	*Graduate*						
		Trained	*UnTrained*	*Qualified*	*Cert. I*	*Cert. II*	*Other*	*Principal*	
1986/87	304	8	18	22	13	30	3	6	

* Trained Teachers with Specialist qualifications
** By grade of teacher.
A – Government and Assisted Schools; B – Registered Private Schools

Table 3.4.4. Percent Distribution of All Primary School Teachers and Pupils by Denomination, And Student/Teacher Ratios: Trinidad & Tobago and Grenada

	Total	*Gover-nment*	*R.C.*	*Angli-can*	*Presb-yterian*	*Meth-odist*	*S.D.A.*	*Hindu*	*Muslim*	*Other*
Trinidad & Tobago		**Teachers**								
1960	5,444	20	29	16	17	*	*	10	3	5
1969/70	6,398	26	30	13	15	*	*	10	3	4
1980/81	7,002	26	29	12	16	*	*	11	3	3
1986/87	7,367[1]	30	28	12	15	*	*	10	3	3
Grenada		**Teachers**								
1970										
1980	891	23	48	16	1	8	3	-	-	-
1986/87	821	25	46	15	1	9	4	-	-	-
Trinidad & Tobago		**Pupils**								
1960	181.7	20	**30**	16	18	*	*	9	2	4
1969/70	227.2	25	29	13	16	*	*	10	3	4
1980/81	167.0	27	29	12	16	*	*	11	3	3
1986/87	176.5	29	28	12	15	*	*	10	3	3
Grenada		**Pupils**								
1970	30,262	22	49	16	2	10	1			
1980	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1986/87	19,963ø	24	46	15	2	9	3	-	-	-
Trinidad & Tobago		**Pupil/*Teacher Ratios***								
1960	33	33	34	34	34	*	*	31	27	35
1969/70	36	35	35	37	38	*	*	36	35	35
1980/81	23	23	23	22	24	*	*	24	24	23
1986/87	24	23	24	24	25	*	*	25	25	25
Grenada		**Pupil/*Teacher Ratios***								
1960										
1970										
1980										
1986/87	24	24	24	25	36	25	24	-	-	-

* Excluded with "Other"

[1] The total number of teachers is less than the figure reported by CSO (Table 3.4.1.)

ø Excludes Pre-primary

Table 3.4.5. Teachers Who Have Given Up Teaching from Government Owned and/or Maintained Schools by Type of School

	Primary School Teachers Total	*Primary School Teachers that Gave Up Teaching Number*	*Primary School Teachers that Gave Up Teaching Percent of Total*	*Secondary School Teachers Total*	*Secondary School Teachers that Gave Up Teaching Number*	*Secondary School Teachers that Gave Up Teaching Percent of Total*
Trinidad & Tobago						
1960	5,444			828		
1970	6,398			1,922		
1980	6,443			4,242		
1986	7,685			4,878		
Barbados						
1964/65	1,241	121	10	497	27	5
1980/81	1,469			1,019		
1983/84*	1,335	16	1	1,125	23	2
Grenada						
1970						
1980		137#				
1987	772	52	7	304	…	

* Numbers who left in 1982/83
# Left Primary School

Table 3.5.1. Cambridge GCE Examination Results

	English	*Mathem-atics*	*Science*	*Social Studies*	*Technical Studies*	*Foreign Languages*	*Other*	*Total*
Trinidad & Tobago								
"0" Level								
1973 Sat	15,531	6,994	11,484	12,565	224	5,856	3,196	55,800
% Passed	50	38	38	41	…	36	36	42
1980 Sat	22,322	14,966	19,523	25,458	1,655	5,044	2,380	91,348
% Passed	30	18	30	31	12	26	34	28
1986 Sat	23	1,800	10,019	951	6	5	525	13,318
% Passed	35	56	40	25	0	100	52	42
"A" Level								
1973 Sat	348	507	1,012	883	-	545	35	3,330
% Passed	66	57	48	55	-	57	86	55
1980 Sat	304	630	1,319	1,103	-	287	32	7,005
% Passed	70	65	54	38	-	79	72	55
1986 Sat	480	847	1,742	2,155	9	267	49	5,549
% Passed	65	73	64	47	89	70	92	60
Barbados								
"0" Level								
1965 Sat	1,951	725	899	1,221	-	964	861	6,621
% Passed	28	36	36	56	-	30	53	40
1980 Sat								7,228
% Passed								43
1984 Sat								3,051
% Passed								40
"A" Level								
1965 Sat	55	39	161	94	-	78	-	427
% Passed	56	51	58	82	-	47	-	60
1980 Sat	13	17	26	21		12	1	91
% Passed	85	59	50	43		58	100	56
1984 Sat	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
% Passed								
Grenada								
"0" Level								
1970 Sat	951	294	407	587	-	78	-	427
% Passed	36	25	29	36	-	47	-	60
1980 Sat	1,238	517						6,355
% Passed	24	16						30
1986 Sat	1,216	216	1,589	138	23	12	1,606	4,800
% Passed	30	17	36	13	26	17	33	32
"A" Level								
1965 Sat	11	26	68	26	-	8	1	140
% Passed	9	42	49	12	-	50	100	38
1980 Sat								272
% Passed								20
1984 Sat	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
% Passed								

Source: GRENADA 1970 – Ministry of Education (1973): A Review of the Historical Development of Education in Grenada

Table 3.5.2. London GCE Examination Results – Subjects Written and Passed
Trinidad & Tobago Only

	English	*Mathem-atics*	*Science*	*Social Studies*	*Technical Studies*	*Foreign Languages*	*Other*	*Total*
Trinidad & Tobago								
"0" Level								
1973 Sat	8,624	3,074	5,616	7,546	145	1,796	1,225	28,026
% Passed	22	33	18	29	25	14	27	24
1980 Sat	10,542	2,409	7,635	11,827	232	1,028	515	37,188
% Passed	15	20	22	17	15	10	31	18
1986 Sat	6,315	3,780	3,583	6,091	33	236	145	20,183
% Passed	61	23	54	37	73	25	79	45
"A" Level								
1973 Sat	111	292	286	1,119	49	157	104	2,118
% Passed	26	25	24	16	12	26	17	20
1980 Sat	66	435	629	1,299	30	37	65	2,261
% Passed	30	10	23	14	27	16	43	17
1986 Sat	58	374	599	1,710	-	15	58	2,814
% Passed	9	22	22	20	-	7	34	23

Data not available o author for Barbados and Grenada.

Table 3.5.3. CXC Examination Results–Subjects Written and Passed (Grades I – III)

		English	*Mathematics*	*Science*	*Social Studies*	*Business Studies*	*Technical Studies*	*Foreign Languages*	*Other*	*Total*
Trinidad &Tobago										
General	Sat	20,177	12,698	4,350	14,419	14,687	1,695	2,605	1,491	72,122
	%Passed	66	51	72	72	72	72	67	71	67
Basic	Sat	3,995	5,243	431	3,327	3,132	689	1,275	403	18,495
	%Passed	61	35	67	47	58	67	67	66	52
Barbados										
General	Sat	3,171	941	49	1,720	825		640	512	7,858
	%Passed	84	91	88	96	78		73	77	84
Basic	Sat	1,099	943	-	902	922		564	382	4,812
	%Passed	89	72	-	83	77		86	83	81
Grenada										
1986	Sat	489	251	48	142	396		124	318	1,768
	Passed	38	37	35	45	42		32	40	39

Table 3.6.1. Percent Distribution of Enrollment in Technical and Vocational Schools According to Course/Institution

	Total	*A*	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*	*I*
Trinidad & Tobago		**(Course)**								
1970/71	6,563	20	14	12	11	10	32	1	-	
1980/81#	4,427	19	17	4	13	6	37	1	2	
1986/87	5,328	15	14	6	9	16	32	5	2	
Barbados¶		**(Course)**								
1964/65	2,647	14	2	-	24	0	21	-	-	39
1979/80	3,827	26	6	-	32	9	11	4	1	10

1964/65	602	-	8	-	-	2	90	-	-	
1979/80	1,518	24	16	-	7	23	28	-	2	
1983/84	1,784	9	16	-	9	24	38	-	4	
Grenada		**(Institution)**								
1969/70	106								67	33
1981/82	503	9	24	34	27	5				

CODE	TRINIDAD & TOBAGO/BARBADOS (Course) [Based on T&T 1986/87 Classification]	GRENADA 1981/82 (Institution)
A	Business Education and Management*	Agriculture Training College
B	Electrical Engineering	Inst. For Further Education
C	Graphic and Applied Arts	Technical & Vocational Inst.
D	Home Economics	School of Nursing
E	Land Surveying and Construction	Domestic Arts Institute
F	Mechanical/Production Engineering	
G	Others§	1969/70 [Commercial and Domestic Arts Inst.]
H	Agriculture	Business Education
I	Academic (Barbados Only)	Home Economics

* Includes Computer Studies
§ Includes Applied Sciences and Telecommunications

¶BARBADOS: For 1964/65 and 1979/80 the Reports give data separately for

a) Technical Institute (1964/65)/Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic;
b) Housecraft Centre; and
c) Adult Education

For 1983/84 only data for SJP Polytechnic are given.

The figures above the grey line are for the three institutions, while those below the line are the SJP Polytechnic only.

#TRINIDAD & TOBAGO: The reporting is different for 1980/81. Here enrollment is given for each of three terms, rather than an annual figure. For this Table, the first term figures are taken, which are higher than the average.

Table 3.6.2. Enrollment In and Out of Teachers' College

	Primary Enrolled	*Primary Entered Examination*	**Primary** *Passed Examination*	*Secondary Enrolled*	*Secondary Entered Examination*	*Secondary Passed Examination*
Trinidad & Tobago						
1964/65	610	271				
1970/71	704	361				
1980/81	1,156	310				
1986/87	333	180				
Barbados						
1964/65	146*	N/A	-	-	-	-
1979/80	210	127	106	46	28	23
1983/84	70	162	116	30	10	9
Grenada						
1970	79	28				
1979/80	95	42				
1986/87						

*First Year – 83; Second Year – 41; One Year General – 22
[Primary? Secondary: Both]

Table 3.7.1. University (UWI) Under-graduate Enrollment and First Degrees Awarded

	Total		*Average Annual Rate of Growth*		*Females as Percentage of Total*	
	Enrollment	*Degrees Awarded*	*Enrollment*	*Degrees Awarded*	*Enrollment*	*Degrees Awarded*
Trinidad & Tobago						
1960/61	149	120	-	-	11	…
1970/71	1,572*	N/A	24	-	36	…
1980/81	2,312	490	4		56	45
1985/86	2,957	566	5	3	50	52
Barbados						
1964/65	162	…	-		25	
1974/75	551	99	13	-	39	45
1979/80	1,044	144	14	7	…	51
1983/84	1,078	173	1	5	52	48
Grenada						
1970/71	55	…	-	-	27	…
1980/81	44	7	2	-	39	28
1986/87	63	20	6	19	46	60

* Enrollment in Social Science faculty not given for 1960/61. Estimated at 1989 on the basis of adjacent years

Table 3.7.2. Percent Distribution of Under-Graduate (UMI) Enrollment According to Field of Study

	Arts				*Sciences*						*% of all Females Enrolled in*		
	All Arts	*Arts and General*	*Social Science*	*Education*	*All Sciences*	*Natural Sciences*	*Medicine*	*Agriculture*	*Engineering*	*Law*	*Arts*	*Sciences*	*Law*
Trinidad & Tobago													
1960/61	26	17	8		75	21	23	10	21	-			
1970/71	46	34	12	…	53	29	10	4	10	1	63	36	1
1980/81	44	28	16	…	51	19	7	10	15	5	58	37	6
1985/86	46	24	22	…	50	23	6	9	12	4	57	38	5
Barbados													
1964/65	66	62	2	2	30	21	5	1	3	4	55	45	-
1979/80	67	40	26	1	29	23	3	1	2	4	…	…	…
1983/84	66	32	34	-	30	24	4	1	1	4	76	19	5
Grenada													
1970/71	22	22	-	-	78	33	20	13	13	-	33	67	-
1980/81	48	18	23	7	45	14	9	14	9	7	53	35	12
1986/87	51	11	35	5	35	16	5	8	6	14	55	31	14

Table 3.7.3. Percent Distribution of UWI First Degrees Awarded According to Field of Study

	Arts				*Sciences*					
	All Arts	*Arts and General Studies*	*Social Studies*	*Education*	*All Sciences*	*Natural Sciences*	*Medicine*	*Agriculture*	*Engineering*	*Law*
Trinidad & Tobago										
1960/61	47	47	-	-	53	28	26	-	-	-
1970/71	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1980/81	45	28	17	-	49	19	6	7	17	6
1985/86	46	24	22	-	47	24	5	6	13	7
Barbados										
1974/75	68	62	6	-	27	17	7	1	2	-
1979/80	69	42	22	4	24	16	4	2	1	8
1983/84	69	35	34	-	24	18	2	1	2	8
Grenada	(Numbers)*									
1970/71	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1980/81	2	-	2	-	4	2	-	1	1	1
1986/87	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

* Because of the few cases in Grenada, the numbers rather than percentages are shown here

Table 3.7.4. UWI Enrollment in Certificate and Diploma Courses

	Enrollment	*Certificates and Diplomas Awarded*	*Females as % of Total Enrollment*
Trinidad & Tobago			
1960/61	7	…	0
1970/71			
1980/81	372	116	41
1985/86	465	250	52
Barbados			
1974/75	61	…	43
1979/80	63	48	
1983/84	57	45	53
Grenada			
1970/71	1		
1980/81	1	1	100
1986/87	5	7	60

Table 3.7.5. Percent Distribution of Post-Graduate (UWI) Enrollment According To Field of Study

	Total (Number)	*All Arts*	*Arts and General Studies*	*Social Science*	*Education*	*All Sciences*	*Natural Science*	*Medicine*	*Agriculture*	*Engineering*	*Law*
Trinidad &Tobago											
1971/72	84	64	19	38	7	36	19	-	8	8	-
1980/81	253	36	13	21	1	61	11	6	15	29	3
1985/86	548	36	14	18	4	63	11	3	16	32	1
Barbados											
1974/75	22	59	36	14	9	32	18	5	-	9	9
1979/80	46	54	39	13	2	39	17	7	11	4	7
1984/85	55	58	36	20	2	33	22	7	2	2	9
Grenada*											
1971/72	10	5	2	3	-	5	1	1	2	1	-
1980/81	3	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	-
1986/87	3	1	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	1	-

* Because of the few cases in Grenada, the numbers rather than percentages are shown here

