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# Joshua and the Education of a Nation: Jamaica Educational Reform in the Manley-Era, 1972-1980

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

JOSHUA AND THE EDUCATION OF A NATION:

JAMAICAN EDUCATIONAL REFORM DURING THE MANLEY-ERA, 1972-1980

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

PROGRAM IN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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For my parents.

“Most of our difficulties can be traced to the inadequacy of our skills and the misdirection of our knowledge.”

*Michael Manley*

## ABSTRACT

Former Jamaican Prime Minister, Michael Manley, and the Peoples National Party were concerned with the future manpower needs of the developing nation. In addition, they were concerned with what education meant for the elevation of the lower classes. World financial organizations such as the IMF and World Bank loaned the Jamaican government millions of dollars to aid in the development of educational programs. However, in return, they expected a skilled and educated labor force to be utilized in the global marketplace. Foreign aid organizations such as CIDA and UNESCO also contributed greatly to educational advancement on the island. However, they were found to have made funding recommendations based on the position and political ideologies of world leaders. This paper looks at education policy in Jamaica and the influence of those aid groups and banking organizations in the development and continuation of Jamaican educational programming from 1972 to 1980.

## **Introduction**

By the time Michael Manley was elected Jamaica's Prime Minister in 1972, the country had been suffering from mass illiteracy and an even greater amount of poverty within the agricultural class. The Jamaican economy was greatly dependent on the country's two main exports; bauxite and tourism (Keith & Keith, 1992; Mandle, 1996; Randall & Mount, 1998). Heavily reliant on foreign investments and agricultural export business, members of the elite class, including leaders of industry and trade, saw Manley's economic policies as being too leftist and his relationships with Cuba and the Soviet Union as a threat to their economic standing (Gray, 1991; Stephens and Stephens, 1986). As a result, they began to withdraw their money out of Jamaican banks and businesses and invest in other foreign markets. The nation's teachers, nurses, doctors and lawyers, who make up Jamaica's middle class, took advantage of Canada, the United States and Great Britain's recruitment efforts on the island, and left to these countries seeking better pay and resources to be sent home as remittances (Cooper, 2985; Edie, 1986, Kuper, 1976). This shift in class structure left the island with a limited number of educated workers (Bernal, 1980). Manley's allegiance to the ideals of non-alignment with the West drove the United States to halt aid to the country and in combination with the rising costs of petroleum, Jamaica's economy spiraled downward forcing Manley to

look to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank for assistance (Edie, 1986; Demas, 1978; Levi, 1990; Miller, 1992; Payne, 1992 ).

Manley and his PNP government desperately sought to hold on to the social programs initiated when they took office in 1972. However, the paying back of loans and the ever-inflating debt halted Manley's plans for an egalitarian educational system. His vision of an independent nation was a real one, however, the reality of democratic socialism and threat of communism to those who were fully vested in the Jamaican economy were real as well. Seen as a roadblock to autonomy and the building block of Jamaican industry, the Manley government attempted to develop literacy programs aimed at combating the illiteracy of almost half-a-million adults and free primary and secondary school education so that individuals of all class levels could get an education (Levi, 1990; Zeidenfelt, 1952). However, the signing of the debt repayment plan all but discontinued those initiatives.

As a developing country, Jamaica's educational programming was of great interest to those wishing to capitalize on the country's rich resources in agriculture and bauxite reserves. That being said, education was not only a priority for Manley and his government, but also for those with a vested interest in the nation educating its growing labor force. Literate workers were easier to train and could contribute to the national economy, as well as participate in the democratic voting process (Manley, 1975; Stephens & Stephens, 1986). The United Nations and other foreign

aid organizations visited the island in order to evaluate the Jamaican educational system, investigating every aspect of Jamaican education and making suggestions to the country's Ministry of Education. In this work, I will look at Michael Manley's PNP-led government's educational policies in relation to goals and constraints established in the Education Sector Survey of 1972; a thorough review of Jamaican education by a group of educational consultants from foreign aid organizations. I will review the Education Thrust of Seventies and focusing on his first two terms in office from 1972-1980, look at whether or not Michael Manley and his PNP government successfully met the short range goals proposed by the Education Sector survey team. In addition, I will answer the question of what were the immediate ramifications of the IMF loan program to the programs Manley put into place.

Beginning with his distinct philosophy of education, I look at whether or not Michael Manley was able to convey his vision of an egalitarian education into an executable educational policy. His first book, The Politics of Change, outlines in detail his educational philosophy as well his outlook on social justice and foreign policy. A brief overview of the history of Jamaican education gives the reader the context of a developing nation with an equally expanding educational system. Looking through Manley's speeches, other writings and autobiographies on his time in office, I am able to dissect the matters that meant most to him, including his dedication to democratic socialism and the party his father started some eighty

years ago. An outline of the Education Sector Survey and the Ministry of Education's response, the Education Thrust of Seventies followed by an analysis of the Ministry of Education Annual Reports and Education Statistics from 1968 to 1980 give sustenance to the researchers' findings. Lastly, the unforeseen challenges faced by Manley and the PNP-government give insight for an alternate conclusion.

### **Michael Manley's Philosophy of Education**

An "internationalist in perception, a democratic socialist by persuasion, a member of the Nonalignment Movement by commitment and a member of the Third World by circumstance", Michael Manley was concerned with social reform that would close the income gap between the rich and the poor (Manley, 1980:29). The ideals passed down by his father, Norman W. Manley, were not only of his own mind, but that of the political party in which his father founded. As such, Manley's writings expound upon the educational ideals held by the Peoples National Party (PNP), a self-labeled socialist party, and the educational reform needed in order for Jamaica to reach full independence from the West.

In his book, The Politics of Change: a Jamaican Testament, Manley distinguishes between the philosophy of education and the philosophy of education in a developing nation such as Jamaica. He (1975) states:

Education is normally thought of as a process by which the formalized knowledge of a society is passed on to its young through institutions of learning...For us...it is not enough that education should transmit our accumulated knowledge and skill from one generation to the next, because most of our difficulties can be traced to the inadequacy of our skills and the

misdirection of our knowledge...If we are to attempt to overtake our expectations and engage our resources we must transform both the focus of our attitudes and the nature of our skills. Hence education is the key to what must be an act of self transformation. (155)

Manley speaks with the understanding that the Jamaican educational system was built on “social prejudices which we have inherited from the past and bear little relationship to the economy which we must seek to build” (Manley, 1975: 158). Social prejudices including privately endowed schools created for the children of British plantation owners and free persons of color and agricultural education for children of slaves (Foner, 1973). Errol Miller, Professor of Teacher Education at the University of the West Indies states, “The elementary school system catered to the marginal majority of the Jamaican society, while the secondary school system catered to the privileged and powerful minority groups” (Miller, 1999:215). In addition, the post-colonial class structure and income disparities only allowed for a chosen few to enter the country’s limited amount of secondary school slots, of which many lower class citizens could not afford (King, 1999). Manley explains in Jamaica: Struggle in the Periphery, “The British educational system...was designed to create small Jamaican elite with the basic ideas of the British political system ingrained in its attitudes” (Manley, 1982:31). In combination, these prejudices inhibit Jamaica from producing the sort of labor market Jamaica needed if it were to ever develop as a nation.

As Manley describes the “psychological transformation” in which Jamaican education has to offer in a post-colonial society, he suggests four areas in which the Jamaican education system can be involved. The first objective in the quest for psychological transformation is instilling a spirit of self confidence, therefore allowing the psychological foundation for self reliance to be laid (Manley, 1975: 162). In order to do so, Manley suggests that post-colonial societies must number one, “rediscover the validity of their own culture at the moment of the colonial intervention and retrace the steps that had led through history to that point” and number two, “ they must establish within a frame of reality, the culture which colonialism imposed upon them...” (Manley, 1975:163). With the foreshadowing of British colonial education, curriculum in Jamaican schools was not representative of the student population. Miller explains that in the era of populist government of the fifties, sixties and seventies, “curriculum content...often did not reflect local conditions”, “imperial culture was promoted at the expense of local and regional culture” and in post-colonial education, “emphasis had to be placed on developing allegiance to the nation through promoting its symbols through the education system as well as through teaching the responsibilities of citizenship in a newly independent democratic nation” (Miller, 1999:222). A supporter of the Black Nationalism movement, Manley advocated for the teaching of culturally relevant curriculum, advising that, “If people are to acquire self-confidence and rediscover

the cultural continuity to which they are heirs, the mask of obscurity and shame must be ripped from the face of our African heritage” (Manley, 1975:165).

The second task in creating an educational system aimed at psychological transformation is to “train young people to accept the spirit of social co-operation as the foundation of national success and achievement and as a natural result of social and political awareness” (Manley, 1975:162). He notes that, “it is critical to both the economic development and the evolution of a society that is capable of internal harmony, that the co-operative spirit should become part of a people’s instinct for action” (Manley, 1975:167). Found within the context of slavery and “system of social welfare” (Manley, 1975:168), Manley explains that this “co-operative spirit” is already in action within the Jamaican people. He gives an example in A Voice at the Workplace of the ‘sharepot’ (Manley, 1991); the Caribbean tradition of families literally sharing their resources with others in their community who are without. From his experiences as a trade unionist, he also gives the example of “workers making voluntary contributions to a suspended worker for the period when he was off the job” (Manley, 1991:64). The Marxist undertones in his call for solidarity amongst the working class are well noted in this area and his involvement with the Non-aligned movement reiterate his commitment to this ideal.

Attitudes towards work are Manley’s third area in the quest for psychological transformation. He states, “... one must strive consciously to create a general acceptance of the work ethic as both a means to personal satisfaction and personal

investment that each man must make in the progress to which he is committed by his ambition” (Manley, 1975:162). Due to the conditions of slavery, Manley contends that work has never been an activity looked upon with pride, but as a means of control. He (1975) explains:

...the Jamaican people came to the adventure of freedom with attitudes towards work that reflected the misery of their historical experiences. Instead of work being seen as the means by which a man expresses the creativity in himself while he earns his daily bread-or even as a healthy necessity in the pursuit of his daily bread-work is seen as a condition imposed by a master upon a servant as the price of the servant’s survival (169)

This is a problem, as Manley explains, “...a country cannot develop if there is a neurotic attitude towards work” (Manley, 1975:170). His solution is to remove the stigma attached to manual labor and introduce children to the love of “doing” by introducing the idea of agricultural education in a country whose livelihood is in agriculture and vocational training in a country short of those with mechanical skills. Not that Manley believes that this will change the Jamaican people’s ideas on work or that these are the only sectors in which one can learn a good work ethic.

Manley explains:

In a libertarian society the educational process must retain the flexibility to accommodate individuality while instilling the lessons of group responsibility...The educational system which we brought from colonialism into independence had no positive elements of this sort at all because it was designed for a society which took its attitudes for granted and, hence, saw education as exclusively concerned with skill (Manley, 1975:171).

Manley was a staunch supporter the training of architects and engineers, as well as increases in technological innovations and advanced interest in careers in which Jamaicans were not currently familiar such as law and science (Manley, 1975:159).

Manley states that, "People are unlikely to respond to the positive suggestions or influences of their education if they are unsure of their own identity" (Manley, 1975:171) Thus, Manley suggests that the last step in the quest for psychological transformation is to be able to "train people to be capable of self-perception" (Manley, 1975:162). In order to do so, Manley theorizes that the "citizen of the Black Caribbean" make peace with his African heritage. He explains that, "For effort that is made to instill national self-confidence there must be a parallel effort to set our African, and hence our black, heritage in a legitimate context" (Manley, 1975:172). In Struggle of the Periphery, Manley (1991) remarks' "Our habits of dress, our sense of social hierarchy, our acceptance of monarchy can all be laid at the door of British colonialism and the skill with which empire fashions the mind of the governed" (79). These sentiments echoed Marcus Garvey's "call for the social rehabilitation of the black race..." of which Manley was familiar, as his father and Garvey were great companions; the only difference between the two was the scale in which to launch such an initiative (Keith & Keith, 1992:68,77). Michael Manley's ideal was to do so with the arts, as he details, "the educational process must first process must first recognize art, in this widest sense of painting, sculpture, poetry,

drama, literature, the theatre, music, dancing and the rest, as an indispensable element in the process of transformation” (Manley, 1975:173).

Kuper (1976) notes that literacy in Jamaica is ‘the greatest failure of the contemporary educational system’ (70). Manley’s view of literacy in the role of development was like that of many other leaders of developing countries. He (1975) openly admits that:

I share the view which has been held by other leaders of the developing nations such as Castro and Nyerere, that it is impossible to create either a modern economy or a just society if a substantial proportion of the adult population is denied the social tools, reading and writing, which are indispensable to full participation in either the economic or social systems of a modern state. (175)

Stockwell and Laidlaw (1981) confer, “...governments want it because they see a more literate population as a source of national pride. Beyond this, however, they clearly see the need to create a literate and technically skilled population as one of the major prerequisites for national and economic growth” (228). Manley’s ideal was that adult illiteracy be eliminated through the creation of national literacy campaigns (Manley, 1991:77; Patton, 1993:44).

The elimination of class barriers was one of Prime Minister Manley’s focal points during his time in office (Foner, 1973: 46; Manley, 1991:87-88). Equality within the educational system was one way in which Manley believed the caste system within the Jamaican society could be abolished. He proposes two pre-conditions be met before a society can offer such a system. The educational system

“must begin with a single stream of basic and primary education in which the quality of the facilities that are available are the same for all children”, as “the moment any class or group can buy themselves a better start in education for their offspring they have laid the foundations of a class system by conferring advantage upon a child through efforts other than its own” (Manley, 1975:177) Based on his own experiences as a boarding school student in London, Manley understood the advantages awarded to him as a result of his private school education (Levi, 1990). The second precondition is that as natural talents show themselves and students of higher aptitude come forth, provision should be made for them to devote a period of time to national service. Manley’s thinking is that, “it can help to keep alive in a young mind the notion that one owes one’s place in society to society itself and that some part of the commitment of oneself as a human being must be to social grouping as a whole” (Manley, 1975:178).

Manley did not believe that Jamaica’s educational system matched its economic development needs. There was heavy emphasis at all levels on the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic. This kind of educational system, however, did not benefit the country as it produced an overwhelming amount of white collar workers, but an underrepresentation of skilled manpower. Manley was not an advocate for the outsourcing of manpower and instead warranted for Jamaican schools to produce their own scientists, engineers and business administrators, stating, “A failure to plan at this level lands a developing society in

the middle of a dilemma. Either it is incapable of economic development or it becomes increasingly dependent upon imported manpower that is capable of operating at these levels” (Manley, 1975:159). He continues, “Therefore, the first educational response to freedom must be made in the area of technological adaption (Manley, 1975: 160). With psychological transformation now taking place within Jamaican society, it was now time to concentrate on those skills beneficial and essential to the Jamaican economy. They must stand guard against the pressures of the global marketplace that may influence the newly freed too acquire too much technology too soon as Manley (1975) states:

The young country must be constantly on its guard against the uncritical importation of technology which may be relevant in a highly sophisticated metropolitan economy but may be counter-productive with regard to the stage of economic development of an emerging nation struggling with its peculiar social problems (161).

Manley was conscious of the demands brought by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to grow the Jamaican economy, but still believed that transformation could only come by the way of increased literacy programs, the expansion of primary education and technological advancement.

### **History of Jamaican Education**

The beginnings of Jamaican education lay in the system of slavery that was a part of the Jamaican economy since the early 1700’s. Slaves and their children were taught by Anglican, Baptist and Moravian missionaries in church schools on plantations in an attempt to civilize them and introduce them to the Christian faith.

(Foner, 1973:38) In 1838, slavery was abolished and education grants such as the Negro Education Grant were given to the Jamaican assembly made up of the British missionaries who had taken up residence on the island in an attempt to fund the growing needs of newly emancipated slaves (D'Oyley, 1979). These funds were to go to the training of teachers and support for primary education for the teaching of moral conduct and occupational skills. Privately endowed schools created for the children of British plantation owners and free persons of color, coupled with the class barriers between slaves, free persons of colors (who were products of the interracial union between white male slave owners and women) and the owners, did nothing to increase the educational attainment of former slaves (Foner, 1973:41).

The *1867 Code of Regulations* prioritized industrial training (Turner, 1979: 64-87). Boys took coursework in such subjects as carpentry and tailoring, while girls participated in trade training courses such as cooking and needlework" (Turner, 1979: 88-104). Turner (1979) affirms, "the provisions made by the government from 1867 to 1920 were directed largely towards...the peasants, estate labourers, artisans, and domestic workers..." (99) In November of 1896, agricultural education was allowed to be a part of the secondary school curriculum making secondary school accessible to the lower classes (Ministry of Education, 1954: 71).

Middle-class, working class and lower-class parents clamored to get their children a spot at the small number of secondary schools in the country in the early

twentieth century. King (1999) notes that constrained by finances and low-achievement, lower-class students' only opportunity for admission into secondary school was through scholarships in which lower-class parents had limited to no knowledge (49). Concurrently, these scholarships went to mostly students who scored high marks on their Cambridge Junior Local Exams, for which lower-class children were ill-prepared by the nation's primary schools (King, 1999: 49) This widened the gap between the rich and the poor as students from upper class backgrounds excelled at the expense of those who did not have the resources to allow transition into higher levels of education.