Table 3.8.1. Percent Distribution on Trinidad & Tobago, Barbados and Grenada Tertiary Students in U.K. According to Type of Institution

	Total	*University*	*Poly-techniques*	*Other Higher Education*	*Inns of Court*	*Total Univ-ersity or Equivalent*	*Teacher Training*	*Nursing*	*Practical Training*	*Private & Other*	*Industry & Services*
Trinidad & Tobago											
1960/61	1,370	18	13	-	4	35	2	59	1	3	-
1969/70	2,391	5	10	2	3	20		80			
1973/74	1,569	6	3	15	1	25	-	73	2	-	
1979/80	547	22	16	25	1	64	-	31	-	2	4
1981/84	309	43	9	24	1	77	-	17	-	5	2
Barbados											
1964/65	1,469	3	1	-	2	6	1	92	1	-	-
1969/70	1,102	3	5	-	6	14	1	82		2	1
1974/75	458	13	5	11	1	30	2	64	-	4	-
1979/80	249	31	6	23	1	60	-	32	-	1	7
1983/84	93	54	11	13	1	79	-	14	-	1	6
Grenada											
1964/65	178	8	6	11	1	26	2	72	-	-	-
1969/70	278	2	5	4		11	-	88	-	1	-
1979/80	93	8	6	18	1	33	-	59	-	2	5
1983/84	7	14	14	29	-	57	-	-	-	43	-

Table 3.8.2. Percent Distribution of Trinidad & Tobago, Barbados and Grenada Tertiary Students in U.S.A. According to Academic Status

	Total	*Females as % of Total*	*Academic Status*						
			Under Gradu- ate	*Graduate*				*Special*	*N.S.*
				Total Gradu- ate	*Ph.D.*	*Masters*	*Other*		
Trinidad & Tobago									
1961	253	25	71	24	- - -	- - -	- - -	3	3
1971	944	27	69	26	4	8	14	4	-
1980/81	1300	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1985/86 *	2250	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barbados									
1965	106	29							-
1974	148	31	68	23	5	7	11	5	4
1979/80 *	260								
1983/84 *	271								
Grenada									
1970									
1980/81	103								
1986/87	136								

* extrapolated

Table 3.8.3. Number of Students in Canadian Universities

Trinidad & Tobago		**Barbados**		**Grenada**	
Year	*Nos.*	*Year*	*Nos.*	*Year*	*Nos.*
1970	823	1970	99	1971	31
1979	1,572	---	---	---	---
1980*	625	1980*	88	---	---
1986*	745	1984	110	---	---

*Foreign students are classified as either "Permanent Residents" or "Visa Students". From 1980 on, only "Visa Students" are included in the Table.

Conclusion

M.G. Smith

COMPARISON

a. The Societies

During the past thirty years, when Trinidad and Barbados achieved political independence, followed within a decade by Grenada, all three societies underwent important changes, some of which may be readily reversible, others less so. To appreciate the developments in their educational systems and to learn what lessons we can from the process, it is necessary to compare those developments and their results. Although Jack Harewood, who has compiled the statistical profiles for this comparison, warns against the difficulties and pitfalls of such comparisons (Harewood 1992: 77-79), with the aid of his Tables we shall try to trace these developments and changes in broad outline.

First, the age structure of all three populations changed in parallel as the ratio of those below 15 years fell to less than 40 percent, while that of adults aged 15 to 59 increased to above 50 percent. These changes always occurred first in Barbados, where they were most pronounced, and last and least so in Grenada, for which the projection overestimates its 1990 population, and most probably that for 2000 as well. Most probably these differences in the average annual rates of population growth of the three islands noted in Harewood's Table 1.1 were due to their differing migration flows. During these years Trinidad continued to receive immigrants from the other islands, including Barbados and Grenada, while Barbadians, who thronged to Britain in the sixties, may now move mainly to Canada and the U.S.A. In addition, Barbados' successful program of birth control reduced its annual rate of population increase during this period, as its crude birthrate and fertility rates at successive censuses demonstrate.

Certain changes in the racial and ethnic composition of the populations of these countries since 1960 are discernible from the census data tabulated in Table 1.3. In Trinidad, the early rapid growth of the Indian community had ceased by 1980, when it was roughly equal to the black population, excluding those of mixed descent. However, the diminishing fractions of Chinese and European descent in the population of Trinidad & Tobago (TT) between 1960 and 1980 reflected their progressive withdrawal in light of recent political developments. In Barbados, the diminishing fractions of Europeans, and the slow but steady increase of the Indian population, likewise illustrate changes of racial composition through migration which are still proceeding, while changes in the ratio of the mixed or colored category probably indicate shifts in their classification. In Grenada the population mix that prevailed in 1970 seems now quite stable, as also the congregational distribution (see Harewood's Table 1.4), with due allowance for increases in Church of God, Pentecostal, Adventist and "Other" faiths, mainly at the expense of Anglicans. In Barbados also the Adventist, Pentecostal and "Other" faiths may now outnumber the Anglicans, whereas in Trinidad there has been little denominational change since 1960, or in the proportions of Hindus, Muslims and Christians, the majority of whom remain Roman Catholic.

The first three columns of Table 1.5 summarize the changing patterns and volumes of emigration from the islands during these decades, especially as regards the U.S. and

Canada. In 1985 emigrants from Trinidad to North America were less than one-third of their number in 1970. The increasing numbers of TT students at universities in North America also indicate how much the mere establishment of the UWI campus at St. Augustine in Trinidad has stimulated the demand for university education, if not at home then abroad in the U.S. and Canada. Although inadequate, the Barbadian data in that Table also reveal similar increases of Barbadian students in North America after the UWI campus opened at Cave Hill.

As regards economic measures of wealth and wellbeing, these are set out in Table 2.1. GDP per head at current values places Trinidad, with an average of US$6,268 per head, above Barbados (US$4,108 per head) and Grenada (US$1,081 per head), while GDP per head at constant values places Barbados first, then Grenada, and TT last. Despite this, Grenada has the least developed economy. However, by comparison with 1972 when its per caput GDP at current values was US$346, the Grenadian economy seems to have boomed. Estimates of GDP per head at current values for Barbados and Trinidad/Tobago are now approximately ten times what they were in 1960 or 1965.

As Table 2.2 indicates, there has been appreciable development in all these economies, even the least developed Grenadian one, since they became independent. In the process all three economies have shifted their bases from agriculture to services, which now account for over 50 percent of the GDP in all. The agricultural contribution of 17 percent is most prominent in Grenada and at 3 percent, least so in Trinidad, where industry, mainly oil, steel, textiles and petrochemicals, accounted for 41 percent in 1985. In 1984 Barbados derived 22 percent of its GDP from industry, two-thirds from services, and one-tenth from agriculture.

Table 2.3 shows price movements for the principal exports of these countries since 1960. Since then the price of oil rose sharply from 1973 to 1980, but fell by 1984 to less than one-half of the 1980 price; while prices for Barbadian exports changed little, and actually fell for those from Grenada.

Table 2.4 shows that between 1960 and 1986 whereas in Trinidad & Tobago government revenues increased from 18 to 32 percent, government expenditure rose from 17 percent of GDP in 1960 to 37 percent in 1986. In Barbados, which had several years of internal autonomy under and after the West Indies Federation of 1957-62 before becoming fully independent in 1966, government expenditure increased from 27 percent of GDP in 1960 to 33 percent in 1984-85, while government revenue rose from 24 percent in the earlier to 28 percent in the latter year. For Grenada we lack data on GDP in 1970. However, in 1980 under the PRG, government expenditure was 55 percent of GDP as against 67 percent in 1986, while revenues for those years fluctuated between 35 and 37 percent of GDP. In 1986 when Grenada's government expenditure totaled US$70.4 million, its revenues were only US$38.7 million. Of the difference, US$22.9m were grants, mainly from the US, Canada and Britain, while US$8.8m were loaned. By contrast, in 1984-85 with revenues of US$286m and expenditures of US$347m, Barbados financed its deficit of $60.2m independently; and Trinidad with government revenues of US$2402.7m and expenditures of US$2752.8m in 1986 took US$2193.6m of loans to complete its commitments. In consequence today the debt service ratios of Trinidad and Grenada exceed that of Barbados.

As regards the labor force of these countries, the female participation rates ranged from 30 to 33 percent in Trinidad between 1965 and 1986, from 38 to 40 percent in Grenada between 1960 and 1981, and from 45 to 47 percent in Barbados between 1965 and 1984. In all three countries the unemployment rate, estimated as a percent of labor force, was high, fluctuating between 11 percent and 17 to 18 percent in Trinidad and Grenada, and in Barbados, from 13 to 17 percent. Perhaps these statistics are least reliable for Grenada where underemployment may be equally common. Of the islands, as shown in Table 2.5.2, Trinidad has proportionately the largest industrial labor force, and Barbados relatively the biggest service sector. This reflects the greater development of Barbados as a center for tourism, communications, finance and similar services, while Trinidad relies on the oil industry as the engine of its development, and Grenada turns towards tourism.

In all three countries the governments have made relatively large financial allocations to support education, amounts varying from 2 percent of GDP in Trinidad 1960 to 7 percent of GDP in Barbados and Grenada in 1979-80 (v. Harewood: Table 3.1.1); and from 13 percent of public expenditure in Trinidad in 1960, 1970 and 1986 to 24 percent in Barbados 1964-65 and 20 percent in 1983-84, when the amount actually spent was more than ten times as much. Despite the higher per caput income level of these Caribbean states, their levels of public expenditure on education bear comparison with those from Sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank 1988: 138). Moreover, as Table 3.1.2 indicates, while in all three islands the proportionate allocations on secondary education have increased from 1960 to the present, those on primary education have decreased relatively, while expenditures on technical and vocational training have fluctuated, as well as allocations to the university (UWI). Whereas from Table 3.1.2, in 1979, 1980 and 1983-84, Barbados spent between 8 and 9 percent of its recurrent educational expenditures on the school feeding program, Grenada seems rarely if ever to have allocated more than 1 percent to that, and Trinidad 2 or 3 percent. However by comparison with the more developed islands, Grenada has spent proportionally more on its teacher training program.

As Table 3.1.4 shows, in Barbados the allocations per pupil in primary school differ less from those at secondary school than in Grenada or Trinidad. In 1964-65 Barbados spent $60 per pupil in primary schools against $46 in secondary schools, when those schools were mostly fee-paying, while Grenada, with similar arrangements, spent an equal amount per primary and secondary pupil in 1970. With its scholarship program to secondary schools for successful candidates in the Common Entrance exam, despite recent substantial increases in the per caput expenditure on primary school pupils, Barbados' expenditure on those in secondary schools has increased more rapidly until today that almost equals the yearly operating cost of those schools. By comparison, ever since the Concordat of 1960 the Trinidad government has used its own funds to educate 20 percent of the pupils in its denominationally run secondary schools, even if they do not meet its normal CEE standards of entry. Grenada also, following Trinidad's example, allows the heads of its church-sponsored secondary schools freely to allocate 30 percent of school places to students of their choice, but only provided all have passed the CEE. These recent increases of secondary enrollments in Grenada at the public expense have been accompanied by increases in its expenditure on secondary education from US$20 per pupil, primary or secondary, in 1970 to US$158 per secondary pupil, and US$103 per primary pupil in 1980, and more recently to $266 as against $153 in 1986-7.

b. The School Systems

Barbados entered independence with a higher proportion of its school-age children enrolled in secondary schools than either Trinidad or Grenada, 17,400 in secondary to 43,700 in primary schools, as against 12,900 in secondary and 181,800 in primary in Trinidad, and 3000 in secondary and 29,800 in primary schools in Grenada. By 1979-80 government expenditure on secondary schools in Barbados equaled that on primaries, despite their differing enrollments, 34,700 in primary and 25,200 in secondary schools. Since then, however, secondary enrollment has scarcely increased and that in primaries has reduced by over 4,000, while the per caput expenditures of each have risen sharply. In Grenada also since 1980/81 both primary and secondary enrollments have risen and the per caput expenditures have increased. Only in Trinidad where primary and secondary enrollments numbered 194,700 in 1960, has the school enrollment increased continuously by 40% to 273,400 in 1983-84, with consequential increased expenditure. The school age population having ceased to grow in Barbados and Grenada, enrollments have fallen, thereby allowing greater expenditure on secondary education.

Since gaining their independence, as these data indicate, all three islands have greatly increased free access to their secondary schools, though as yet none has achieved universal free secondary education. In all three islands, the Common Entrance exam effectively decides which children shall receive secondary education, and also which schools they will attend. In all cases the most prestigious schools, the traditional 'grammar schools', admit those children whose CEE results ranked them highest, while in descending order, newer secondary schools with less prestige admit those who ranked below them, the poorest pupils being allocated to the poorest schools (Layne 1991, Mohammed 1991: 164-165). Hence even though secondary education is available to approximately three-quarters of those at primary schools in Barbados and Trinidad, and in Grenada to one-third or one-quarter, the scramble for places in the prestige schools ensures that the requirements of the Common Entrance exam dominate primary education to the disadvantage of those students whose CEE results guarantee their free secondary education, as well as all those who do not. This means that time which should properly be spent in teaching standard English and elementary mathematics, including number concepts, is regularly devoted to preparing all pupils for the CEE exam, in which only those children whose home language is standard English, that is to say, the children of affluent or 'middle class' families, routinely do well. Accordingly middle-class children have privileged access to the 'prestige', 'traditional' or 'grammar' schools in which to prepare at public expense for their professional or managerial careers. Meanwhile those children whose home language is not standard English but the Creole vernacular, and who have to take the same classes, must decode or translate the teacher's instructions in order to grasp their content properly, be it mathematical, literary or other (Borley & Carrington 1975, Roberts: 1988). Until these countries can provide free universal secondary education for all their students, their governments being bound by the populist ideology and political process to provide free secondary education to all their people, none can dispense with the Common Entrance exam; yet until they do so, they will compromise primary education by directing it prematurely towards the CEE. In the process these governments disservice their countries by perpetuating the CEE race for the prize of places at prestigious schools, and thus preempt both the content and meaning of secondary as well as primary education.