Post independence, illiteracy, free primary and secondary education continued to be issues of importance for the Jamaican government. In 1964, they asked the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to come to Jamaica and "evaluate the education system and prepare a preliminary education plan" (Miller & Murray, 1977:1). They found that the:

Government's interpretation of the role of education in the realization of economic and social plans to be well-conceived...however, the funds allocated for capital expenditures and the presented proportion of the national annual budget to finance the recurrent expenditures involved will not permit a determined effort to make a breakthrough. (Miller & Murray, 1977: 17)

With that they recommended 1.) Serious consideration be given to the re-definition of priority needs 2.) A massive attack on the provision of textbooks, books, equipment and other instructional aids 3.) the expansion of agricultural education at

craft, technician and teacher training levels 4.) the expansion of technical education at craft, technician and teacher training levels 5.) the expansion of the teacher-training program 6.) Attention be given to adolescents outside of the school system who have the capacity and ambition to further their studies and 7.) short-term projects (Miller & Murray, 1977: 17).

The *Education Act of 1965* was passed in-line with the findings of the UNESCO group. As an underdeveloped country, “educational planners began estimating (Jamaica’s) future manpower needs...basing their estimation primarily on the projected needs of the modern sector” (Bacchus, 1981: 216). This new nation was in the midst of a paradigm shift away from British Colonial education to one more suited for their newly independent status. In 1966, the *New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica* was introduced with accommodating this transformation with the goal of achieving 3 main goals by 1980; compulsory education to all youths up to age 14, expanded and improved secondary and higher education and improved education administration and planning (Miller & Murray, 1977: 113). (See Appendix B)

### **Manley and the Peoples National Party**

Elected President of the PNP in 1969, Manley ran for Prime Minister of Jamaica in 1972. Coined the “Peoples Joshua”, Manley’s ideologies were in line with the party’s overall socialist values. As David Panton states in his book Jamaica’s Michael Manley: The Great Transformation, Manley was “committed to the principles of international reform, social justice, the reorganization of society along

more equitable lines and the extension of political participation beyond the middle and upper classes” (Patton, 1993:32). Bernal (1984) writes, “the Manley-led PNP...began a policy of growth with redistribution within the dependent capitalist structure. This program consisted largely of several social programs aimed at alleviating the worst aspects of poverty by fiscal expenditure and, to a much lesser extent, through access to means of production” (59) (See Appendix A). Girvan, Bernal and Hughes (1980) note that, “The PNP’s 1972 election campaign did not mention socialism...but rather focused on the issues of unemployment, social and economic inequalities, political repression, non-participation of the people in the political process and Jamaica’s passive stance in international affairs” (115). Manley and the PNP government did not align themselves with particular ideological standpoint during the campaign and won the election with a majority vote in parliament.

In 1974, Manley and the PNP announced their commitment to democratic socialism which Darrel Levi (1990) defines as:

...the attempt to unite socialist economics with truly democratic politics. It occupies a middle ground between liberal democracy-with its emphasis on formal political practices and absence of social and economic democracy and mass participation in decision making-and Marxism-Leninism, with its tendency toward one-party state and centralized decision-making. (280)

Keith and Keith (1992) label it as being, “shunt between African Socialism and Marxism-Leninism” (18). They released their ‘Principles of Democratic Socialism’ in

the fall of 1978 in accordance with their democratic socialist beliefs. Clearly stated, these principles are as follows:

1. The right of every Jamaican to form or join any political party of his/her choice, and to compete for State power in democratically contested elections.
2. The right of every Jamaican to meaningful employment and economic and social security.
3. The right of every Jamaican to own private, personal and productive property and to save to achieve these ends, subject to, and consistent with, the social and economic needs of the working people.
4. The right of every Jamaican to equality before the law, and consequently, the right to equality of opportunity, to equality of rights and to entitlement of security and social justice.
5. The right of the Jamaican people to establish sovereignty over their natural resources and to order their social, economic and political affairs without interference from any other nation.
6. The patriotic duty of every Jamaican to cooperate with the majority in building the nation, to respect our national heritage, to contribute to the development and welfare of the nation as a whole.
7. The deepening of the democratic process so that the collective wisdom and experience of the Jamaican people can become the decisive factor in the decision-making process at all levels.
8. The trade union movement and movement for worker participation to play leading roles in democratic process. Hence, as the entire socialist process deepens, the working class and small farmers will naturally play a more active role in national life... (Levi, 1990; PNP, 1979)

## **A Plan for Education Reform**

### Education Sector Survey

In 1966, the World Bank loaned Jamaica a substantial amount of money “for the construction of fifty junior secondary schools” and an additional loan in 1970 for “additional technical and vocational facilities” (Miller & Murray, 1977:19). The appointment of Michael Manley in 1972 brought democratic socialism to Jamaica, and with that, a brand new emphasis on education, as Glasgow and Langley (1989) write, “The ascendancy of a democratic government was marked by an increased ferment in education” (19). It is for this reason that the new government called in “a joint USAID, World Bank, CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) Education Sector Assessment Team to work with the Educational Planning Unit of the Ministry in preparing a systematic analysis of the current problems in the country’s total education/training system and to recommend project alternatives for consideration by the Minister and other key Jamaican policy-makers” (Miller and Murray, 1977:19). The result was an “analytical study of the Jamaican Education System and its major constraints, with recommendations as to various kinds of reform action which could be undertaken” (Miller and Murray, 1977: 8).

Both, short- and long-range goals were established as a basis for the creation of policy and as a starting point for the review of current educational outcomes (See Appendix C). Emphasis was placed on primary education and teacher training both in the long and short term. The Survey team called for the expansion of teacher training programs, paying particular attention to the need in languages, mathematics and science. Concurrently, some of the major short term objectives

included improvements to teacher and student work conditions including, facilities, learning materials and other “important tools for curriculum development” as well as the development of an “in-service” education program for teachers (Miller & Murray, 1977:30). Compulsory primary education was a long range goal for the UNESCO team; however vital short term objectives were identified. These included curriculum reform, expansion of vocational and agricultural training programs and the expansion of pre-primary schools.

Erroll Miller states in *Educational Reform in Jamaica* that due to the inadequate provisions of the colonial government, “expanding access to education became a major goal of the government in the post independence era” (Miller, 1999: 206). Researchers affirmed that in their assessment that there was a *Need for Physical Improvement and Expansion of the System*, their first constraint in a group of twelve. Facilities seemed to be the major impairment to education across the board whether it was the shortage or dilapidated state of the structures. The lack of space for students above the primary level dominated the conversation about junior and upper secondary schools, specialized and higher education institutions. Although the World Bank loaned out \$13.5 in 1971 in an effort to “provide 6,250 additional spaces”, there was still “a shortfall of over 53,750 places at the junior secondary level” (Miller & Murray, 1977: 63).

When it came to the teaching staff, the survey sector team judged that teacher training was deemed unsuccessful and coupled with inadequate facilities,

poor curriculum and “dysfunctional examination system”, the surveyors found this to have “adverse effects on the entire educational process” (Miller & Murray, 1977: 70). The *Need for a Relevant Curriculum Development Programme*, however, was something that Michael Manley noted in his desire for curricula that matched the needs of Jamaican society. The Survey team agreed stating, “Curriculum is the core of the whole educational process and as such, careful planning and attention to curriculum development is essential to meaningful educational reform” (Miller & Murray, 1977: 74).

The Publications Branch, the Correspondence Courses Section and the Educational Broadcasting Services (E.B.S.) were dismissed for their shortage of instructional material and improper execution of plans. The publications branch for their lack of appropriate grade-level learning material, correspondence for their inability to properly execute course programming and the E.B.S. for their inability to get information out through media, whether it was because of problems with transmission or limitations with electrical power. There were numerous suggestions for the reform of this area of the education sector. However, the overarching need was for the “redefinition of policy and responsibilities in order to fulfill a more professional support service to the curriculum development effort and educational process as a whole” ((Miller & Murray, 1977: 76).

In relation to the *Absence of Student Counseling and Vocational Guidance Personnel and Programmes*, the Survey team held that, “Qualified professionals and

systematic programmes of student counseling and vocational guidance are most essential to the secondary level of an education system” (Miller & Murray, 1977: 80). In the past, the majority of students within the educational system were not privy to secondary education, thus placing a demand on experienced counselors to guide students down the path of an academic setting. The researchers note the fact that at the present time, there are only a few university trained guidance counselors, but affirm that this must be a priority if students are to successfully make it to university.

The sixth constraint to the Jamaican education system is the *Lack of Appropriate Pre-professional, Vocational and Pre-vocational Programmes geared to the needs of Youth, the Community and the Economy*. Jamaica has made a heavy investment in the development of training programs in agriculture and technology. However, there is still a great need in these fields based on the amount of students that are not placed within a secondary school. With the small percentage that go on to university, the researchers observe that, “there is a current annual vocational/technical training shortage in the schools of approximately 20,000 to 25,000 student places” and “this shortage is accentuated by the currently large number of youths especially in the 15-19 year age range who are out of school, untrained and unemployed” (Miller & Murray, 1977: 83).

The researchers call for end to *An Examination System which is Socially and Academically Dysfunctional*. The seven tests that students may encounter

throughout their education in Jamaica are seen as “counter-productive” to Jamaica’s economic, social and societal needs as a nation (Miller & Murray, 1977: 87). Questions were raised as to the validity of the test in what they are actually measuring and the types of questions asked. The policy of “automatic” promotion was seen as inefficient as there was no system of measuring student aptitude during the six years of primary school and the “life-binding” Common Entrance Exams taken at 11 and 13 are seen as excessive for students educated in a lackluster primary school system with untrained teaching staff. A few of the Survey teams’ suggestions are to “Jamaicanise the examination system so that it is directly relevant to Jamaican needs, youth, the education system and the economy”, “introduce modern evaluation and testing concepts into the curriculum of the teachers colleges and the University of West Indies” and the “...training and upgrading of Jamaican testing/evaluation personnel” (Miller & Murray, 1977: 141-143). The former suggestions deal with the Sector’s earlier observation of a shortage of trained teachers and professionals.

*The Ministry’s Lack of an Adequate Management, Planning Information Systems Capability and a Programme of Inspection and Supervision* came into question during this survey. They suggest, throughout this section, an overhaul of the whole education system, starting from the top down. They found that the “organizational structure of the Ministry of Education was a major factor in the inadequacies of the country’s whole education system” and that there is a “lack of

clear definition at the Ministry level and within the Ministry of the basic purpose and objectives of the educational process and system” (Miller & Murray, 1977: 95-96).

*The Absence of a National Human Resources Development Plan and Lack of Ministerial and Other Levels of Total National Human Resources Education/Training Objectives and Efforts including Those of a Non-Formal Nature* negatively impacts the productivity of the nation as there is no congruent manner in which all Jamaicans can be educated and/or employed. Although the Ministry of Education is by far one of the largest agencies involved in human resources development on the island, there seems to be no clear delineation of their individual responsibilities.

The Ministry’s incapability to properly assess the current state of their educational system contributes to the *Low Internal and External Efficiency of the Current System*. The surveyors note that the “lack of current, pertinent and accurate data...is the most fundamental problems relative to the whole education system...” (Miller & Murray, 1977: 103). Low attendance rates and, concurrently, low achievement rates that should promote increases in government expenditures, are not perceived as high priorities, leaving the Sector Survey team to question the validity of data from which educational policies are made.

*The Lack of Adequate Research, Experimentation Evaluation and Feedback for System Improvement* creates a problem as there is no accurate means of evaluating whether a program is effective or not. The team found generalizations to be the

norm within the Ministry as figures and facts were based off of partial data. They state:

Although educational data has been collected in the system for many years, statistical reporting has not been sufficiently accurate and comprehensive, nor has there been much of an attempt to systematically collect data essential to the kinds of research which the country needs of meaningfully analyze the information which available (Miller & Murray, 1977:107).

In order to adequately assess the current state of the education system, the Survey team suggests that the Ministry create a central data collection site and sound method in which the data can be collected (Miller & Murray, 1977:147-148). The policy for research and data collection should not be ambiguous; rather it should be seen as a critical function of the Education Planning Unit.

The survey sector team feel that, “The education system and at the local level, the school, is an essential, if not the key institution for the social development needs of the country” (Miller & Murray, 1977:109) Therefore, the *Need for a Programme of Continuing Education including Community Involvement in, and Support for, the Education System* is essential for the growth of the nation. They note that the current government’s policy of involving the community is effective. However, the school is an integral part of the equation.

#### The Education Thrust of the Seventies

Stephens and Stephens (1986) state that “the PNP government attempted to increase social equality through many domestic programs” and “the education and

literacy policies were ...aimed at expanding and equalizing access to more privileged positions in society..."(292, 295). They were not distracted by the deleterious findings of the Sector Survey team, as the Sector Survey team states:

...considerable efforts have been made to modernize the education/training system in Jamaica, since the country was granted full independence in 1962... Although significant progress was made during the period 1966-1972, it was for the most part uneven leaving certain areas in critical need of improvement while providing for moderate reform in other areas (Miller & Murray, 1977:113).

They continue:

From that time (1962), a major national education development policy began to emerge covering the infant, primary, secondary and higher education levels. A main goal of such a development policy was to shift away from the British colonial regulations and school programmes to those that were better suited to the new Jamaican socio-economic structure. (Miller & Murray, 1977:113).

The *New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica* was developed in 1966 with "major education breakthrough to be achieved by 1980" (Miller & Murray, 1977:113). Its objectives included compulsory free education to all youths up to age 14, expanded and improved secondary and higher education, improved education administration and planning (Miller & Murray, 1977:113). By 1973, "the present government...committed itself to a redefinition of education policy and development strategy and to the early implementation of a programme of educational reform" (Miller & Murray, 1977:114). With this, the Ministry of Education published the Education Thrust of the 70's in 1973, using the "analytical data and certain recommendations of the Sector Survey (Miller & Murray, 1977:115). (See Appendix

D). Released in 1973, the 37-page document reflected the government's desire to create an education system "more closely responsive to the country's economic and social development needs" (Miller & Murray, 1977:115). It was developed "mainly to set broad strategy objectives for educational reform. It does not deal (therefore) with the detailed analysis, planning and financing, and implementation of the programme areas identified" (Miller & Murray, 1977:116).

The Honorable Florizel Glasspole, Minister of Education, told the House of Representatives that the Ministry of Education had been "allocated a total of J\$65, 652, 330...exclusive of the cost of the policies announced by the Prime Minister" for fiscal year 1973-1974, meaning an increase of over J\$16 million the J\$40.6 million allocated the year prior (The Daily Gleaner, 1973:20). These monies went to the development and implementation of the programmes outlined in the Education Thrust. Glasspole, writes:

Jamaica's greatest resource is her people. Half these people are under the age of seventeen. A quarter of our population spends the working days in the classrooms of our schools. What happens there will largely decide their own future and that of the country. The policy of the Government is to develop effective educational programmes so that young people can serve the needs of their own Community and the nation, and that at the same time their own need for better levels of living (Ministry of Education, 1973:1).

Waines (1963) affirms that in a developing country, "it is just as important to have political leaders and civil servants of high caliber as it is to have qualified and skilled entrepreneurs, professionals, technicians and tradesmen. The provision of

educational opportunities, therefore, should have top priority in a newly developing country” (439).

The Ministry faced numerous, but familiar challenges as they attempted to develop educational policies. The ratio of trained teachers to untrained teachers was one of them. The Thrust (1973) states that in the case of pre-schools, “teachers in the majority of cases are untrained and unfitted for the special educational demands of this group...” (Ministry of Education, 1973:3). In 1974, there were a total of 16,944 teachers in Jamaican schools (Ministry of Education, 1975: 16) In Infant, Primary and All-Age Schools, 3,315 of the 8,179 teaching staff were trained (Ministry of Education, 1975:17). In the Secondary Schools, 1,563 teachers out of 2012 were trained teachers or specialists (Ministry of Education, 1975:18). A portion of the untrained teachers were interns working towards their certification. However, the Education Sector Survey team states that, “they are always replaced by another 1,000 or so interns who are relatively unqualified as practicing teachers and who for the most part are catapulted directly into a teaching situation following two years of teaching college (Miller & Murray, 1977:72). This discrepancy in the amount of untrained teachers in the Primary school system was of great concern to the Ministry as the Primary school education was seen to be the greatest predictor of overall academic success.

As well as the number of trained teachers, the Ministry faced the challenge of overcrowded schools and the lack of adequate facilities. Overcrowding in schools

was continuous problem throughout the history of Jamaican education, as demand often exceeded supply (King, 1979; King, 1999; Ministry of Education, 1954; Ministry of Education, 1963). In the Report In-Depth of Primary Education in Jamaica (1974), committee members reported that in urban schools, “it is not unusual to have two classes of 60 and more operating in a classroom originally intended to accommodate a single class of 60” (304). Minister Glasspole informed the House of Representatives that, “as of September 1972, there were provisions for 327,533 places in primary schools, but that 414,919 were enrolled” (Daily Gleaner, 20). The Ministry (1975) assessed:

Primary and All-age schools, new and old, are overcrowded and yet leave an Estimated 71,500 young people 6-15 out of school...a further 62,600 children are projected for this age group in two years’ time. There is no way in which 134,000 extra school places will be built by 1975 ...the pre-school population (aged 4-6 years) is presently estimated at 200,750 and projected to rise to 207,350 by 1975. Although there are an estimated 2,000 basic schools in Jamaica, at least 40% of that number (800) are substandard needing either new buildings or very extensive repairs (3).

This placed a heavy burden on an already strained educational system. If the current administration was to create an educational system gauged at transforming the psyche of the Jamaican citizen, it would have to deal with the overwhelming number of students entering and leaving the school system for the danger that not all students will receive a basic education.