The 'prestige' secondary schools, which are modeled after the British 'grammar schools', offer an academic syllabus that prepares students for certain external exams, notably the London or Cambridge General Certificate of Education (GCE) "O" (Ordinary) Levels, and the Caribbean School Certificate (CXC) at both General and Basic levels, the latter being a Caribbean development designed to displace the British exams while regionalizing the syllabus. To win recognition and achieve public legitimacy, the CXC awards grades to candidates for their papers (Weekly Gleaner 11/16/81, CXC Council 1982), and thus appears to confirm the public view of the competitive academic nature of all examinations. Inadvertently, therefore, the CXC has reinforced the elite orientations and academic biases in West Indian education by associating success with preparation for its exams in one or other of the traditional grammar schools that dominate each island's educational system. Thus apparently validated by the results of these annual examinations, the logic and current commitments of the educational system seem hardly challengeable. In the diffuse, continuing and disorganized public debate on education, the verdict depends on the votes cast for diverse reasons on various issues by an ill-informed electoral majority, many of whom are anxious parents of young children. Since both the external exams and the schools in which children prepare to sit them are tailored to suit one another, it is hardly surprising that those schools which most closely fit the British grammar school pattern should have the best examination results, while others which differ therefrom should do rather poorly. Entry to university on those exams, although it seems to lend an external validity, neither proves the superiority of their syllabus nor of the educational system of which it is part.

In Barbados, Trinidad and Grenada, as a consequence of these factors, the elite academic orientations represented by British grammar school education presently dominate the intellectual horizons of their politicians and educators, so that few voices are raised against them. However, the logic of the system is as follows. If successful results in academic exams are both the measure and the aim of secondary education, then the tradition represented by the elite grammar school should be preserved and enhanced by governments with finance and by sending there the most able and promising pupils selected through the CEE. If ever finance allowed the state to extend free secondary education to all primary school pupils, these recruitment patterns would undoubtedly persist, classifying all other pupils and their activities as academically inferior and second-rate. This would probably hold whether or not such students pursued technical and vocational education at secondary school, or an essentially academic curriculum, as currently in Trinidad, Barbados and Grenada.

As an effect of such orientations, the educational programs of these countries are evaluated by their publics as more or less satisfactory according to the results they deliver in the annual CEE, O-level or CXC examinations which cater for perhaps 25 percent of all students at most, the remaining 75 percent, together with their activities, being treated as of less consequence. So long as these orientations prevail, it is almost impossible for anyone to realign the system to cater for the overwhelming majority of its students by eliminating the biases noted above which so privilege the elite academic orientation that alternative educational approaches are severely handicapped. Should such bias be uprooted entirely, and secondary education made freely available to all without requirements of CEE, the results should be very beneficial, provided that all secondary schools had equivalent staff, plant and resources; and that primary schoolteachers were adequately trained to teach their

pupils first to think confidently, to speak, read and write Standard English, if necessary as a second language, and then to understand mathematics and how to use it in thinking, thereby giving everyone equal full access to the content of the curriculum.

Whether in such conditions it is wiser to expand the enrollment of comprehensive schools rather than grammar schools to provide free secondary education for all, if adequate numbers of trained teachers are available, seems doubtful, as no country currently does so, though that is how Errol Miller would have us interpret the evidence from St Kitts-Nevis (Miller 1991: 209-210). Measured by results in the CXC examination, the St. Kitts educational system currently seems to perform better than that of Barbados (Miller (ed.) 1991: 248-9, 261). St. Kitts also guarantees "free secondary education to all who could benefit from it" (Halliday 1991: 34), and enrolls about two-thirds of the age group in primary schools, as against 79 percent in Barbados (Miller (ed.) 1991: 258-259). However, Barbados differs from St. Kitts in the emphasis it places on academic education in secondary school while it defers instruction in technical and vocational subjects till later. Barbados thus attempts to combine its program of mass secondary education with an elitist academic bias that favors arts and humanities at the expense of science subjects, as Barbadian entries for different subjects in the GCE and CXC exams and enrollments by faculty at the UWI confirm (Tables 3.5.1, 3.5.3, 3.6.1; UWI, 1987-1988). If they have a free choice, students normally choose the subjects they like best and probably know and do best. For many reasons, even at West Indian comprehensive schools, these are rarely technical and vocational subjects or natural science and mathematics, all of which require trained and gifted teachers who are very scarce, given West Indian attitudes, and the demands of industry and commerce for people with those skills. Even in St. Kitts, Halliday (1991: 46-47) regards attitudes to technical and vocational education as a "major constraint factor".

The contrast with Trinidad & Tobago is highly instructive. There, following the Concordat of 1960 which guaranteed security to the elite grammar schools against substantial reforms, the PNM government invested heavily in senior comprehensive schools which offered vocational and technical subjects, but which then had difficulty in equipping and staffing the schools to teach them adequately. In short, Trinidad appears to have tried simultaneously to promote mass secondary education with technical and vocational bias in the secondary schools, and to maintain the traditional academic stream. In consequence it presently falls between two stools, as Claudia Harvey's longitudinal analysis of the changing curricula obliquely illustrates (Harvey 1988: 359-363), and its performance in the most recent GCE O-levels and CXC exams tabulated by Harewood (Tables 3.5.1 and 3.5.3), compared with that of Barbados, seems to indicate this. Comparison with St Kitts (Miller (ed.) 1991: 261) also suggests that Trinidad's CEE requirement may perhaps account for most of the differences in the level of these national results, granted the nearly equal levels of training of primary school teachers in Barbados, St. Kitts and Trinidad-Tobago. Given its role in the school system, preparation for the CEE naturally dominates the entire program in primary school, with the result that insufficient time and care is devoted to expounding the elements of English and mathematics to ensure that all or most pupils grasp their essentials and are therefore well prepared for secondary education.

Grenadian data are relevant here. As shown in Table 3.3.3, Grenada currently provides 42 percent of those who sit its CEE with free secondary education, as compared

with 79 percent in Barbados, and 73 percent in Trinidad. However, while in both Trinidad and Barbados over 90 percent of those teaching primary school are now trained, according to Table 3.4.2, in Grenada in 1986-7 only 45 percent were trained, and 23 percent were untrained pupil-teachers. Hence, since a sound primary education is the essential prerequisite for good performance in secondary school, it is not surprising that Grenadian secondary school results are dismally poor, as measured by the Cambridge GCE O-level and CXC examinations. In 1986 at the GCE O-level exams, of 4,800 papers taken, 32 percent passed (Table 3.5.1). Of 1,657 entrants for the CXC General exam, 39 percent passed (Table 3.5.3), as against 34.5 percent in 1987 and 35.1 percent in 1988. In all years, the exam results in English language and mathematics were poor, as might be expected from such a poorly staffed school system. Grenada's combination of an inadequate teaching force with the Common Entrance Exam requirements at primary school level are perhaps the chief reasons why its performance in the CXC and GCE O-level exams remain so dismally poor. With their much better trained teaching force in primary schools and much higher pass levels at the annual CE exams, the CXC and GCE O-level exam results from Barbados and Trinidad are understandably better.

If we could compare the results obtained by Barbados, Trinidad and Grenada in the GCE O-levels and the CXC exams with those of St. Lucia, St. Kitts, Antigua and Dominica; and if we had the necessary data on the qualifications of their primary school teachers, we would probably understand the relationship between the CEE, teachers' qualifications, free secondary education and these sets of national results in the annual examinations. However, an inadequately trained teaching force can neither prepare students adequately for the CEE, nor enable those who are successful in that to make full use of the secondary schools that will prepare them for the GCE O-levels and/or the CXC. In these respects Grenada's educational deficiencies are most starkly apparent. Until its recent political and economic disturbances, which had immediate and direct effects on the teaching profession, have receded into history and been forgotten by a new generation of teachers motivated to commit themselves to a teaching career, the teaching profession in Grenada will not be sufficiently stable to undertake the training necessary to develop the professional expertise that it requires, even were such training abundantly at hand.

c. Colonial Influences?

During slavery the few schools in each territory were sponsored and run by churches or benevolent societies, the colonial government contributing small amounts towards their expenses. At emancipation the British imperial government undertook to finance the education of the ex-slave population for ten years through the colonial authorities and the churches, which were required to provide non-denominational religious instruction. In addition, middle schools were set up and run by various churches with funds provided by the Mico Charity. In this way in each colony the government assumed some responsibility for providing education for those who were too poor to do so themselves, while encouraging the more fortunate to educate their children. Religious instruction then had the highest priority, and governments refrained from opening schools themselves, but sought to finance schools run by the churches while restraining their expenditures (Gordon 1963: 9-78). Thus West Indian public education began as a system of dual control, the state providing funds with which churches ran schools, a pattern that has continued to this day, except in Barbados,

where the government assumed full control in 1943 when a Director of Education was first appointed. Long before then questions arose concerning the content of instruction, the scope of school supervision by inspectors, teachers' qualifications, enrollments as a proportion of the school age population, regularity of attendance, the measurement of achievement, and so on. In the Caribbean such issues generally provoked discussion or official comment some time after they had arisen in Britain, which underwent parallel processes of introducing universal free education during the last century (Evans, 1975; Aldrich, 1982).

Differences in the colonial history of the various territories influenced the specific processes by which these policies were adapted to local conditions and the outcome. In Grenada and Trinidad, the earlier French and Spanish occupations had left a population that remained predominantly Catholic, thus presenting problems of church control in education that had no place in Barbados, St. Kitts, Antigua and other British colonies with predominantly Protestant populations. To some degree this factor still underlies differences in the local evolution of education in Barbados, Trinidad and Grenada. Thus in Trinidad, the government's initiation of a secular school system, its own teacher training college, and the Queen's Collegiate School in the 1850s was its response to the Catholic College of St. Mary's (Gordon 1968: 68-95, 129-132). In Grenada, shortly after the Catholics opened their first secondary school, St. Joseph's Convent, in 1876, with their own funds and students' fees, the government closed its grammar school for the third time. It was reopened in 1885 and managed by private persons until 1911, when the government took it over (Brizan 1984: 158-161). However, by the end of the last century Barbados had established an educational lead over other South Caribbean territories in both primary and secondary education. There, on Mitchinson's advice (Gordon 1968: 101-104), after 1876 it began to develop 'first-grade' and 'second-grade' secondary schools that offered differing kinds of secondary education (Hoyos 1978: 155). By 1894 Barbados had approximately 52 percent of children aged 5 to 15 in public primary schools while another 13 percent were educated privately. Of those enrolled in public schools, 57 percent attended daily. Approximately 7,000 children worked on estates and in other activities (Gordon 1963: 119-120). In Grenada, where children aged 5 to 15 numbered c.13,500 in 1891, 6,155 were on the roll of primary schools and approximately 46 percent of these attended daily, representing 24 percent of the school age population (Brizan 1984: 283). Of the 218,381 inhabitants of Trinidad in 1891 (Harewood 1963: 1) only 18,247 aged between 5 and 15 were enrolled in school, and daily attendance averaged 60 percent (Gordon 1963: 119-120).

At that period Grenada and Trinidad were administered directly by the Crown, whereas in Barbados, following the constitutional crisis of 1875, planters stubbornly retained legislative control of the government. Perhaps this condition explains the fact that, as Llobera (ch.3, 8) relates, in 1945 when 86.6 percent of all Barbadian children between 5 and 14 years of age were enrolled in primary schools, and a further 1,095 or 3.2 percent in public secondary schools, only 10 percent of the school age population did not go to school, a much smaller ratio than in either Trinidad or Grenada, both of which had notably lower literacy rates than Barbados in the 1946 South Caribbean Census (Lowenthal 1957: 468). In an effort to integrate its educational system, from 1946 onwards the representative government of Barbados built and expanded modern secondary schools so that by 1953, when there were 3,019 pupils in secondary schools, or 9.4 percent of those in primary schools, the modern secondary enrollment of 1,670 exceeded that of the traditional grammar schools, 1,549

(Llobera ch 3: 11). The rapid expansion of free modern secondary schools in Barbados was certainly related to the exclusive admission policies of the traditional grammar schools which persisted under white domination of the Legislature with the property franchise of 1943 until 1951, when adult suffrage was made law (Hoyos 1978: 217, 223).

In 1946 when Grantley Adams proposed to the Barbadian Assembly that it should be made illegal for private secondary schools to exclude pupils on the basis of color, race or religion, the upper house of the legislature vetoed the bill. Social demand for more secondary school places therefore promoted the rapid growth and expansion of private secondary schools after World War 2 (Llobera: 3; 11). When they opened, the secondary modern schools entered into competition with the fee-paying private schools, both new and traditional. But due to their differing statuses and curricula, the free modern secondary schools and private fee-paying secondary schools were not equivalent, since the private schools had no vocational courses but stressed an academic curriculum, and the better ones retained their distinction as 'first-grade' or elite schools, in contrast to the secondary modern or 'second-grade' schools.

Faced with these alternatives, many Barbadian parents prefer to send their children to those fee-paying primary schools that regularly win more scholarships to the most prestigious grammar schools, namely, Harrison College, Queen's College, The Lodge School and Combermere (Layne 1991: 87). In Barbados unless a child wins admission at the Common Entrance exam to one or other of those prestigious schools, he or she virtually forfeits all chances of winning a local scholarship to university. Thus, as usual, the CEE functions as a selective device to sort children by ability into school streams having different life chances and career opportunities. Much the same result derives from the CEE in Trinidad. In Grenada also the same mechanism delivers similar results which are only partially masked by the high national failure rate in the annual GCE and CXC exams.

The Trinidad Concordat of 1960 guaranteed continued government support to the elite denominational grammar schools and the preservation of their autonomies, despite Trinidad's introduction of the CEE in 1961. Several new grammar schools were rapidly built before Trinidad became independent. Of the elite schools, the best and most prestigious remain under control of the churches and cater to the 'French Creole' establishment, thereby stimulating the growth of private fee-paying primary schools to prepare children for the CE exam with its promise of scholarships to the secondary grammar schools. In 1958 the enrollment in public secondary schools, both government's and government-assisted, was 10,294 while that in private secondary schools was 7,089 (TT 1960: 10). In 1964 the enrollment in public secondary schools, both government and assisted, was 15,445. In 1970-71, (v. Table 3.3.1), the number enrolled in private secondary schools was approximately 18,500. By 1972/73 the enrollment in traditional secondary schools had risen to 29,736, almost double, and remained thus till 1984-85 when it was 30,337, by which time there were 61,680 students in 49 New Secondary schools (Harvey 1988: 348-349). Faced with this sudden expansion of free secondary education, the great majority of the private fee-paying secondary schools closed their doors, and by 1979 so few remained open that they were no longer counted.

Though the Ministries of Education in Trinidad and Grenada nowadays refer to 'free places' in secondary schools awarded to all who pass the Common Entrance exam, rather than 'scholarships', since the passing grade annually varies with the number of vacant places in secondary schools, these awards are effectively scholarships for tuition fees. Supplementary funds are provided for those students who require them in order to attend school. I will therefore refer to these awards as 'scholarships' or 'free places.'

In 1965 the Trinidad government decided to build a number of Junior Secondary Schools to provide three years of education for children aged 12 to 15 who were not successful in the CEE (Trinidad & Tobago 1968). The first junior secondary school opened in 1968, and by 1972 their enrollment was 7,040. Due primarily to OPEC and the sharp rise in the price of oil, from which it benefited, 1973 was a watershed year for Trinidad. To provide a sufficient number of free secondary school places to give every child in Trinidad free secondary education, while retaining the CEE as a device for screening and sorting children, the government immediately set about building further junior secondary schools, and within a few years a new set of senior secondary schools or comprehensives that offered a more diverse curriculum over five years (Harvey 1988: 348-349, CSO Trinidad 1983: Table 63; Trinidad & Tobago Education Department 1960: Tables 1 and 3). That aim was not fulfilled, primarily because of the recession that began in 1983. Nonetheless, by 1987-8 the total secondary school enrollments, both in junior secondary and senior comprehensive, represented 77.8 percent of the population aged 12 to 16 (Miller 1991: 265). By then Trinidad had virtually rebuilt the school system it had inherited from colonialism, moving all children aged 12 to 14 from those primary schools whose enrollments exceeded their capacity by 50 percent or more, to new single or double shift junior secondary schools (Trinidad & Tobago 1968: 8, 12-16). As these junior secondaries received those 12 year olds who failed to obtain scholarships in the CEE on leaving primary school, they were condemned in advance as schools for inferior students, and made the more hopeless by their curricula and double shift system. As funds allowed, to supplement the junior secondary schools, the government also built a number of senior comprehensive schools designed and equipped to offer many vocational and technical courses for which unfortunately there were few qualified teachers and little demand. Meanwhile the traditional grammar schools retained their prestige as academically superior for their results in the annual GCE and CXC examinations. Socially also they remain superior, since they enroll disproportionately large fractions of the traditional elite.

In fact, despite its good intentions, the Trinidad government has constructed an educational system which is to all intents and purposes the reverse of its original aims (Williams 1981: 239-250). Three significant decisions account for the self-contradictory system and the educational malaise of contemporary Trinidad. By the first of these in 1960 the government guaranteed to support and expand the denominational system it had inherited. While expanding primary education and providing many more scholarships for primary school students to secondary schools through the Common Entrance exam, it agreed to allow the principals of those schools to give up to 20 percent of places in their schools to students of their choice, even if those students had not passed the entrance exam. There followed several years of expansion during which, among much else, "19,000 primary school places and 7,900 secondary school places were created" (Mohammed, 1991, 150-151). In 1968 that gave way to an even more ambitious plan, on the advice of Arthur Lewis (1961), to

provide all children with places in junior secondary schools, and there to begin training the skilled manpower needed by the labor market. By 1975 the Trinidad government had decided to put its new oil revenues into further educational expansion by building another tier of eight new senior comprehensive schools with places for over 10,000 children from the junior secondary schools, and facilities for further technical and vocational education (Trinidad & Tobago 1976). However, here also results have been disappointing, not least perhaps because, after the first classes had graduated, student interest was lacking, and few teachers qualified to teach the vocational and technical courses.

Hence, despite the great expenditure of effort and money to design and construct an integrated system of free primary and secondary education which might educate and motivate secondary school graduates to contribute fully to the society and its economy, educational development in Trinidad & Tobago has so far failed to achieve its goal. The disturbances of February 1970, and those of July/August 1990 that wreaked damage estimated at TT$300 million, mainly due to looting, both demonstrate that. Both disturbances expressed the wide and persisting frustration among Trinidad's youth at the results of an education that left them without adequate relevant skills for employment or a place in the economy. If the Trinidad government had not first bound itself in 1960 by the Concordat to the elite academic establishment of colonial days and its goals, and then later tried to compensate by building a mass educational secondary system, which was left incomplete, it might have achieved far better results. As it turned out, despite its intentions and expenditure, Trinidad now has an educational system that is inconsistent, inefficient, incoherent, contradictory, and in the main unsatisfactory. Looking back over the years, its development seems like a trail of inopportune decisions and wasted opportunities, reflecting the persistence and strength of the educational culture inherited from colonial days.

The question arises, why in 1960 did Eric Williams agree to the Concordat with the Catholic church in Trinidad, when that so directly blocked the secular universalistic educational program by which he hoped to eliminate the cultural and racial divisions separating Africans and Indians in Trinidad society. I suggest that the short answer is strictly political. Although Williams could have overruled his cabinet colleagues, most of whom were Catholics from the elite schools, he did not dare to risk alienating his electoral majority, most of whom were also Catholics. At that stage, most Trinidad East Indians, who were Hindu, voted as a racial bloc for the Hindu party led by Bhadase Maraj. The few East Indian Christians were Presbyterians, while the Afro-Creoles were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic (v. Table 1.4). A general election was due in 1961; and Williams' party, the People's National Movement (PNM), relied on the undivided support of the Afro-Creoles for its electoral majority. For fear that if it felt its interests threatened, the church might then support a rival Creole leader such as Albert Gomes or Tubal Uriah Butler, Williams was obliged to abandon his secular educational ideals, and to guarantee government support for the denominational schools in the Concordat. Though merely speculation, this seems the likeliest explanation of Williams' abandonment of his principles (Williams (ed) 1981: 239-250, LaGuerre 1988, Ryan (ed.) 1988: 139-161, 550).

In Grenada at independence, all four leading schools were single sex and highly academic in their curricula. One, the Grenada Boys' Secondary School, was owned and run by the government, while two, Presentation College for boys and St. Joseph's Convent for

girls, were owned and run by the Catholic church, and the Anglican Girls' High School was as its name declares. At independence less than one-half of the students in those schools had scholarships from any source. The rest paid fees, and the government also contributed to support the schools. Under the PRG fees were abolished and admission was based on scholarships awarded for results in the CEE. Thus secondary education became freely available at public expense. For a short time these schools became coeducational, resuming their single-sex status after the fall of the PRG.

Without ever having the prestige of Harrison College or Queen's Royal College and their peers in Barbados and Trinidad, the four 'grammar schools' of Grenada were held locally in high regard by parents for their teaching and pass rates in the annual GCE O-level and CXC exams. Certainly those schools have provided Grenada with most of its leaders since 1979 when the NJM seized power. Recently however several new secondary schools have achieved equal or comparable pass rates in those exams, while other schools have done better, notably Westmoreland Secondary, a private fee-paying school established and run by a committee of 'middle class' parents which now leads the field. Improvements in the GCE O-level results since 1986 indicate that with adequate financial support several of the new secondary schools may soon win themselves an equivalent reputation, provided the ratio of qualified teachers on their staff continues to improve, and the number of scholarships awarded does not materially increase.

Grenada can now reap advantage from the early lack of schools appropriate to train the children of its colonial elite, namely, the white planters and the administrative officials, who formerly sent their children to Barbados or Trinidad, if unable to send them to Britain (Smith 1965a: 205-277). There is thus no historic identification of Grenada's leading schools with the former ruling colonial elite, and therefore less resistance to the inclusion in the curriculum of elements with a practical, vocational or technical flavor, for example, home economics, food and nutrition, art, woodwork, computer studies, geometrical and builders' or mechanical drawing, while continuing to stress academic subjects. Thus in Grenada some barriers that prevent assimilation of the old and new secondaries in Barbados and Trinidad are fortunately absent. Neither has Grenada's program of scholarships to secondary schools as yet exceeded 47 percent of candidates in the CEE; whereas both Trinidad and Barbados now give free scholarship places in their secondary schools to three-quarters of the CEE candidates.

However, as we have seen, Grenadian primary schools are severely short of qualified teachers; and so too are its secondary schools, which accounts for the relatively high ratio of expatriate teachers in those schools. The reason for this is simply that Grenada presently lacks the resources it needs to train and retain Grenadian teachers for its primary and secondary schools, and therefore has to import qualified graduates for such secondary schools as urgently need them, despite the stringent conditions that must be met to secure work permits for them. That few Grenadians who graduate from universities overseas, whether in the West Indies or North America, return to teach in Grenadian secondary schools, or remain there for long, is largely due to the fact that teachers' salaries are far lower than those offered in the civil service and private sector locally, or in other Caribbean islands. For similar reasons the primary schools find it very difficult to retain young teachers with

academic promise. These factors underlie the high "wastage rates" of Grenada as measured by its annual exam results, of which George Brizan (1991) writes.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

a. Pluralism

Of the questions we set ourselves, that which asks whether the educational development in these societies since they became politically independent has preserved or modified their plural character is the easiest to answer, since it merely requires us to compare the past and present structures and their contents to determine how closely they correspond. For Grenada that comparison has already been related when re-studying its stratification system to assess the effects of education, though without dilating on its conclusions. Likewise for Trinidad, Philip Burnham has drawn many comparisons between the contemporary society, and that of which Lloyd Braithwaite (1953, 1954), Naipaul (1959, 1962), Morton Klass (1961) and others wrote in late colonial days. Only for Barbados has there been no explicit comparison; but there we need only compare the observations of Raymond Mack (1965), Sidney Greenfield (1961, 1966) and Layne (1979) with Barbados as described by Dann (1984) or by Llobera in this volume.

All three countries yield the same answers: namely, the contemporary societies still retain the recognizably distinct patterns of their colonial pluralism, in substance and structure. This is perhaps most transparent in the case of Trinidad. There the East Indian community, though far more creolized than at independence, still remains divided by faith between Islam, Hinduism and Christianity (Tewarie 1988), with their differing models of social organization, kinship and marriage, and their distinctive annual festivals, which are today no nearer disappearance than when Lloyd Braithwaite and Naipaul first wrote about Trinidad.

Neither are the traditional divisions among Creoles between the 'French' Creoles or native whites and their associates, the Chinese, Portuguese and Syrians; the Browns or Colored people; and the Blacks or Afro-creoles, whose dissatisfaction with the current order found expression most recently in the looting that accompanied the attempted 'coup' of July 27, 1990, and before that in the Black Power 'February Revolution' of 1970 (Best 1970, Smith 1991a). On both occasions, the East Indians suffered widely in the looting then let loose, although those protests were exclusively Creole, and pitted elements of the lower section against their rulers, the Brown or middle section and their 'French Creole' allies. In 1970 and again in 1990, that identical structure underlay the protests. On both occasions the East Indian community remained aloof, and took no part in the riotous proceedings.

Institutionally the differences that Braithwaite (1953, 1954) found between his 'middle class' Creoles and the blacks or 'Africans' persist in family and mating, religious belief and practice, language and education (*ibid*.: 122-143); but Braithwaite's account of black 'lower-class' culture in that publication is rather too thin and casual. It mentions neither the Shouting Baptists, Shango nor Rada, makes no mention of *obeah*, *lougarou*, *La Jablesse*, or *sukuyan*, and minimises the prevailing language differences among Creoles by comparing the present with earlier times, when the official language was English and the

majority spoke French Creole. Neither does he mention Carnival, though that is the national Creole fete; nor the institution of calypso; neither steel bands nor pan-yards.

We can show that Trinidad's pluralism has determined the course of its educational development, since independence as well as before. We have seen how political constraints obliged Eric Williams to conclude the Concordat of 1960 with the Catholic church. By so doing, he not only retained the support of his cabinet colleagues, most of whom were Afro-Creole Catholics from the elite schools, but ensured his Afro-Creole electoral majority against any splits that might have favored the East Indians (v. Harewood's Tables 1.3 and 1.4). In short, the decisive considerations were the opposition between the Catholic Afro-Creoles and rival East Indian Hindu blocs; but in the Concordat compromise with the Catholic church, by abandoning his ideals of secular universalistic education, though Williams opened the school doors to Indians by forbidding discrimination on grounds of race or religion (Williams 1981: 244), he preserved the French Creole leadership of the Afro-Creole bloc and thus perpetuated the opposition between Indians and Creoles and prepared the ground for the Black Power revolt of 1970. In this way, not only did Williams perpetuate the plural structure of Trinidad society, with its Indian and Afro-Creole segments, and within the Afro-Creoles, the sectional hierarchy of whites, browns and blacks, but more fundamentally, he also preserved cultural values and attitudes to inequality, which underlay the looting that accompanied the insurrection of 1990.

In Grenada the familiar contrast between the patriarchal monogamous family of the elite and the matriarchal family of the folk is expressed in patterns of domestic grouping and organization, child distribution, mating and marriage, that prevail as vividly today as ever (Smith 1962), despite the proposed abolition of illegitimate birth status. So do the contrasting organizations and styles of worship of the traditional churches, the recently introduced Pentecostal sects, the Rastafarian Brethren, and the older rival cults of African origin, namely, the Big Drum and *saraca*, Shango or the African Dance, whether or not it is fused with the worship of Spiritual Baptists (Shouters) (Smith 1963). Paralleling these contrasts is the difference between the Creole speech of the folk and the standard Grenada English of the elite (Roberts 1988). Folk reliance on such institutions as the *susu* and the *maroon*, the wake and nine-night, and folk beliefs in *lougarou*, *obeah*, dealers, *La Jablesse* and similar spiritual forces, like Gairy's union, originally had no place in the everyday materialist elite world. Educational reforms in Grenada have been too limited and are as yet too recent to have altered these adult beliefs and behaviors. In short, Grenada's pluralism still persists, and seems certain to continue for some time to come.

There have however been notable changes in the structure of Grenadian society. Its former ruling section, the white elite, are so no longer and have disappeared or been eliminated, principally, I suspect, by years of uncontrolled praedial larceny and by Gairy's policy of land acquisition without compensation, a practice the NJM government adapted to its own ends. Once the British government transferred power to Gairy, who showed that he knew how to use it ruthlessly, the old top section no longer ruled but presented defenseless targets, with their lands, houses and other resources, for Gairy's predation. They accordingly withdrew, leaving Grenada society with two culturally distinct sections aligned hierarchically. By then Gairy had used his power to establish himself firmly in the dominant section, even though culturally of differing origin. As premier and dictator, by his office, his

dubious knighthood and extravagant lifestyle he sought to assimilate or imitate elite institutional behaviors. Like Gairy, the NJM leaders who replaced him were authoritarian and quick to use force against suspected dissidents of all kinds, so that part of the society was terrified by the political inequality. Unlike Gairy, they hailed mainly from the lower half of the middle section of the colonial society, which following the withdrawal after independence of its old superiors, was then in process of establishing itself as the new ruling elite. During these processes of structural change in which power was redistributed, there were ample opportunities for social mobility and for getting rich, both illustrated by Gairy himself. Like their predecessors of 1953, the upper and lower strata of this ruling section hold quite different attitudes to the social order and to their places in it (Smith 1965a: 244-246, 252). This divergence persists today and is nicely illustrated by their differing and often contradictory views of the criteria that now regulate social placement in Grenada.