Literacy, mental ability and mathematical competency were three areas in which the Ministry of Education considered to be a major obstacle in constructing

an educational system deemed “the Thrust of education for the rest of the century” (Daily Gleaner, 1973). So when the Ministry found that the G.C.E. ‘O’ Level exams “revealed 50% success last year; of the 30,876 papers taken, 15,433 were passed” and “the rate of passes at ‘A’ Level for the past years has been 42% of all papers taken”, their conclusion was that this hindered their goal to increase the manpower needs, as they state, “it will be difficult to correct the country’s shortage of higher and middle manpower unless there is much better flow through the secondary schools” (Ministry of Education, 1973:4-5). This comes with the realization, however, that changes needed to be made in the area of standardized tests, as the Ministry affirm that the Common Entrance exams, “are notable for their failure rate, limit the curriculum in schools and engender boredom and dislike of learning, particularly in secondary schools” (Ministry of Education, 1973:4) (See Appendix E). The high failure of the Jamaica School Certification also proved a barrier as it served as “the major selector for future primary school teachers, branches of nursing, the police and armed forces, and junior clerical and business occupations (Ministry of Education, 1973:4). A complete overhaul of the examination system, as the Education Sector Survey team suggested, would also have to involve curriculum changes and public perceptions of these tests.

### **Policy Reform, 1972-1977**

#### Literacy Campaign

Prior to 1972, the government had little success in developing a proficient adult literacy programme. Minister of State, the Honourable Arnold Betram explained in a Gleaner article, “the various ad hoc literacy projects which began from the 1940’s had achieved only marginal success in attempts to impart the basic skills of reading and writing to Jamaica’s ever growing number of illiterate adults” (The Daily Gleaner, 1978: 11). In 1964, a UNESCO team found that more than 40% of Jamaican adults were functionally illiterate (Gleaner, 1974; Manley, 1975; Miller, 1999). One of the first mandates of the Manley administration was a literacy campaign aimed at fully eradicating illiteracy on the island. A National Literacy Board was set up with the goal to “eliminate illiteracy within four years”, but after a period of reorganization in 1974, the organization transitioned into the Jamaica Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL) Foundation. JAMAL had the new goal of involving 100,000 people per year in adult education programs “instead of attempting to wipe out literacy by 1976” (Stephens and Stephens: 1986: 71-72). They add that, “the education and literacy policies were...aimed at expanding and equalizing access to more privileged positions in society...” (295). The government looked at ways in which libraries could be transformed to include resources for these “new special brand of readers”, including the use of audio-visual materials (The Daily Gleaner, 1974; The Sunday Gleaner, 1974). The literacy campaign, “cut functional illiteracy by half during our term”, as stated by Manley (1982) and “thousands volunteered as instructors and served without pay, some for years” (77).

Kaufman (1985) explains that, “By the end of 1976, 70,000 had graduated from the literacy programme, an estimated 80, 000 obtained the rudiments of literacy through TV and radio classes, and another 90,000 were enrolled in ongoing JAMAL classes in adult education centres and workplaces (97). Miller (1999) offers, “A literacy survey done in 1981 showed that functional illiteracy had been reduced to 24.3% of the population despite the fact that the adult population had increased substantially over the 17-year period (225). A completely volunteer-led program, the ‘spirit of cooperation’ revealed in his writings was made manifest well after Manley left office in 1980.

#### Free Primary and Secondary School Education

Girvan, Bernal & Hughes (1980) state that, “In the first two years, the PNP announced plans and/or programmes in relation to unemployment, skill training, literacy training, land reform, food subsidies, rent restrictions, free education, school uniform subsidies... (116). Patton (1993) states that, “In 1973, Manley announced free education for both secondary school and university education, free school uniforms for primary school children, and even a nutrition programme to provide lunches for students” (44). Child malnutrition was not an issue noted in the Education Sector Survey, but was a disturbing figure for Manley as he states that “an intolerable conditions of society (is that) ...child malnutrition ran at over 30%” (Manley, 1982;33-34). Miller notes, “...the programmes...have all attempted to soften the impact of inadequate nutrition and its effect on learning (Miller, 1992:

59). David Patton mentions that, “Manley introduced the proposal without the approval of the Ministry of Finance which had initially rejected the programme as too costly” (45). Stephens & Stephens (1986) concur, stating, “Manley announced policies in public speeches without consulting the relevant ministers or civil servants about feasibility of the program (75). Manley (1982) argued:

In 1973, we decided that the state would take over the expenses of all tuition costs throughout the secondary and tertiary educational systems... We could not afford to pay for everything, but tuition fees in high schools and the university were substantial. Previously, the state provided for some 2,000 free spaces each year that were competed for by some 40,000 to 50,000 eleven year olds. The other 7,000 or 8,000 places went to the children of the parents who could afford it. Now, the best 9,000 regardless of parental status would get into high schools (87-88).

Consistent with ideals of free education, in 1974, the government created the new secondary schools. Miller (1999) explains that these five-year schools were “substantially different from other types of secondary schools” in that they were, “non-selective...its school graduates were not required to take Cambridge examinations”. (209). He adds, “Accordingly, new secondary schools attracted the lowest social status of the five types of secondary schools although it offered the greatest access to secondary education” (209). The large number of students leaving junior secondary schools at 15 years old with minimal skills motivated the PNP-led government to open these schools. Through the new secondary school, these students took courses in “the traditional academic core of English language and mathematics, vocational training in agriculture in rural schools and in twenty other

specializations in the industrial and commercial area” (Glasgow and Langley, 1989:43). The extension of the junior school from three years to the five-year secondary school program allowed students to learn skills in order to be an integral part of the Jamaican society.

In line with the PNP principle of ‘the right to equality of opportunity’, Manley’s attempts at shifting the power balance from “the wealthy apex towards to democratic base” freed positions not often occupied by the lower classes (Manley, 1982:87). However, as Stephens & Stephens (1986) note, “introduction of free secondary education did mean that middle-class offspring had to compete with lower-class children in admission examinations, but their performance in these examinations was, of course, still helped by the cultural advantage of a middle-class upbringing” (213). In correspondence with the educational policies, the PNP government enacted several laws and grant programs to assist the poor in moving up the income ladder, including land grant programs, the National Minimum Wage law and sugar cooperatives (Eddie, 1986; Kaufman, 1985; O’Flaherty, 1978). Bernal (1984) writes, “The programs, together with wage increases, resulted in an increase in the standard of living for the poor (63).

#### Free uniforms/School nutrition program

The “establishment of a national nutritional programme to provide minimum levels of nutrition for the entire population” prompted the government to start a free lunch program (Patton, 1993: 108). The Ministry found that, “unbalanced diets

and their attendant ills affect adversely and retard the performance of the growing and learning child” and in partnership with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), erected the Nutrition Products Centre with the goal of preparing both hot and cold meals for “all infant, primary and All-Age schools in the Corporate area” (Ministry of Education, 1973:18). In the Report In-Depth of Primary Education in Jamaica (1974), the review committee recommended the provision of a cold breakfast as the keeping of hot meals proved to be unsanitary (section 345-347). The provision of one uniform per child in primary school, “an estimated issue of approximately 120,000 uniforms”, came from the Ministry’s observation that irregular school attendance could be attributed to the parents’ inability to provide clothing for their students (Ministry of Education, 1973:19). There was an existing free uniform program in some private schools; however, this was the first nationwide government mandated program.

#### Teacher Training Programs

Heavy emphasis was placed on the development of primary school teachers as a means to increasing the literacy rates and standardized test performance in Jamaican schools. Thus, in 1973, the Ministry of Education developed the In-Service Education for Teachers (ISTET). Glasgow and Langley (1989) state:

This program designed for training untrained primary school teachers on the job was begun with the sum of J\$240,000 provided for it in the 1973-1974 budget. ISTET was projected to have a life span of six years, and in that period, it was expected that the project would take in 3,600 students, and allowing for attrition would certify 2,700 as teachers by 1979 (40)

ISTET trained existing untrained teachers and new recruits from the National Service program in lieu of Teachers' colleges increasing the output of qualified teaching professionals and as described in the *Thrust*, the programs were planned at three stages; University Graduates, Graduates of Seven Years of Secondary Education and Graduates of Five Years of Secondary Education and untrained teachers in-service (Ministry of Education, 1973: 6). Components of the program include aligning syllabi and coursework with the types of schools in which students will be employed during their internship, giving full responsibility for the maintenance of the internship program to the college, increasing aid to non-residential students to help manage the cost of living, reducing or cancelling the debt of teacher training institutions and earmarking funds for the replacement of materials and equipment (Ministry of Education, 1973:10-11). In addition to former initiatives, the Ministry funded the expansion of programs in which they felt would satisfy the nations' manpower needs. These programs include agricultural education, the Teacher Technical Training Project, an intensification of pre-school education training and training in courses such as Medical Technology and Telecommunications (Ministry of Education, 1973:12-13).

The ISTET program was not the only means by which the government would increase the numbers of trained teachers. For the 1974-5 school year, there were 1,348 participants of the ISTET program and 2549 students were enrolled in

traditional teacher training programs in the country's teachers' colleges (Ministry of Education, 1974-75:67). In 1976, there were 1321 individuals in the ISTET program and 4,696 total students in teacher training programs (Ministry of Education, 1976-77: 147). By the 1979, the number of students in teacher training programs grew to 5,005 (Ministry of Education, 1978-9: 135). Glasgow and Langley (1989) note that these increases were, "accomplished through expansion of existing colleges" and the addition of Sam Sharpe Teachers' College (40) Concurrently, there was a jump from 1975-1980 in the number of enrollments and awards given in certificates and diplomas in Education at the University of the West Indies (UWI). In 1974-75, of the 131 students registered in the Diploma in Education program, 125 were Jamaican residents of which 100 received scholarships; in the Certification program, 36 total students were enrolled: 25 of the 26 enrollees received awards (Ministry of Education, 1975: 73). In 1979-80, there were a total of 366 students enrolled in Education programs at UWI, of which 327 were Jamaican residents; of the 187 awards give, 174 of them were given to Jamaican residents (Ministry of Education, 1980: 137).

The Ministry of Education's overseas recruitment of teachers to fulfill its particular curriculum needs at the primary and secondary education levels supplemented the ISTET program. However, as the in-service training began to produce new teachers, the need for overseas volunteers waned. In 1974, there were a total of 346 special recruits and volunteers teaching on the island, 182 of which

were volunteers from other nations including United States Peace Corps, German Volunteer Service and the Canadian and United Kingdom's Service Overseas programs (Ministry of Education, 1975:23) The highest numbers of volunteers recruited were in the subjects of English, Mathematics and Science, in-line with the Prime Minister's mandate to meet the future needs of the developing country (23). In 1976-77, the number of overseas recruits was reduced to 83, with the highest numbers still existing in the Math and Sciences (Ministry of Education, 1977:34).

Jamaican expatriates were heavily recruited as Miller (1999) notes, "...expatriate teachers were actively recruited through annual missions to Britain undertaken by personnel of the Ministry of Education" (220). Although, there was a heavy push to continue to produce a competent local teaching force. Miller explains that as a result of reforms in the Teachers Colleges and the establishment of a diploma of education program at the University of West Indies, "the teaching force at the secondary level had been Jamaicanized and Caribbeanized. The dependence on Britain to supply trained secondary school teachers had been broken by the establishment of local teacher education capacity" (1999: 221). School teachers and, concurrently administrators were being trained in the nation's university system and/or the surrounding West Indian countries instead of being supplied by or recruited from other Western nations.

Curriculum Development Thrust

The Curriculum Development Thrust (CDT) dealt with the “need for curricular revision given to the poor performance in English language and mathematics of children from primary schools who took the selection examinations for entry to high and technical schools” (Glasgow & Langley, 1989:41). Vocational and agricultural training programs had gone through a period of reform during the early seventies; however, there was still great need for reform in the area of academics, specifically reading, writing and mathematics in relation to standardized testing (Lewis & Lewis, 1985; Jennings-Wray, 1982). Through the CDT, J\$655,050 was given for the training of Grade 1 and Grade 6 teachers in island-wide workshops taught by nine task forces of Grade 1 and Grade 6 teachers; subsequent grades were to be added so that by 1977, Functional Education would be established in all primary schools (Ministry of Education, 1973:6). Miller (1999) adds:

Nationalizing and regionalizing the curricula at all levels of the education system became a major focus of reform in the post-independent period...National curriculum committees were established... to reform the curricula to reflect Jamaica and Caribbean conditions, culture and citizenship requirements...UWI personnel were invited to chair the national curriculum committees...both local and international publishing houses recruited UWI staff to write several of the textbooks that were put on the market to support the new curricula (222).

The government’s desire to modernize school curriculum was superseded by their desire to develop curriculum domestically, rather than regress back to a British-based curriculum (Manley, 1982).

### National Youth Service/Work Experience

Although an integral part of early Jamaican education, the integration of practical work experience in secondary schools was made mandatory in the mid 1970's. Glasgow and Langley (1999) write, "The work experience program required students to spend three weeks in their final year in a working situation either in the government service, in an educational institution, or in a private commercial enterprise" (44). Dairy, pig and poultry farming complemented coursework in agriculture, as coursework in telecommunications and technology were accented by time working in internships with those same time firms (Jennings-Wray, 1982; Ministry of Education, 1973).

The National Service program was the first of its kind in Jamaica. Much like the PeaceCorps program in the United States, individuals would serve for two-years, post-graduation, to an area of significant need. In exchange, the Ministry (1973) offers:

The two-year period will in itself be an education in social interaction; in addition...an ex-Service man or woman will have been well established in the first stages of a profession or occupation for which there is a great national need (1).

This stemmed from the Prime Minister's belief that:

Its is crucial...that even the most brilliant student who wins for himself the most exceptional place in the educational system should be required to give back to its society a period of free service (Manley, 1975: 178)

The program went through its challenges, as Manley (1982) later explains:

...the national youth service proved extremely expensive and we were never able to operate it for all high school graduates, though we preserved a token service involving 2,000 to 3,000 a year (88).

### **The IMF and Obstacles to Reform**

Bernal (1984) writes that, "The implementation of a democratic socialist economic strategy required the expansion of the role of state" and that in that role, "...the state was to own and control the 'commanding heights' of the economy, namely, mineral resources (bauxite, gypsum), strategic industries (alumina, cement, sugar), public utilities, financial institutions and foreign trade" (62). The elite class and foreign corporations that were in control of these entities prior to the PNP government were not agreement, as Carlene Edie, Professor from Northwestern University (1986) details:

Local and foreign capital sources reacted with panic to the expansion of the state sector and to the PNP's increasing involvement with Cuba. They protested against the government by withdrawing their capital from Jamaican banks and putting them in safer banks abroad, and withdrawing or decreasing investment in Jamaica. The government faced a hostile private sector and a hostile international capitalist system (85).

She continues:

Middle and lower class clients became disgruntled as the economy shrank and the government no longer had the resources needed to satisfy all the demands which flowed from its democratic socialist program. The private sector literally went on strike, closing down factories, dismissing hundreds of workers and cutting production in an effort to shift its capital away from losing ventures into profitable overseas investments (85).

Coupled with the rising costs of oil and overall world inflation, the lack of domestic and foreign capital drove the developing nation into a 'balance of payments crisis'

(Edie, 1986; Girvan, Bernal & Hughes, 1980; Gray, 1991; Payne, 1992; Manley, 1982). Miller writes, "Jamaica instituted a bauxite levy to offset the increase cost of petroleum imports...However, by 1977, it was forced to seek IMF and World Bank assistance (Miller, 1992: 32). The terms of the IMF loan program were in direct contradiction to the PNP principles. Kaufman (1985) writes:

The programme... made clear that the burden of the crisis would be borne of the workers and peasants. This would be accomplished through the wages and prices policy, increased consumer taxes and increased charges for government services which disproportionately affected lower income earners (148)

Manley did not lay complete blame for the economic conditions of his country on the IMF, as the PNP administration was charged with the mismanagement of funds and the forcing out foreign capital (Bernal, 1984; Stephens & Stephens, 1986). However, he did have issues with the harshness of the program, stating:

The standard IMF formula for balance-of-payments deficits –exchange rate devaluation and fiscal monetary restraint –were devised for mature industrial market economies in which the balance of payments may indeed be responsive to such policies....Stabilization programmes...often employed draconian methods with relatively only modest results on the balance of payments, but at great cost in social terms and the arrest of the effort at development and structural change (Manley, 1980: 36)

Over the next three years, the Prime Minister would find himself in continuous negotiations with the IMF.

When the Education Sector Survey team advised the Jamaican government on the changes they needed to make, they warned that they must "pay serious

attention to the educational finance and more specifically to the economics of education”, noting that, “the internal and external efficiencies of the system...must be included relative to the possible alternatives and the costs to the Jamaican people” (Miller & Murray, 1977: 114). The relationship with the IMF caused Michael Manley’s PNP government to have to refocus their commitment to democratic socialism. “IMF programs were in contradiction with the PNP’s development strategy” and “is not concerned with democracy”, so the overhaul of the education system was not as high importance as deregulation of the Jamaican economy (Bernal, 1984: 70-71).

The policies IMF, directly and indirectly had an adverse effect on the Jamaica educational system and the social services as a whole. The redirecting of funds to IMF initiatives “increased the cost of living, reduced real income and caused cutbacks in social programs...” (Bernal, 1984: 76). Girvan, Bernal and Hughes (1980) explain:

The quality and scope of the social services have deteriorated at an accelerated rate, especially since the 1978 (IMF) programme. The Ministry of Education... has laid off a number of teachers who were in temporary employment. The intake of the Jamaica Youth Corps, an employment and skill-training programme for school leavers, was cut from 10,000 to 2,000 in 1979....two largest hospitals were closed, due to the combined effects of machinery breakdown, lack of medical personnel, shortages of drugs and industrial action...Many public utilities, especially electricity and urban bus transport, have also shown big reductions... (148).