Of our three societies, Barbados was the least evidently plural in colonial days. That was largely due to its effective and extensive primary education, shared Protestant Christianity, and shared vernacular. Nonetheless, in colonial days Barbados had been structurally plural. While its white rulers mated endogamously and for the most part monogamously, the black population reproduced itself in matriarchal households outside marriage by multiple matings (Greenberg 1961, 1966; Cumper 1963). Thus in their mating and family institutions the white and black sections of Barbados differed profoundly, while the brown or colored people divided between them.

In colonial days there was no East Indian, Chinese, Syrian, Jewish or other ethnic minority to complicate the island's cultural and social picture. However, unlike other British West Indian colonies, Barbados then retained its old colonial constitution, under which only whites had the vote, until the Franchise Act of 1884. Thereafter, as the majority of voters, whites elected representatives from among themselves, dominated the Assembly, and with the assistance of the colonial government, or sometimes in opposition to it, framed and legislated policy for the island in their own sectional interest (Hoyos 1978: 169, 215-223).

Following emancipation, Barbados, though with no East Indian immigrants, was the prime example of a West Indian society based by law on the principle of differential incorporation. Despite extension of the property franchise to accommodate some non-white voters, that was the *de facto* situation until 1951, when universal adult suffrage was introduced (Hoyos 1978: 223). Till then Barbadian society consisted of two sections, the smaller of which exercised unusual power over the larger, from which it differed most notably in race and in its family institutions, but also as regards property, status and freedom of labor. By its notorious Masters and Servants Act of 1840, the Barbadian Assembly had ruthlessly located the laborers whom Emancipation had set free. "In return for an allotment and house, the newly enfranchised tenant laborer paid a weekly rent in cash or work and also had to devote a stipulated number of days' labor to the estate, at less than the market rates; penalties of jail sentences and heavy fines deterred many from seeking more profitable work elsewhere in the island. Under such circumstances the lure of emigration attracted many Barbadians" (Lowenthal 1957: 454). The Masters and Servants Act remained in force until finally repealed under external pressure in 1981, in the context of a general election, some thirty years after the introduction of adult suffrage, although all intervening Barbadian governments have been popularly elected and led by notable lawyers who could not fail to

see the significance of the located laborers Act for land ownership, freedom of movement, and choice of work.

Contemporary Barbados bears the marks of its history in its cultural dualism (Fisher 1985: 9-36). Although today politically dominant, most of its black population either works for a few local white proprietors on the estate, in the shop, factory, or in various Bridgetown businesses, or they work for large transnational enterprises under expatriates assisted mainly by white Barbadians (Mack 1965). Alternatively they may work for themselves either as professionals or in small businesses of their own, on farms, boats, or in tourism. Presently political power in Barbados rests squarely with its people, who are overwhelmingly black; but economic power firmly remains a white monopoly; and after generations of living together, Barbadians black and white have developed such rigidly exclusive social habits that few of either race would now dare to breach those norms. In consequence black and white Barbados remain hermetically sealed from one another, and blacks either seethe with resentment and protest at the situation, or accept it with equanimity as the way things are, and perhaps think little about it.

Currently however some black Barbadians chafe at the power of white privilege that guarantees access to the prestigious grammar schools that effectively determine the Barbadian's life chances (Layne 1979, 1991). Many feel that such inequalities are unavoidable while white Barbadians retain their economic power and privilege. In consequence of their agitation, there is growing frustration and anger at the situation, which daily reminds black Barbadians of their continued dependence on whites. Though now distinguished mainly by mating, family and kinship from whites, some black Barbadians insist that "Bajan" is their own exclusive "nation-language" and seem quite ready to invent an African past. In Barbados the demographic and economic factors strongly discourage confrontation, thereby obliging both racial groups to settle their differences harmoniously, even if that entails gradual white emigration. The extension of education, especially at the secondary and higher levels which provide professional training, seemed at one time to promise equality of opportunity and therefore to provide the most effective response to the denial of education to black and colored children because of race (Layne 1979). However, so far it has merely served to sharpen the racial opposition or conflict of groups which now differ institutionally in only one sector -- kinship, family and mating.

Our three societies therefore represent different degrees and phases of pluralism. In Trinidad, as evident in the December 1991 election (Best 1992), the primary division is still that between Indians and Creoles; but in the Afro-Creole segment there is another division between the upper and lower Creole sections, expressed in the alienation of its large black underclass, many of whom dropped out of the junior secondary or senior comprehensive schools that promise much but deliver little. During the upheavals that preceded and accompanied its independence, Grenada lost its colonial top section and now awaits anxiously and with dread what further violence the future may bring. Given its current affluence and tight demographic and economic situation, Barbados is constrained by circumstances as well as by culture not to attempt any radical change, whatever the inducements. It must therefore either accept or resolve its racial and cultural pluralism peacefully. In all three societies the educational changes since independence, although significant, are too recent to have yet had their full effect. In all, the adult population still

contains large numbers of people educated in an earlier age, including many who currently lead the Ministry of Education and the teaching profession. Although they may pay lip-service to such themes as cultural integration, education for nationhood and the like, such people are unlikely to regard the elimination of pluralism as their prime professional priority. At best such topics may translate into political programs and courses of social action. They do not normally reduce to such matters of individual behavior as family, speech, belief, values and work commitments. However, a certain set of appropriate attitudes and values are necessary if Barbadian youth, having been socialized to opportunity in their education, are not to experience alienation when long unemployed, like those in Trinidad.

Perhaps however we should not ask whether these three societies continue to remain plural, but whether they still retain elements of the colonial social structure and culture, even if somewhat modified, despite the educational developments they have experienced, in Grenada and Trinidad since independence, in Barbados since World War 2. Trinidad still retains a wealthy white and near-white section of 'French Creoles', along with some Chinese, Syrians, Portuguese, and others of English descent. Its Indian and African populations are now approximately equal in number, but with the colored Creoles, the Africans have a safe majority. Since independence there has been substantial creolization of the East Indian population, largely due to radio, schools, films, television and increased literacy. In these processes the USA has a strong cultural presence; hence the East Indian choice of 'Westernization' to designate the process of ongoing change. Among East Indian women, by whatever name we call it, the change has been most extensive and profound (Mohammed 1988). According to recent observations (Nevadomsky, 1982, 1984; Harewood, 1984; LaGuerre, 1988), little remains of the traditional Indian culture observed by Roberts and Braithwaite (1962), Klass (1961, 1991), the Niejhoffs (1960), or Schwartz (1965, 1967). Nonetheless most East Indians still retain their ancient faiths (Tewarie 1988), thrifty habits, monogamy and strong sense of family (Harewood 1984), while the Creole population remains much the same as Braithwaite sketched, despite prolonged exposure to Eric Williams and the PNM. It seems then, that despite great efforts at change since independence, much of colonial Trinidad still persists today, though there is now universal suffrage and Creoles and East Indians are mobilized as two competing blocs in two racially distinct political parties, the Afro-Creole PNM led by Patrick Manning which won 21 seats, and the United National Congress led by Basdeo Panday which won 13 in the general elections of December 1991.

In Barbados the position is different. Whites no longer wield their racial vote over the heads of everyone else; but they still own or control most of the island's resources and employment opportunities. Although now the politically dominant group, blacks remain the poorest, since poor whites have all but disappeared since World War 2. Barbados now hosts Syrians and some Indians, recent arrivals from Trinidad; and both minorities are prosperous. Thanks to its successful birth control program, the population has ceased to grow despite the recent fall in emigration. There has been much recent change in the substance of Barbados society, thanks to educational development, the economy, the collapse of sugar and the growth of tourism, communications and financial services; but overall the structure of the society remains much the same, as does its culture, even though formally the black majority now dictate policy through the ballot box, while whites exercise influence.

In Grenada, thanks to Gairy and the NJM, the top section of the colonial society which formerly ruled does so no longer, and the colored Creole elite, more heavily pigmented, is now dominant. Today's population is better educated than formerly, less dependent on agriculture, and perhaps even more prone to emigration as a way of life than before. East Indians have assimilated extensively to the Creole population. The Rastafarian Brethren, Black Muslims and certain Pentecostal groups represent new elements in society. The most striking features of contemporary Grenada are its lack of self-confidence, its uncertainty about the future and fear of violence, coupled with the greater freedom of individuals and their apparent indifference to status placement in the local society. These attitudes clearly relate to the forces and processes that generated the relative openness of contemporary Grenada, both those that Gairy represented and the PRG. The great number of black or dark Grenadians holding high rank in the professions, business, the public service, and parastatals, indicates the decisive shift of color values over the past three decades that the current openness and mobility presupposes, and the forces that achieved this.

These three societies, therefore, have neither eliminated the severe social and cultural gulfs between the ranked Creole sections nor between the Creoles and other racially and culturally distinct populations, such as the East Indians, despite the more extensive acculturation provided by increased educational opportunities. As at their independence, these Creole societies still consist of two or three distinct cultural sections of unequal size, wealth, income, status, power and education, each having quite distinct cultural orientations and skills. Where present, the small top section of expatriate and Creole whites and their associates has the major local stake in the economy, control finance and banking, mining, import-export commerce, industry, agriculture and tourism, while the more numerous Creole and Indian elites ranked below them dominate the political parties, bureaucracy, church, university, army, professions and local media.

b. Development

Our study had two other principal objectives, and tried to answer two other questions. We tried to see whether the educational systems of these three societies as modified and expanded since they became independent served to promote their development or to increase their potential for development. We also sought to determine whether "the techniques and methods of social and cultural anthropology can assess and demonstrate the relation of education to social and cultural continuity or change in recently independent developing societies" (Smith 1991: 8).

To the first of these questions the short answer is undoubtedly 'Yes'. The development of their educational systems has both accompanied and promoted the increased potential for further development of all three societies, whether we identify development by the familiar economic criteria, or by the ability of a society to satisfy its basic needs itself, the biological alternative that I advocate. In all three societies the proportion of children attending school between the ages of 5 and 16 or 17 has increased dramatically since independence, as have the proportions in secondary education. By all such measures, since their independence these educational systems have greatly developed and expanded to accommodate their people. Simultaneously there has been real growth in the GDP of all three states, as may be seen in Tables 2.1 and 2.2. Even though Trinidad's GDP per caput of

US$791 in the recession of 1985 is less than that of 1970, US$838, we should not overlook the great increase of population that took place in the interval. Set beside the 1985 per caput GDP values, this demographic increase does indicate corresponding development. In Barbados also the per caput GDP measure represents positive growth, as in Grenada, even though its population is overestimated.

Though all three economies are equally open to foreign factors and markets, and all are now affected by the global recession which reduces their inflows from foreign investments, remittances and tourism, Trinidad, which had a brief period of prosperity from 1973 to 1983, thanks to its oil, has suffered most severely from recent falls in the price of oil and petrochemicals. Of the three islands, although Trinidad & Tobago now has much greater capital investment in manufacturing industry, the current economic climate is not propitious for export, and the unemployment rate is high. Although its facilities for technical and occupational education have increased the technical proficiency of its younger workers, many remain unemployed or obliged to do unskilled work. Such reserves of people, some with technical training, while representing a modicum of development, are more important at this stage as potential for development, along with investment in infrastructure, plant and capital equipment. As the international economy revives, so should that of Trinidad & Tobago. So too should that of Barbados, spearheaded by expansion of its tourist trade. The last of the three economies to respond may be Grenada's, which may also respond least, since, besides renewed tourism, it awaits upward movements of world prices for cocoa, nutmegs and mace, which may take much longer.

With due allowances for the indeterminacy of the concept, the steady decline in the illiteracy rate of West Indian societies at successive censuses, coupled with the increasing fractions of the school age population in secondary school, and the increased number of adults who have had some university education, indicate the continuously rising educational level of all three populations and demonstrate their development. However, since all indicators point in the same direction, perhaps we should rephrase the question to ask whether the development that has manifestly been achieved through the educational system represents an adequate, appropriate or sufficient return on the investment. If we ask those questions, the answer seems more uncertain. Even in Barbados, where educational developments have so far yielded the best results, and where people may now objectively suffer the least material inequalities, they seem to think otherwise and rate themselves and one another by their lot in the social competition, the successful attributing their success to ability, while the unsuccessful explain their loss by race, class, school, and other background factors. With its dense population, Barbados had little choice but to educate everyone to the best of their abilities as fully as it could; and due largely to population pressure, the search for work and the growth of service industries, it broadened the academic curriculum to include new vocational subjects such as typing, office work, domestic science, woodwork and draughtsmanship. In Barbados today, the chief alternatives to employment are higher education at university, community college or elsewhere, own-account activity, unemployment and emigration, whether to study or to seek for work. The same alternatives hold good in Grenada for fewer people.

Bearing in mind the contrasted developments of education in Trinidad and Grenada since their independence, and the equally unhappy results, in Grenada thanks to the policy

changes under Gairy, Bishop, Brathwaite and Blaize, in Trinidad to policy changes under Eric Williams, from free primary education for all in 1960 to free junior secondary in 1968 and senior comprehensive in 1975 as funds allowed, perhaps we should really ask what alternative educational program now promises to help the people and therefore the society most.

If the following proposals could ever be implemented, we might develop the educational system of these countries to their highest possible levels by methodically enhancing their capacity "to act more efficiently and appropriately in different situations and conditions" (Smith 1983: 349), and increasing their "abilities to cope with (their) needs and environment" (Smith 1991: 13). The process of building, repairing, extending and adapting the educational system never quite ceases, since it always requires adaptation to facilitate new applications and service new ends, or to meet its old needs and generate "new ones as well as new capacities" (*ibid*.: 13). In its own development, therefore, the education system illustrates a "dialectically integrated process by which units simultaneously redefine and expand their environment and their ability to manipulate and exploit it" (*ibid*.).

It is clear that by providing sound education, whether public or private, for all its citizens the state will be able to recruit from its own people "personnel with the different kinds and degrees of skill required for it to cope with such internal needs as health, education, administration, production, worship, art or law, etc., and to maintain and improve its relations with the environment" (*ibid*.: 13) In that case, as suggested earlier, the "best measure" of the society's development is "the degree of rationality in its ordering of collective goals and the allocation and use of all available means, both material and human, for their pursuit" (*ibid*.: 13). This follows since with the skilled and trained personnel it needs at its disposal, the society can expect the results of their work to correspond with the degree of rationality of their organization and use. This requires the allocation to each unit in this complex of the means and powers it needs in order to do its work efficiently, without either obstructing or being obstructed by another. That in turn depends on the rationality of the organization "in its ordering of collective goals and the allocation and use of all available means, both material and human, for their pursuit" (*ibid*.: 13).