In his book, Education for All: Caribbean perspectives and imperatives (1992), Errol Miller tells that:

households were affected by the devaluation of the Jamaican dollar, inflation, wage guidelines that held down salary increases, the withdrawal of basic food subsidies, higher taxes, and a rise in unemployment to rates in excess of 20 percent. All of this reduced disposable income and hence, the resources available to parents for educating their children (32).

He (1992) states the impact of the IMF program on the educational system over the next five to ten years included the following:

1. The elimination of welfare programmes for needy students, including programmes that provide school uniforms at the primary level and offer financial assistance to secondary school children from poor homes.
2. The closing of two teacher training institutions and a reduction in the number of students admitted by the remaining colleges, along with the discontinuation of the In-service Teacher Education Programme for primary school teachers and the In-service Diploma Programme for training graduate teachers for secondary schools. The result of these measures has been a shortage of professionally trained teachers and a concomitant increase in the number of unqualified teachers employed in primary and secondary schools.
3. A decline in teachers' salaries in real terms, leading to bitter disputes between the teachers' organization and the government that lasted for more than a year and disrupted the school system in a variety of ways.
4. A lack of furniture and equipment in many schools
5. A poor state of repair of many schools. The School Mapping Exercise, conducted from 1981-1985, found 40 percent of the school places in primary

schools in “bad” or “very bad” condition-this when enrollment was 30 percent above capacity.

6. Significant cutbacks in the staff at the Ministry of Education, effectively reducing its ability to manage and supervise the educational system.
7. The closing of the four regional offices of the Ministry, thereby increasing the centralization of educational administration.
8. Cutbacks in funding for the Adult Literacy Programme between 1983 and 1986 from 1.8 to 0.5 percent of total recurrent expenditures. Enrollment in literacy classes fell by 86 percent.
9. Reduction in the book stock of the School Library Service to unacceptable levels.
10. Inadequate teaching and learning materials in the schools. Surveys revealed that 30 percent of the children in Grades 1 and 2 lacked writing implements and exercise books, while 40 percent lacked textbooks.

(Miller, 1992: 32-33)

### **Conclusion**

Michael Manley’s philosophy of education remained relatively consistent even after his time as Jamaican Prime Minister. At the Fourth Founders Day Lecture at the Shortwood Teachers College in 1993, Manley tells Education teachers,

I know that subjects like math, algebra, trigonometry, and the natural sciences, religious knowledge, English, chemistry and geography are the foundation of education and you must learn how to teach them...What I also beg you to remember is that these subjects are only the building blocks for a wider purpose...we must never lose the sense of the wider design... (2)

Towards the end of his time in office, he was forced to amend his education budget, but his stance on the importance of investment in education in a developing society remained consistent. The same remains for foreign aid organizations such as the UN and CIDA who continuously consulted the Ministry of Education on matters of educational development including the expansion of the primary school system, literacy education, teacher training programs and the construction of new facilities. Even the World Bank and International Monetary Fund could not disagree with the goals agreed upon by the Ministry of Education and Education Sector Survey team. Their goals were the same; however, the underlying philosophies of education of the varying groups were different.

Throughout Manley's writings and Ministry documents, there is a constant undertone of education as a means of uplifting the Jamaica's lower classes. Manley and his PNP-led government were concerned with the future manpower needs and the benefits of a more skilled and educated workforce and altered their goals to meet that challenge. However, they were also concerned with what this education meant for the political process. Literacy programs in agricultural communities and the tenements of Kingston were created with the intention of involving individuals at the lower rungs of the economic ladder in the democratic process, which in the

past had been dominated by the elite class. From the JAMAL literacy programs to free primary education, Manley's intentions were to close the gap between the lower and middle classes. World financial organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank loaned the country millions of dollars to aid in the development of these educational programs. However, they also expected return on investment in the form of an educated workforce to be utilized by foreign investors. Foreign aid organizations such as CIDA and UNESCO also contributed greatly to educational advancement on the island. However, they too made recommendations based on how these changes would have on the workforce. For Manley and the PNP, education was tied to economic and political freedom. For all others involved, education was tied to work.

When the country's economy began to fail in the late 1970's, we begin to see the educational philosophies of all groups collide. The IMF loan assistance program had terms that showed to be contradictory to the outcomes they deemed necessary for the development of an educated workforce. In the 2001 movie, IMF Deputy Director, Stanley Fischer outlined the IMF's plan for the restructuring of the Jamaican economy. He states, "The idea is to cut spending in some way and find ways to generate income. What Jamaica needed to do was expand their exports and diminish imports and the best way to do that is to make foreign currency expensive", or devalue the Jamaican dollar and "reduce the trade barriers". Professor of Economics at the University of the West Indies, Dr. Michael Witter,

argues in the movie that these policies were detrimental to Jamaica, who was “heavily dependent on the imports of fuel, food, medicine, books for schools, etc...”

(2001). He states:

The whole idea was to set out conditions that the government could not meet and when the government failed to meet than they would have to renegotiate a new loan in which the conditions became tighter...IMF didn't say cut out this education program or cut out this health program. What the IMF said is you must only spend so much money on health and education and the implication of that was that you had to cut out some programs...

Programs that did not align with the IMF's ultimate goal of increasing income were deemed a waste on government spending and eliminated. The education programs that were affected by the IMF terms of agreement very well could have produced the kind of workers the IMF and other lending institutions felt were necessary for Jamaican economic development. However, when Manley approached the IMF as such, the economic interests of the organization were shown. The IMF was not in the mindset of helping out the Jamaican people with educational programs that would increase their class status and make them knowledgeable citizens, but rather their interests were in opening up Jamaica to the global marketplace (Bernal, 1984; Girvan, Bernal, Hughes, 1980)

Miller states, “Aid organizations such as the World Food Program and USAID have assisted in the expansion and operation of the School Feeding Programme. Loans from the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank, and USAID have been obtained to address various constraints to primary and secondary education”

(Miller, 1992: 34). These organizations seem to have the needs of the Jamaican people in mind. However, aid was given with specific outcomes and expectations assigned to each dollar as Bujazan, Hare, Belle and Thomas (1987) mention that “During the years 1977-1979, USAID’s project classification system changed significantly. Education was regrouped with human-resource projects” (165). AID organizations were found to be guilty favoring countries based on the political ideologies and affiliations of said nation’s leader. The authors state:

USAID reports show that the educational priorities of AID funded projects vary considerably even though recipient nations share common socio-economic conditions. Thus, it is clear that USAID does not base its decision to support projects solely on the structural characteristics of the bidding recipient nation. Differences in the ideological orientations of recipient nation governments seem more directly related to variation in agency-determined educational priorities (166).

They go on to say:

In Jamaica, when the more conservative Prime Minister (Edward) Seaga replaced the more liberal Michael Manley, educational aid climbed remarkably from \$0.45 million in 1981 to \$8.6 million in 1983 (167)

Preferential treatment was shown to Manley’s successor based purely on the differing political ideologies of the two men. It should also be noted that Edward Seaga was the leader of the PNP’s opposition, the Jamaica Labour Party, a party that “aligned itself with the United States and other capitalist actors” (Edie, 1986:79). He was less of a threat and more of an ally to international donor agencies who sought to “maximize command over scarce resources...” (Bujazan, Hare, LaBelle and Stafford, 1987: 161).

Manley's mark in education will be left in the creation of policies that sought change the class status of Jamaica's lower class. The changes in education from 1972 to 1980 were slight in that they were the beginnings to open doors for the nation's poor. The free education program opened thousands of slots for students who otherwise may have not gotten a chance at secondary education. The new secondary schools gave students two extra years of schooling and vocational training to an otherwise forgotten population of 15-18 year olds. The teacher training programs brought volunteer service to the island and the reorganization of primary education training. These policies align with the PNP *Principles of Democratic Socialism*, however, Manley's alienation of the West and the international business community and his relationships with controversial world leaders overshadowed his administration's contribution to education. Michael Manley lost the 1980 election and the following JLP administration proposed another round of changes. Nevertheless, the country still battles with issues of dilapidated buildings, poor standardized test scores and school overcrowding, going to show that the overhaul of the Jamaican education system is an enormous task to undertake; One that would take longer than Michael Manley's lifetime to complete.