Philip Burnham concludes his essay on recent developments of Trinidad's educational system by reviewing various difficulties that beset those studies which identify development as I have done. As an example, he cites decisions to allocate resources between pre-school, primary, tertiary and teacher training levels, which in 1960 would represent to the 'French Creole' elite "a thoroughgoing attack on the elitist colonial educational system with its system of denominational prestige schools, and (which) . . . would not have been . . popular" (Burnham 170). Undoubtedly "had such more radical policies been pushed through, Trinidad & Tobago would be a very different society than it is today, but would it be a society that was better able to 'cope with its internal requirements of all kinds and to exploit and expand its environment constructively?'" (*ibid*.: 170). Readers should consult the text to judge for themselves how closely the alternative that Burnham first sketches and then rejects as "not a popular move" corresponds with that sketched and advocated above, although there are certain differences.

If in 1960, instead of negotiating the Concordat, Williams had decided to terminate his government's support for the denominational prestige schools, that may well have persuaded the French Creoles and their friends to emigrate, and thereby impoverished Trinidad of a certain number of people with skills and other resources. Had that been done, and the society been thus opened up educationally and economically as well as politically to the people, whether East Indian or African and Creole, there might neither have been any "February Revolution" of 1970 (Best 1973) nor that led by Yasin Abu Bakr and the Jama'at al-Muslimeen on July 27th, 1990. Thus, at least to that extent, had that course been followed, Trinidad would now be better able to "cope with its internal requirements of all kinds." This should follow since, if the opportunities for education and training are allocated on abilities as measured by appropriate exams, that should produce the greatest number of persons with the required abilities and skills to enable Trinidad "to exploit and expand its environment constructively".

Burnham also remarks that such notions as "internal requirements" and "constructively" unavoidably invoke social values and preclude social science (*ibid*.: 170-171). While appreciating his reservations, that was not my intention. By such "requirements" I refer strictly to logical requisites, namely, the conditions that are logically and conceptually necessary for the existence or operation of a given unit or principle. The immediate logical consequences of that existence are its logical entailments or implications. "Some of these implications and requisites refer to conditions internal to the unit, (while) others refer to external relations of the unit concerned" (Smith 1974: 183-184). Likewise, some entailments are internal, while others are external. By their internal requirements I refer to the internal requisites of the society, state, or some part thereof, conceived as system or unit. By the efforts of a unit to "exploit and expand its environment constructively," I refer to any action that may help it to realize its external requisites and entailments to their fullest measure. These are logically derivable from the structure and content of the system as defined in the specific environment. Thus, there is neither room nor intention for value judgments to contaminate or infect the analysis, which should proceed strictly by deductive logic.

With that qualification, it remains to be said that Philip Burnham's concluding suggestions (*ibid*.: 172-176) for certain changes in the immediate structure of Trinidad's educational system are not inconsistent with my concept of development, nor with the educational program derived therefrom; though the primary program I have suggested above precludes the attempt to match "the supply of specific levels of education and skills with the manpower requirements of the economy - the 'manpower planning approach'" (Mohammed 1991: 151, Lewis 1961) that the UNESCO planning mission of 1964 apparently persuaded the Trinidad government to adopt. Neither would my concept of educational development have room for the Concordat of 1960.

Since I derive the concept of development by analogy from biology (Smith 1983: 348-350; 1991: 13), Errol Miller (1991: 225-226) forcefully argues that it is misleading, as each biological organism has "an inherited genetic template" and therefore its "development is essentially determinate"; whereas "no such genetic template exists in societies and cultures although the humans which compose them are individually in possession of such templates". Moreover, unlike society or culture, "in biology development denotes permanent

differentiation" (*ibid*.: 226). However, it is their development that "Biologically . . . distinguishes defective and normal members of a species, the former being unable to perform normally for individuals of their sex and age, due to some unspecified defect or defects that frustrate their expected organic development without however arresting their physical growth" (Smith 1983: 350). Hence the relevance of biological models and standards to development studies. In analyzing any vitalistic unit such as a society as a system (Bertalanffy 1957) having the internal and external logical requisites and entailments of its existence, that merely requires us to restate those empirical conditions as logical forms. However, as Miller's critique of the biological analogy ignores the method of study and analysis enjoined by the concept, which is surely most important and relevant, it is purely diversionary. It is therefore interesting that despite his claim that nothing defined as "development in society and culture can satisfy the criteria of permanence and irreversibility," (*ibid*: 226), Miller theorizes social evolution on the basis of a permanent and irreversible shift from societies structured on the basis of lineage to societies structured on the basis of non-kinship social formations: city-states, nation states, religion, classes, party, and the regional multi-national state (Miller 1991: 227, H.S.Maine 1861: ch. 5).

c. Education and Anthropology

Among the chief aims of our enquiry was a commitment to determine "to what extent the techniques and methods of social and cultural anthropology (could) assess and demonstrate the relation of education to social and cultural continuity or change" (Smith 1991: 8) We did not assume that as social anthropologists we had either the technical or methodological competence, or the appropriate conceptual apparatus, for the task that we tackled. We nonetheless proceeded with the enquiry, largely because similar attempts from other disciplines had so far yielded uncertain conclusions. We also believe that even if the results fall short of the aims of our enquiry, they should prove useful to others, provided that their shortcomings can be clearly identified as deriving either from the discipline itself, or from the design or execution of our study. Our first aim was therefore methodological (*ibid*.: 8), and involved the systematic attempt to delineate changes and developments in the educational systems of Barbados, Grenada and Trinidad as analytic units during the years since they attained independence, in order that we might examine the relations between each educational system and the surrounding socio-cultural matrix with whose change or continuity it was clearly linked.

With that aim we adopted a comparative design and cast our net rather widely for data of all kinds that might prove useful. We also recruited a statistician and demographer to collect and collate as systematically as possible the various kinds of quantitative data needed to track the evolution of these educational systems since independence, and to yield profiles of their size, composition and structure for the years chosen by the anthropologist studying each island. We have already reviewed some of these statistical data and seen how essential they are to our inquiry.

To complement these quantitative data we also sought to study various contexts and processes of socialization outside and in the school as fully as we could; but in this, as the reports show, we made little progress, primarily because in each island the field worker decided to devote his time to other subjects which, though yielding less acutely individual

observations, contributed rather more to our understanding of the system and its structural persistence or partial transformation, which was the central task. In all three islands the field workers faced the same problem and made the same choice, and in the limited time at their disposal concentrated on compiling the information necessary to delineate adequately the complex structure of the educational system and its context, together with those conditions and factors which proved decisive for its maintenance or development.

Partly for these reasons our accounts of education in the three islands may seem curiously non-anthropological, or less informed by the penetrating observation of close-grained patterns for which anthropologists are celebrated than we might wish. Such observations are prominent in our field notes and diaries, despite their virtual absence from these accounts, which are designed primarily to present summary outlines of these educational systems, their context and developments since colonial times, in order to facilitate comparison and allow us to elucidate the critical relations that link society and education in continuity and change. To these ends, in drafting our accounts of the educational developments in each island we followed a common outline as far as possible. When indeed that procedure was not acceptable to one of our party, we released him from having to contribute to this report in the hope that his observations will be published independently. Hence the relatively even coverage in each report of the demographic, economic and other sectors of the island societies, the structure and development of whose educational systems we have studied. Each case study concludes by considering how its educational development reflects or affects the country's occupational system and its stratification, or promotes its cultural integration and development capacities.

In this way we have tried to present rounded accounts of education viewed as the conceptually distinct sub-sector of a total socio-cultural system in each society. To that end, as anthropologists we have shifted our focus from the village to the 'global' or island society. We have also relied less on participant observation and our informants' memories of the past two or three decades, since that promised to yield little, than on documents and interviews of all kinds, which varied in their depth, content and length, on systematic surveys, statistical compilations and discursive reading, supplemented by extensive immersion in these societies.

In the process we have inevitably failed to fulfil or achieve many specific goals we set ourselves when we first designed the inquiry and drafted its prospectus. We have nonetheless chosen to reproduce much of that text with all its unfulfilled proclamations and other desiderata, so that the reader may see for himself the extent to which we have failed to execute these inquiries, or at least to include in our accounts adequate information about them. The reader will also see what priorities the purposes of our research imposed on the data to be collected and included in our reports. If, together, those reports provide adequate bases for the comparative analysis that enables us to determine the nature of the relation linking the development of education to society during processes of change, they should simultaneously show that anthropology is no longer restricted by the requirements of participant observation of an ethnographic present located in some hamlet or village, but may just as well and easily move through time and across societies and their cultures in order to grasp the relations that hold between a sub-system and its setting in the process of change. Whether in fact our study achieves such results the reader must judge for him or herself; but

the following proposals, which seem to derive from the comparative analysis of our several case studies, are relevant to that judgment.

SOME PROPOSALS

a. Caribbean Educational Planning

Whereas for the first fifty years after emancipation, it is probably correct to say that educational administration had little need or scope for planning, except to calculate the resources available for allocation to the competing denominations on some defensible proportional basis, from the 1880s onwards such an approach was clearly inadequate, irrespective of the planters' wishes and the Crown Colony pattern of rule then generally prevalent. Thereafter as governments began to build and run their own schools, such issues as the number and nature of their classes, curricula, location, enrollment and attendance by age and sex, required attention, together with questions about recruitment, preparation and qualification of their teachers, which could no longer be left entirely to the whims of the denominational school boards. Soon other matters, besides the proportion of school age children on the school roll, and the regularity of their attendance, such as the functions of the schools inspectorate, became important, particularly when it was proposed either to expand existing schools or to build new ones, to increase their capacity and reduce overcrowding. Such matters as school design, vocational and technical education, the school timetable, pupil-teacher ratios, expansion of the curriculum, supplies of teaching materials, and teachers' qualifications became increasingly important in the colonies as well as Britain, which underwent parallel processes of developing its public education in the last century.

Inevitably, many solutions to educational problems encountered in Britain were later suggested for trial in the West Indies, as far as its much greater dependence on denominational schooling and its racially mixed population allowed. At first, the Chinese and East Indian immigrants were not required to send their children to school, while the black, white and brown Creoles typically went to different schools and in differing proportions, many, especially blacks, remaining unschooled. In Barbados secondary schools catered separately for white children.

At this crown-colony stage of development, having listed the more obvious needs of the school system as a system of public education, planning considerations might also include a review of available resources and needs, both budgetary and human, and the current needs of the local society, together with forces that might oppose or assist action to meet them. The educational administration might then begin to plan by arranging four sets of components in the following order of priority. (1) System considerations, including requirements; (2) resource considerations, both economic and human; (3) social needs; and (4) political conditions and forces. During economic recessions, budgetary factors had priority over system considerations and all else in each local economy. Between recessions colonial educators would try to make good those deficiencies imposed by the recession as far as their means allowed. However, after Emancipation the West Indian colonies experienced prolonged depression and their governments were obliged to restrict expenditures over long periods. Education suffered along with much else, even in Barbados where it had generally prospered.

During the long decolonization of the West Indies that followed World War 2, political considerations and the prevailing prosperity encouraged educational expansion, notably in Trinidad (Trinidad & Tobago 1960) and, through Colonial Development and Welfare, in Barbados and Grenada also (Hammond 1944). In the larger territories, following the failure of the West Indies Federation, power passed formally to the people's representatives elected by universal adult suffrage; and after generations of frustrated aspiration, as the main means of upward social mobility, education had very high priority both at the polls and in the budget process. We should therefore revise the preceding tentative model of colonial educational planning to correspond with the new political realities of the Caribbean territories. Once decisive power had shifted to the people's elected representatives, these planning considerations probably had the following order and composition: (1) the society's educational needs; (2) the political evaluation of those needs; (3) economic factors and constraints, including the estimated opportunity-cost of not promptly meeting those needs, and (4) in each territory the priority needs of the educational system, both public and private.

Those planning processes were influenced by current regional developments such as the establishment of the University College of the West Indies (UCWI), in Jamaica in 1948, and in the 1960s in Trinidad and Barbados; the establishment and dissolution of the West Indies federation, 1957-1962, and the subsequent attempts at federation in the southern Caribbean during the decade beginning in 1957; political developments in Guyana under Cheddi Jagan, 1953 to 1964, and his successor, Forbes Burnham, 1964 to 1984; the Cuban revolution of 1959, which brought the Caribbean into the Cold War, with severe consequences during the 70s and 80s; the foundation of the CXC in 1972 with its exams beginning in 1979; and the progressive Americanization of the region by films, radio, TV, tourism, and by politico-military means such as the invasion of Grenada by invitation at the height of the Cold War (Smith 1991a). If we seek to appreciate the planning process in each territory, much less to evaluate it, this regional context should never be overlooked. From Washington also such organizations as the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund exercised their controlling influence on the Caribbean at American behest, while in New York the United Nations assembly offered leaders of these states opportunities to complain and seek redress by alliances of non-aligned nations and campaigns for the New International Economic Order. These were also the UNESCO decades of educational planning and development when education was hailed as the Third World's best economic hope, thanks to such writers as Schultz (1961) and Lewis (1961). These regional and occasionally global developments were not always irrelevant in devising or implementing educational policies, nor were their influences always negligible. Together they defined the field in which these policies were framed and operated.

Ideally, decisions concerning the development of public education in a country should be taken by its leaders after as wide an appraisal of its long-term educational needs and most urgent immediate requirements as possible, including an evaluation of the ability of the system of public education to meet its own short-term needs and those of the society, and to develop the capability of meeting those of the longer term. Such needs of the public educational system may then be costed and their human components estimated, both as regards their enrollment targets, the numbers of qualified teachers required, teacher training programs and opportunities, both in-service and at colleges, salaries and all else. Such

calculations will eventually yield fairly determinate projections for specific purposes, which may then be put before economists for costing and evaluation. They will generally deny the feasibility of the project, or they may list other more immediate and economically relevant priorities, and finally, after much argument, offer the educational program a smaller sum. Perhaps by bargaining with the economists on ways and means, more money can be made available for education; but beyond a certain point, which will vary with the economy, the obstacles will yield little to arguments, despite agreement that education is social investment so far as it enables citizens to participate constructively as best they can in their society and economy.

At that stage the economists' allocation should be returned to the educational planners with directions to estimate and cost the country's loss through such non-fulfillment of their plans, and to calculate and present the least educationally damaging way of using all the funds that might immediately be budgeted for education. The political directorate meanwhile should again review the latest data on the country's "system" of public and private education. As necessary they should seek such further information as necessary to evaluate the "educational system" in light of the hierarchy of societal needs, and once again realistically, they should rigorously assess the validity of the needs in that hierarchy, their volumes and cost, in light of the people's economic and educational stratification (Smith 1983).

b. A New Primary Program

To that end, the following proposals seem necessary in light of the findings of our enquiry. Education for adult life and active participation in West Indian societies presupposes functional literacy, numeracy, and appropriate attitudes of self-reliance, self-respect, self-discipline, physical and mental health, the ability and willingness to learn and to work. The first requisite therefore is to ensure that all in the population, irrespective of their poverty, have equally good situations and chances in which to acquire such literacy and numeracy. That presupposes the provision of nursery and primary schools that are neither overcrowded, short of books and other teaching materials, nor have an overloaded syllabus; but which are staffed adequately to allow for individual attention to pupils in classrooms free of external noise. Should the number of pupils needing free public education exceed the state's capacity to provide it, either a sufficient amount must be raised in fees from those families who can pay, or a double-shift system of some kind may be necessary.

Clearly the first choice is preferable, and that is discussed below. If the latter alternative is the only choice, either the age of first admission to school might be lifted, or selected classes might attend on alternate days, thus avoiding the kind of discrete morning and afternoon shifts at school used in Trinidad and Jamaica. If a double shift system is necessary for older children, their attendance at school on alternate days is preferred. On the other days they should undertake out of school an extra-mural program of practical training in woodwork, masonry, building, farming, caring for livestock, organized sports and other activities, under trained teachers equipped to teach and supervise them. In that case, at the primary level, the days in school should be devoted to reading, writing, arithmetic and integrated science, while those out of school should stress physical training, natural science, practical skills and co-operative endeavor. The curriculum should provide an elementary

course which ensures functional literacy and numeracy of all pupils when they leave primary school in their 12th year. If there is then no need for students to sit a Common Entrance Exam for scholarships to secondary school, many children with adequate bases in language and mathematics might contentedly remain in the higher classes of all-age primary schools and enjoy studying for its own sake without having to prepare for further external exams. To assess their learning, and to supplement and check the continuous assessments of their teachers, the Ministry of Education should design and administer the brief annual exam discussed below.

If the primary school is thus freed of examinations, adequately staffed with trained teachers and equipped with books and other materials, many children might at last learn to read, write and calculate with greater ease than they presently do in Barbados, Trinidad and Grenada alike. They should also gain much facility and skill from their extramural training, and learn to enjoy using their hands as well as their heads. It should not be impossible to design and to field at reasonable cost a less ambitious educational program on these lines, and in this way to provide a course of primary education that "has to be seen as an education in its own right, and not as a preparation for Secondary Education" (Dennis Irvine 1981: August 26).

In those circumstances it should soon be possible for the public and the Ministries to cease ranking primary and secondary schools as good, better or best, and to stop distributing qualified teachers, pupils, equipment, funds and other resources differentially between them in order to ensure that the most prestigious schools are also the most successful, having the best teachers, students, plant and most resources, while the worst are always such in every way. Schools of the same general category should have as near as possible equal numbers of equally qualified staff, equal mixtures of pupils of mixed ability, and equal allocations of resources. Should their geographical distribution allow, it would then be quite practicable to zone both primary and secondary schools by demarcating their respective catchment areas, on the proviso that if schools still teach religion and scripture, denominational schools will do so undenominationally, so that children of different faiths attending a denominational school may participate in its worship or religious classes without constraint. If parents are confident that their children will not lose by attending the primary and secondary schools closest to their home, since all schools of the same class have the same educational curriculum, numbers of classes and qualified teachers, supplies of books, resources and physical plant, they should have few objections to their children attending the nearest school, even though it differs denominationally. In that case, providing it is the aim to make all schools of the same category as similar as possible with a view to facilitating their administration, the Ministry may then methodically repair and build school buildings to common standards as funds and need allow, thus removing that obstacle to systematic zoning, while distributing qualified staff and other available resources among both primary and secondary schools to equalize their teaching strengths. This presupposes a significant degree of professionalism among teachers, and also a system for motivating teachers to teach in out-of-the-way schools.

In this way perhaps, not only would the influence of the Common Entrance and other exams that currently dominate and determine the curriculum be reduced, but teachers would have more class hours for the remedial or recovery teaching needed by many children

who have to cope with bilingual situations at home and at school. Moreover, if school fees are collected from all families who can pay for their children's education, it should then be possible to improve the school provisions for children, to increase the training and salaries of teachers, and to restore their pride, status and discipline as a profession while increasing their numbers and keeping the pupil-teacher ratio at the best levels for children of differing age.

If, as suggested above, some or all pupils in primary schools attend school three days weekly on alternate days, and engage in other work that forms an integral part of their primary school course under the supervision of teachers outside school on the other two days, the number of teachers required both inside and outside schools to maintain current pupil-teacher ratios should be around 20 percent more than at present. All teachers who undertake to teach the extramural courses should have adequate preparation, support and supervision for that task. These courses aim to give the children a balanced and rounded education that equips them to use their hands and their minds to think critically and cope creatively with the varied problems and situations of life, to reckon swiftly and express themselves clearly, and to know how and where to seek further information when needed, both theoretical and practical. On completing them, those children who have no further wish for academic work but prefer instead to specialize in some practical activity should be encouraged to do so by apprenticeships, vocational scholarships, or by special courses designed to provide the instruction they seek. Others who wish to undertake academic studies should complete the necessary tests to demonstrate their skills and knowledge before proceeding to secondary school, where those whose parents cannot pay its fees should have free education, books and uniforms, while others pay the required fees. This should improve pupils' commitment to the educational process while providing the state with the extra income it needs to strengthen and enrich the system. In like fashion, those students who wish to attend university but do not succeed in winning scholarships, should do so on a rotating loan but undertake to repay the full cost, thereby enabling the public budget to fund others.

This brief outline of a possible system of public primary education, which the results of our enquiry seem to recommend, may be adapted to fit the situation in any of the former British territories. The specific activities to be undertaken extramurally and skills to be learned in courses or apprenticeship may differ from one location to another for children of differing sex and age, but should be oriented towards earning a livelihood. Thus where fishing prevails, that should be taught as a trade; and where relevant, such other skills as cooking, sewing, house care, nursing, boat building, carpentry or joinery, or shoemaking, agriculture, masonry, plumbing, bakery, which might be upgraded as they are taught, or ceramics, painting, sculpture, jewelry, music, drama, dance and other forms of expressive art. Some of these local activities, and other more industrial skills, should be regularly available to students to choose from, along with more industrial skills such as those of the computer operator and motor mechanic. Some students may find it more rewarding to combine training in some local or foreign skills with their main activity or academic study. That should prevent many students from being restricted to an exclusively clerical academic education like those of the preceding generations. If we assess a person's education by the skill and knowledge at their command, then there is much to recommend education in a diversity of skills and corresponding knowledge. Academic biases having always been pre-eminent in the Caribbean, we need have no fear that students will abandon those subjects that

retain high rank in the academy, or soon cease to specialize. Moreover, such pursuits need not rule out some versatility, such as amateur skills in farming or art, textiles or woodwork.

This sketch of primary education for Caribbean societies assumes that all children will have equal access to the secondary schools, should their parents wish them to go there; but that there would also be alternative technical and vocational schools, apprenticeship programs, and other informal out of school activities that cater to their needs and interests. However, this scheme has no room for the Common Entrance exam, whether or not there are enough places in secondary schools to accommodate everyone. It retains the annual GCE O-level and CXC exams for those students who wish to take them, and only stipulates that all school-leavers should take an internal exam at the end of their school days to supplement their school reports and record their progress and any special features of their education. Students who quit during primary school will nonetheless be expected to complete such a test within a term of quitting, for the record, not as an examination, but to register their range of skills and knowledge. Such a test has a different focus and requires a different construction. If the student refuses to take it, that should be allowed but recorded.

The preceding outline contains two proposals with clear financial implications. Firstly, there is the provision that school fees should be paid for all children whose parents can afford to do so; secondly, there is the proposal that, in the early years of primary education at least, students should go to school on alternate days and work out of school on courses on the others. This should halve government's bill to repair or construct primary schools, and free those funds for other purposes, as primary schools would only require half the number of places to accommodate children of that age-group.

Though not advanced primarily in order to reduce the public budget for educational expenditures, these suggestions should allow the budget to go further, since not only would they significantly reduce the amount needed for school construction to provide primary school places; but in authorizing governments to charge fees for the children of affluent parents, they would furnish the extra revenues needed to improve teachers' salaries and to provide needy children with school books and other equipment, uniforms, lunches, and health care. In this way the budgetary burden of education should gradually lessen, whatever the rate of population growth. For poor Third World countries with restricted budgets and few ways to expand them further, that consideration cannot be ignored. However, although economical, the scheme outlined is not put forward for economic reasons, but primarily because it offers the best and most appropriate form of sound low-cost mass education at the primary level. It should also ensure that from its own population the society produces the skilled personnel required to meet most of its internal and external needs, including those kinds of expertise needed to protect its interests against interference by other states, industrial and other, by multinational firms, drug rings, and similar organizations.

Should states be able to give all children a secondary education that is an excellent preparation for life, they should not hesitate to do so, leaving the students free to choose which kind of secondary school, grammar, comprehensive, technical or other, they should attend, if any. However, in such a case the Common Entrance Examination would no longer be required for admission to secondary school and should therefore be dispensed with, in order that the primary school curriculum may reflect the needs of its pupils rather than the

examination. But if the society so arranges that approximately one half of all eligible school age children attend well equipped and well taught secondary schools for five to seven years, having had adequate and appropriate primary education; and if, at the end of the course, on the basis of their results in annual exams, they are awarded sufficient scholarships to universities, it should have few difficulties in recruiting all the skills needed for most of these tasks from its own people, whatever its losses via the brain drain to other countries. Should it prove necessary to discourage the emigration of people educated locally and trained abroad at the public expense, the state should not hesitate to demand repayment of all or part of its value before either allowing the individual to emigrate, or to remain abroad after completing training or studies.

c. The Nature of Education

We often speak loosely as though we think that education is or should be the process of social reproduction, that is, the means by which a society perpetuates itself by transmitting its culture fully to the next generation so that as adults they will be equipped to fulfil their roles, to manipulate and sustain the technology, and properly to educate the succeeding generation, thereby ensuring full social reproduction. For many, any process of inter-generational cultural transfer which does not indefinitely replicate itself and perpetuate the culture that surrounds it, at best involves imperfect social reproduction. Yet the history of most human societies, both those with schools and those without, that leave their educational processes embedded in socialization, demonstrates the universality of cultural change, and, accordingly, the imperfect character of human social reproduction. Societies with schools have on the whole higher rates of cultural change than those that lack them, even those with schools that taught the preservation and worship of the past, as in Confucian China, ancient Egypt, India or Byzantium, when the culture changed so slowly that for many the change was imperceptible, and the ideal of education as social reproduction seemed quite true. By contrast, since medieval times, Western societies, having institutionalized the school (Evans 1975, Aldridge 1982, Durkheim 1977), have known more continuous and rapid cultural change. This is so partly because, to serve efficiently as mechanisms for cultural transmission, schools and the academic complex to which they give rise, and of which they are part, are inevitably involved in cultural critique and creation, thereby ensuring the simultaneous revision and development of the culture they transfer.

That fact alone is sufficient to expose many hidden assumptions we generally make when we regard education as social reproduction. Even the Soviet Union and other Marxist states that prescribed for everyone education in state schools whose curricula were designed in detail to create generations of model Communists, as 'the system' required, regularly produced a quota of radical dissidents besides many covert ones, including some who later became *nomenklatura*, and sought to use the 'system' for their own ends, thereby subverting it. Moreover, even when reproduction by the maintenance of system structure had priority over all else, the USSR continuously had to incorporate new programs such as collectivization, industrialization, militarization, nuclear fission and the atom bomb, space research, global cold war, and finally *perestroika*, which pulled down the house upon itself. In its futile effort to "reproduce" itself, the Marxist state had greatest need of education to transform its culture and society at every generation. We may therefore consign to

mythology the silly ideal of perfect social reproduction, and ask instead what more modest aims should education realistically seek to fulfil in modern societies.

In the Caribbean as elsewhere, education is far too important and complex a matter to be left to the specialists. Whether as child, youth or adult and parent, it quite literally concerns everyone. We cannot simply leave education to specialists, since they all have vested interests in their own expertise and diverse points of view, and therefore tend to view education and its problems ideologically. Nor can we leave education to the politicians. The most successful Caribbean politician, Eric Williams, was not only an educated man, but intensely interested in education, a subject on which he wrote and spoke extensively (Williams 1946, 1950, 1981: 239-268). As prime minister of Trinidad from independence until his death in 1981, Eric Williams also exercised more influence than any Caribbean politician over the policies of the government with which he was associated. However, as we have seen, his direction of Trinidad's educational policy was quite disastrous, despite the time, money and effort that he lavished on it and the many important reforms that then took place. His successive policy switches began with the Concordat of 1960, which represented the opposite of the secularist education he championed. Beginning in 1968, that was followed by the drive for junior secondary schools with double shifts; then after 1975, on the basis of the hike in oil prices initiated by OPEC, Williams took the decision to extend free secondary education to all by building senior comprehensives to accommodate all who did not succeed in winning scholarships to the prestige denominational schools in the CEE. Time has shown that the last two measures were rather hasty and ill-considered attempts to correct and perhaps reverse the direction of the expanded educational system set by the Concordat, or alternatively to compensate for it. We have no reason to believe that another politician or another educational specialist would have done better than Eric Williams in the same situation. Indeed the danger of the educational expert is that he or she will become the victim of their own expertise and the ideology or set of beliefs that that implies. The educational expert is generally the best person to advise on the strengths and weaknesses of different pedagogic techniques, plans and forms of educational organization, including school systems, curricula, examinations and the Ministry, among much else; but he or she should never be asked or allowed to set the goals of the educational system as such, nor the means to be used to achieve those goals. That surely is the duty of every citizen in the society, especially those that have the training, age and experience to contribute actively to the debate about the most appropriate goals and means for the society to adopt. It is to those people that the following pages are addressed.