APPENDIX A:  
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMMES INTRODUCED  
PNP ADMINISTRATION, 1972-1977

<b>Year Announced</b>	<b>Policy Measure</b>	<b>Target</b>
1972	Special employment programme	Unemployed
	Skill training programme	Unskilled
	Workers' Bank	Workers
	Literacy programme(JAMAL)	Illiterates
	Lowering the voting age to 18	Youth
	Community health aides	Rural Poor
	Operation GROW	Landless
	Land lease	Landless
	Civil service reclassification	Civil Servants
Youth training increased	Youth	
1973	Cultural training center	Artists
	Food subsidies (flour, condensed milk)	Poor
	Uniforms for primary school children	Poor
	Free secondary education	All classes
	Free university education	All classes
	National youth service	Youth
	Rent restriction act revised	Tenants
	Equal pay for women and women's affairs bureau	Women
Jamaica nutrition holdings	All classes	
1974	Self-supporting farmers development programme (loans)	Artists
	Family court	Children/ unmarried mothers
	National minimum wage	Lowest paid workers/household help
	NIS pensions increased	Old
	Poor relief increased	Aged and indigent
	AMC outlets in low income areas	Poor
	New mental health law and free education for handicapped	Mentally ill, handicapped
	Construction of small industries complexes	Small businessmen
	Sugar cooperatives	Landless sugar workers
	Production levy	All classes
	Nationalization of bauxite multinational companies	All classes
	Development venture capital financing co. (loans)	Small businessmen
	Jamaica public service co. (electricity)	All classes
	Jamaica merchant marine	All classes
	Jamaica omnibus service co.	All classes

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1975	Worker participation National housing trust	Workers Poor
1977	Small enterprise development co. State trading corporation National commercial bank	Small businessmen All classes All classes

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*Source: Adapted from Girvan, Norman, Richard Bernal, and W. Hughes. "The IMF and the Third World: The Case of Jamaica." Developmental Dialogue 2 (1980): 117*

APPENDIX B:  
CURRENT STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM, 1977

LEVELS	AGES	GRADES	INSTITUTIONS
(1) Pre-primary	4-5+	-	Infant Schools, Infant Departments; Basic Schools
(2) Primary & All-Age	6-11	1-6	Primary Schools
	6-14+	1-9	All-Age Schools
	6-14+	1-9	Special Schools (handicapped)
(3) First-Cycle Secondary	12-14+	7-9	Junior Secondary Schools
	12-14+	7-9	Comprehensive High Schools
	12-14+	7-9	High Schools
	13-15+	8-9	Technical High Schools
(4) Second-Cycle Secondary	15-19+	10-13	High Schools
	15-19+	10-11	Technical High Schools
	15-17+	10-11	Comprehensive High Schools
(5) Vocational Education	15+-17+	-	Vocational Schools
	15+-17+	-	Trade Vocational Centers
(6) Teacher Training	Entry at 17+	-	Teacher Training Colleges
	Entry at 17+	Pre-teacher training 12-week course	Caenwood Junior College
(7) Further Education	Entry at 17+	-	College of Arts, Science and Technology (C.A.S.T.)
	Entry at 17+	-	Jamaica School of Agriculture
	Entry at 17+	-	University of West Indies

Source: Adapted from Jamaica Education Sector Survey. 1977. p.20

APPENDIX C:  
SHORT- AND LONG-RANGE GOALS  
EDUCATION SECTOR SURVEY

### LONG TERM OBJECTIVES

- 1) To achieve compulsory Universal Primary Education;
- 2) To provide an adequate teaching force to meet the needs of all levels and types of education;
- 3) To develop a coordinated education system which will ensure an even spread of education at all levels;
- 4) To provide the human resources for a sustained development of the education system and the country;
- 5) To help develop the cultural and aesthetic values, and to foster desirable civic attitudes;
- 6) To provide non-formal education to meet the needs not only of adults but also of school leavers and drop-outs;
- 7) To expand pre-primary education on a firm and structured basis;
- 8) To systematically expand medical health and school feeding services;
- 9) To provide adequate guidance and counseling services for the system;
- 10) To have a systematic evaluation of all components of the education system;
- 11) To expand library facilities throughout the system.

### SHORT TERM OBJECTIVES:

- 1) Restructure and strengthen the organization, staffing and operations of the Ministry of Education in order to improve its capacity to effect the goals and objectives of the system;
- 2) Develop the Planning Unit of the Ministry of Education so that it can provide a better basis for decision making at both the policy and operational levels; including research, review and evaluation, to sustain educational development
- 3) Systematically expand and develop curriculum reform and educational methodology with initial emphasis on the needs of primary education;

- 4) To improve on a planned and structured basis the skills and competence of the untrained teaching force in Primary and Secondary Education by means of a continuing in-service programme;
- 5) To pay particular attention to the urgent need for teachers of languages, mathematics, science, agriculture and technical subjects;
- 6) To expand a fully qualified teaching service at all levels;
- 7) To expand, improve and update the preparation of teacher trainers and the curricula of the teacher training institutions;
- 8) To improve the qualifications of professionals and service staff throughout the system;
- 9) To improve the conditions and amenities for teachers and to provide better incentives and remuneration;
- 10) To pursue the development of new patterns of education for post 'O' level education, non-formal and continuing education in cooperation with other government agencies and the private sector;
- 11) To pursue the expansion and development of agricultural, technical and vocational education at all levels relevant to the needs of the society, and to foster and encourage the agricultural, commercial and industrial sectors to cooperate in the provision of skill training;
- 12) Register and supervise independent schools so that the State can assume its responsibility to ensure that the quality of education offered is of a satisfactory standard;
- 13) To renovate and improve primary and secondary facilities so as to improve the quality of education and the conditions of service for teachers;
- 14) Continue to support the efforts of the community in establishing pre-primary schools and to assist in upgrading teachers and facilities for these schools;
- 15) To encourage maximum community involvement in the educational process and the use of all schools as centers for continuing education;
- 16) To foster the development of Jamaican books with the special emphasis on textbook writing, illustration, design and production, as well as the need for the expansion and development of audio-visual aids, materials and media with special attention to

the use of education television (ETV) and radio as important tools for curriculum development;

17) To foster appreciation and participation of students in the arts for the benefit of the individual and the cultural enrichment of the country;

18) To encourage an appreciation and concern for the country-its beauty and its ecology.

APPENDIX D:  
EDUCATION THRUST OF THE SEVENTIES  
POLICY PROGRAMMES

- 1) The upgrading and improvement of the technical and professional competence of the system as well as its content, methodology, plant and resources.
- 2) The development of *modern stable teaching profession* on which all educational reconstruction depends.
- 3) The development of an effective *Functional Education* of nine years for all young people of six to fifteen years old.
- 4) More *infant education* to ensure that children are stimulated and prepared for functional education in school years.
- 5) *Expansion of Grade 10 and 11 education* (for children aged 16-17 years) to ensure that prospective teachers , business commercial, industrial and technical employees have received five years of secondary education with pre-vocational courses where necessary and with emphasis on children of this age group now attending Junior Secondary Schools.
- 6) *Expansion of vocational education* for technical, industrial, business and commercial employment at middle and higher manpower levels.
- 7) *Expansion of higher education* particularly to fill positions for which we remain heavily dependent on the employment of expatriates, such as teachers, engineers, architects, etc., etc.
- 8) *Curriculum development* in all its aspects as an ongoing dynamic for educational change.

- 9) The development of *modern tests and examinations* designed to guide candidates into future activities in education and employment rather than to fail them both.
- 10) The development of *guidance services* to deploy young people into the programmes and employment best suited to their individual attainments and aptitude.
- 11) The coordination of the *independent school* contribution with the public educational system.
- 12) Increased assistance for the education and training of *physically and mentally handicapped* children.
- 13) The development of a *flexible, modern management* function at the Ministry of Education to service the changing needs of educational reconstruction as well as improving the management functions of other educational institutions under the Ministry's supervision.
- 14) The introduction of island-wide *compulsory education* but initially in areas satisfying the legal criteria and more particularly in the areas in which the shift system has been introduced (Ministry of Education, 1973: 2)

APPENDIX E:  
FORMAL EXAMINATIONS TAKEN WITHIN JAMAICAN SCHOOLS

- i. *The Common Entrance Examination (age 11+)* for pupils from primary and private preparatory schools from admission to high schools; (U.K. examination)
- ii. *The Common Entrance Examination (age 13+)* for pupils from all-age, junior secondary and high schools for admission to technical high schools; (U.K. examination)
- iii. *The Grade Nine Achievement Test* examination for pupils from all-age and junior secondary schools for admission to high schools, technical high schools and vocational schools; (Jamaican local examination)
- iv. *The Jamaica School Certificate Examination* (approximately grade 10). This is recognized for admission to the Police Force, Nursing Profession as well as minor private business enterprises; (Jamaican local examination)
- v. *The London City and Guilds Examination, The Royal Society of Arts Examination, The Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes Examination, The Associated Examining Board General Certificate Examination*, mainly for students of technical schools; (U.K. Examinations)
- vi. *The General Certificate of Education Examination, Ordinary level ('O' Level)* external examinations set by the Universities of Cambridge and London for pupils enrolled in comprehensive, technical and high schools; (U.K. Examinations)
- vii. *The General Certificate of Education Examination, Advanced level ('A' level)* external examinations set by the Universities of Cambridge and London for pupils in grade 13 of high schools; (U.K. Examinations)

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## VITA

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