Two unfortunate tendencies of politicians and educational specialists who work in government, and particularly in the Ministries of Education, are the habits of over-centralization and standardization or making uniform for all in the system, certain procedures, forms, time tables, curricula, textbooks and other arrangements, in the image preferred by the senior bureaucrat. This is perhaps most evident in the over-centralization that accompanied the institution of senior comprehensive schools in Trinidad & Tobago, a program from which the country still suffers. However, as a senior bureaucrat with responsibilities for the country's educational system or some part thereof, the specialist can hardly be blamed for designing, with due attention to budgetary constraints, the educational program that in his view best serves the interests of pupils and the country, or for trying to impose it uniformly, since that should not only make its administration easier, but also reduce

the teachers' complaints and criticisms of diverging practices. Hence the popular expectation that government schools will offer the same curriculum in much the same way and will have much the same resources and provisions, unlike other schools, including the denominational schools assisted by government, which differ in their endowments, facilities and staff with the resources of their sponsors, and in their curricula also, as far as their relations with government allow. Even more variation is expected from those private schools which are truly independent as regards their ownership and management, finance, aims, purposes and curricula. For the following reasons the initiatives to establish such private units should be greatly encouraged.

d. Systemic Reform

In the West Indies, for historic reasons, which the case studies have amply documented, since the end of colonialism most popularly elected governments have made strenuous efforts to extend free education to as many children as they could. Simultaneously those governments have tended to absorb previously independent schools as fast as possible. To subordinate these schools to their aims and programs, the governments guarantee their finance, regulate their student recruitment through scholarships allocated on results in the Common Entrance Exam, and stipulate that their appointments and curricula need to have government approval, which effectively gives them the power of veto. In consequence the relative diversity of the provisions that were formerly available, in government, assisted and private schools, at the end of colonialism has been greatly reduced, though perhaps least in Barbados. Agitation persists in Barbados because children educated in the private schools still win a disproportionate number of scholarships to the secondary schools at the Common Entrance Exam (Layne 1991: 80-88). Pupils from private primary schools also regularly get the best results in the Grenada CEE, where they also win a disproportionate number of scholarships to the most prestigious grammar schools, with the result that parents who can afford the expense try by every means they can to send their children to those schools. In Trinidad on the other hand, following the enormous government expansion of free secondary education in the Seventies under Williams, "privately run secondary schools have been forced out of business" (Mohammed 1991: 156). That is also the position of the private primary school except for those schools which traditionally catered for the children of the French Creole elite and the new middle classes, brown, black and Indian. As in Grenada, children from private primary schools regularly do better in the Common Entrance Exam in Barbados and Trinidad, and win proportionately more scholarships to secondary schools than others, with the result that government scholarships, though ostensibly intended for the people, currently serve the educational interests of the "middle class."

All West Indian political parties and Ministries of Education strenuously dedicate themselves to achieving the goal of free public education from the primary school through to university as fast and as fully as possible within the means at their disposal. That commitment sets these governments in a race against population growth to provide free school places for all their children. In Barbados the successful birth control program has virtually arrested population growth; and emigration has done the same for Grenada, perhaps with greater success, since Grenada's population may now be declining, the country's political and economic disturbances having accelerated local departures. For most of these territories, emigration and birth control may now provide the only realistic alternatives to

population growth. By contrast, in Trinidad, despite its windfall revenues from 1974 to 1983, government has so far failed to build enough additional free places for children in the secondary schools, whether traditional, secondary modern, senior comprehensive or junior secondary, to catch up with the rate of population growth. Indeed, the marked differences in the results obtained by candidates from the traditional prestige and the senior comprehensive schools in GCE O-levels and CXC exams dramatically illustrate the persisting differences in the quality of education that they provide, and ensure that the CEE remains the primary mechanism for student selection to those schools.

While greatly expanding the free places available to all in both primary and secondary schools by increasing their allocation of scholarships on the basis of CEE results, W.I. governments have committed themselves to provide free public education of sufficient quantity to meet the local demand, without corresponding commitments as to its quality. However, the persisting concern of these governments with the qualifications of teachers in public primary and secondary schools, and with the results obtained by different schools in the annual GCE O-level, CXC and A-level exams, amply demonstrates their awareness that as yet they do not provide an education of the quality that all might reasonably expect, and that they should make every effort to do so swiftly.

The simplest way in which West Indian governments might swiftly improve the quality of public education in their schools is therefore to promote aggressively the growth of private independently financed and run primary and secondary schools in their populations. That would automatically reduce enrollments at government schools, so that the public expenditure per pupil at both primary and secondary levels should increase greatly, thus allowing governments to make better provisions for the children and teachers in its schools. Moreover, as we have seen, the "middle" and "upper classes" of these Caribbean societies tend largely to send their children to private pre-primary and primary schools in order that the children might be properly taught, in the hope that they may then win scholarships to secondary schools in the Common Entrance Exam. Thus, by encouraging the private education of the children of those classes, and by excluding all children whose parents can afford to send them to school from eligibility for public scholarships, W.I. governments will free themselves of the obligation to educate them, and should thus have more resources to spend on the children of the poor, who must remain their primary concern.

Private schools at both primary and secondary level, which would cater to the children of affluent parents, should therefore be encouraged to relieve the educational budget. They should also be encouraged to experiment with diverse curricula and methods of teaching, organization of classes, subjects and examinations, in order to complement the more restricted and uniform curricula of government schools. To encourage affluent parents to establish schools for their own children independently, governments should consider offering grants towards the expenditure of such private schools, perhaps equivalent to one-quarter or one-fifth the total outlay on those children when they were enrolled in government schools. Such children would then no longer be eligible for government scholarships to the secondary schools. Neither should the children of affluent parents be eligible for government scholarships to the universities, wherever there is a sufficient number of candidates from government schools qualified for university entrance.

By thus positively encouraging the formation of private schools, with tax allowances, subsidy, or by other means, governments would simultaneously encourage diversification of the educational curricula and provisions available to the public, shed unnecessary expenditures on behalf of children of affluent parents, increase per caput expenditures for the rest, cease the perpetual race with population growth to provide free school places for all, and free themselves to train, in addition to the primary and secondary school teachers who need it, the number of basic or nursery school teachers required to supervise all infants aged 3 to 5-plus whose parents cannot afford to send them to fee-paying pre-primary schools.

Barbados has shown how well West Indians respond to the opportunities presented by vigorous and well endowed programs of birth control which have the backing of their political leaders and the support of the state. Since West Indian societies must otherwise depend primarily on emigration to relieve their rates of population pressure and growth, there is clearly great economic advantage in promoting birth control programs; but the economic benefits are probably outweighed by the social, since in the West Indies the burden of rearing and "fathering" children, as well as bearing them, generally rests on the mother, who, if in economic distress, is prone to become pregnant by different men in rapid succession. Such women can rarely look after themselves and their young ones without assistance from their mothers and matrikin. Though infants are sometimes adopted and reared by their father's family, that is rare. Thus in addition to state-supported programs of birth control, there is a great, persisting need for the provision of crèches, nurseries and other child care services to help young mothers, who have to support their families unaided, to look after their children while they work. Such services will also benefit their infant charges by providing them with reliable supplies of food and a warm nourishing environment and steady routine for much of the waking day, unlike the rather cramped conditions and unsettled schedules of their own homes. If such programs are properly backed and well launched, they should spread rapidly across each island, their children moving on to basic school when old enough.

Most schools assume that the average child understands and speaks the language of its society as well as most other children of its age, and also that it shares with others the usual advantages and disadvantages of local patterns and practices of socialization. Accordingly, the pre-primary or basic school aims to encourage children to play and work co-operatively with one another, and to assimilate their first attempts at study to play.

If, like most West Indians today, the child first goes to school at the primary stage, the teacher's task is far harder than it would be otherwise, since he or she then has to convey the basic skills to a much larger and heterogeneous class of children who often lack books and other essential materials, in a crowded space and tight school program. Even though her immediate aims may not have changed, the task of the primary school teacher is vastly more complex and difficult to perform. The teacher accordingly relies rather more heavily on disapproval, discipline and punishment in primary school than in the pre-primary or basic school, with predictably unsatisfactory effects, namely, the cultivation of confusion, evasiveness, recalcitrance, incomprehension and other teacher-oriented responses in the child at the expense of spontaneity and delight in the tasks or lessons set for it.

To avoid that situation, between the ages of two or three and six, all children should attend pre-primary schools in order that they may learn there the classroom culture of rules, punctuality, quietness and order, as well as the alphabet and rudiments of reading, writing and counting. That should make the primary school teacher's task much easier, pleasanter and really rewarding. However, this assumes that the pre-primary school teacher is adequately trained, motivated and supervised; and also that she will have all facilities required for basic school, namely, a spacious and adequate classroom with ample play and learning materials and teaching aids, as well as free lunches and other facilities for those children who need them.

As the child gets older, the curriculum should diversify to introduce it in an orderly way to the various subjects it needs to know or to know about, if only to allow it to choose later on those it prefers. Beyond the stage at which a pupil may be said to have mastered reading and writing, in succession these subjects may include elements of grammar, composition, punctuation, spelling and other language arts; simple arithmetic, concepts of number and geometrical form; elementary reasoning in logic, arithmetic and geometry; children's literature, drawing, music, geography, social studies and elements of science, integrating concepts and methods from biology, physics, chemistry and astronomy. In all courses the primary aim should be to engage the children's attention and interest in the lessons themselves. Together with elementary physical training, hygiene, child care, agriculture and woodwork, the subjects taught in primary schools should provide a varied and useful curriculum for children, if properly resourced and taught in spacious classrooms with adequate texts, notebooks and other teaching materials, desks, tables, and lunches for those who need them. The primary school should ensure that by their final year all pupils aged 11 or 12 can speak, read and write in Standard English, and reckon correctly, confidently and with ease; that they approach new tasks or problems with interest, curiosity, confidence, and co-operatively, being by then familiar with the essential principles necessary to understand the world, its contents and rhythms; and that they enrich their childhood with stories, music, dance, games, art and folklore.

Beyond the primary school, children should begin to study new subjects, such as a foreign language, algebra, history, biology and other sciences, agriculture, art or music, and within limits, should freely exercise such preferences as they have for one subject rather than another. They should also be encouraged to take extra-mural programs and courses which offer training in various vocational and technical subjects, including cooking, sewing, homemaking, typing, word processing, office procedure, ceramics, print making, textiles, woodwork and building, fishing, sailing, mechanical skills, electronics and electrical installation.

Since education aims to prepare individuals during childhood and youth to deal adequately with whatsoever tasks, problems or situations they may confront in adult life, including the choice and pursuit of an occupation, it should surely include the instruction necessary to understand current business practice, form filling and bureaucracy, local economics, politics and government, as well as how to avoid unwanted pregnancies, venereal diseases, lung cancer, drugs of various types, and the delusions of such dead-end ideologies as Marxism, racism or ethno-nationalism and other extremist social philosophies. It should therefore include sufficient social science and recent history to alert the young to the chief

ideological perils of mankind today. Especially it should equip youngsters to examine critically the offerings of the various news media. It is therefore necessary to discuss these and other issues systematically in a course of general knowledge for which all students should read and study in their final year, while preparing for the exams to enter university, teacher training college and other tertiary institutions. Whether this course of General Knowledge is best examined or unexamined may be determined later; but it should not be confined to academic secondary school leavers. In All-age Primary schools in their final year, school leavers should have a similar course.

Though the curriculum just described, which seems to emerge as the principal result of our study, aims to prepare individuals to cope with the modern world, we clearly cannot anticipate every challenge, or even the chief ones, with which future technological, environmental, social and scientific development will assuredly present each generation. The best we can hope to do is to prepare our children to think independently for themselves, to communicate and cooperate with others, to learn how to protect themselves physically against avoidable risks, including drugs and disease, and to keep themselves informed of current developments in the world around them, especially in politics and economics, science and technology. These aims our tentative syllabus certainly addresses; but with what measure of success will depend on the structure of the educational system, the resources at its command, and the particular ways in which they are used.

If, besides preparing pupils to earn a living, their education enables them to live positively and creatively, besides a broad emphasis on aesthetics, it should cultivate their adaptability and readiness for change, while introducing them to the principal processes and forces of change underway in their environment. Thus, instead of the flawless social reproduction best illustrated by an anthill, in our view education should prepare for the life-long process of individual and social adaptation to changes in our culture, society and environment, much of which may remain unknown to us or only dimly discernible. Clearly, given the multiple variables such processes engage, their complexity and interrelations, no educational system can anticipate and prepare people for a future as yet unknown by ensuring that they have all the special skills they will then need. At best it can only prepare them to cope with the unknown by ensuring that they have the general skills required to do so, both individually and socially, as citizens of a common society.

Unfortunately, for many West Indian parents the entire purpose and justification of education is now to enable children to study to get the certificates they will need for employment, and perhaps to qualify them for a career. At the primary school level, this requires that the child obtain CEE grades high enough to secure admission to one or other of the prestige secondary schools that prepare pupils successfully for the GCE and CXC examinations. That only a minority of students achieves this goal in any of the islands studied has been abundantly documented. Nonetheless, most parents still expect their children to do sufficiently well to secure a good job when they leave school. Of those who do, by far the majority are children of affluent parents, the so-called "middle" or "upper classes", which, as we have seen, are in fact the hierarchically ordered upper sections of those plural societies.

Whatever the politicians, bureaucrats, educators and teachers may say to the contrary, there is no doubt that objectively those are its routine results; and that apart from a few exceptionally bright children of poor parents, the principal, if not the only beneficiaries of the current educational systems are the children of "middle class" parents whose schooling and university education are paid for by the state. On graduation, if they remain in the country, these children therefore join a self-perpetuating elite.

Accordingly, the preceding proposals will receive little support from the politicians, bureaucrats, educators and other middle class parents whose children are well placed to win the free secondary school places awarded annually on the CEE results, and later on, university scholarships. On other grounds also, these people will probably defend the current system as that which promises everyone equally the greatest educational opportunities. In consequence, there is every chance that these proposals will be resolutely opposed by these interests, and very little chance that they will receive sufficient support to be implemented. West Indians will only question the value of their current educational system when persuaded that, despite appearances, it neither offers their children a genuine chance of the academic success they need to secure steady clerical jobs, nor the vocational training required for skilled manual jobs; and that in any case, education should not be narrowly vocational, but should prepare children adequately to live in the modern world. In this way West Indian pluralism persists, despite increased social mobility. Its cultural differences and inequalities are perpetuated through the educational system by those who benefit most, under the guise of equal rights and opportunities for everyone to free public education.

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