

IDEOLOGY AND EDUCATIONAL AIMS: THE CASE OF JAMAICA

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ABSTRACT

This research is basically a descriptive study. Its purpose was to determine the extent to which the aims and policies of education under the Jamaica Labour Party (J.L.P.) differed from the aims and policies of education under the People's National Party (P.N.P.). It was anticipated that, given the differing self-proclaimed ideological cleavages of the J.L.P. (capitalism) and the P.N.P. (socialism), there would be marked differences in their educational aims. The analysis revealed, however, that if there were ideological difference, these were not easily detected from the rhetoric of their educational aims. The differences observed were largely in terms of emphasis and in the particular means and priorities designed to achieve their stated objectives.

INTRODUCTION

Between 1960 and 1980 Jamaica was governed by, first, a largely capitalistic and, then, an avowedly socialistic government. Under the original independent government (1962-1972), educational, economic, and social institutions were organized largely along capitalistic lines. When the change to a self-identified socialist government came (1972-1980), most of these same institutions were rearranged along largely socialistic lines.

Michael Manley, with the support of the People's National Party (P.N.P.) leveled several attacks on the economic and educational arrangements of previous Jamaican governments. These attacks, based as they were in the socialistic ideology, argued that: 1) education as practiced in Jamaica lacked relevance to the needs of the society and the individual and was practiced in an authoritarian atmosphere: and 2) was geared toward reproducing the class system in the society and maintaining an elitist approach (Manley, 1974, p.45-47; p. 85; and p. 185).

Predicated partly on this criticism of the prevailing education in Jamaica, and partly on a firm commitment to a socialistic ideology of economic and educational organization, the Manley government (the People's National Party) on the advent of its reascension to political power in 1972, asserted its intent to seek political, economic, and educational development through socialistic means. The Jamaica Labour Party, its predecessor, on its ascension to political power in 1962, had, in contrast, chosen to seek political, economic, and educational development largely through capitalistic means.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to examine the impact of these political decisions on the educational system of Jamaica from 1960 to 1980. Specifically, this paper is concerned with the question:

Were the aims of education under the P.N.P. (socialistic) significantly different from the aims of education under the J.L.P. (capitalistic)?

As was noted above, these governments advocated opposing political ideologies which, in turn, would seemingly encompass differing aims of education.

EDUCATIONAL AIMS

Tanner (1972, p.55) noted that "society today is beset by great confusion, controversy, and conflicts over the aims of education." In the early 1960s, a Jamaican school principal observed that "there is great ferment going on (in education), and the truth is that none of us knows what is best for our children" (Machperson, 1961, p.17). This controversy, however, may be as old as civilization itself. According to Tanner (1965) Aristotle noted that:

As things are mankind are by no means agreed about the things to be taught, whether we look at virtue or the best life the existing principle is perplexing: no one knowing on what principle we should proceed -- should the useful in life, or should the virtue, or should the higher knowledge be the aim of our training; All these opinions have been entertained. Again about the means there is no agreement, for differing persons, starting with different ideas about the nature of virtue naturally disagree about the practice of it (p.85).

Clearly, when one examines the aims of education, one must not only take into account the forces of change and social pressures, but also the existing philosophies. That is, the aims of education in a given society at a given time are based not only on social elements impinging on that society, but also on the dominant educational and political beliefs of that society.

The J.L.P.'s philosophy, predicated on the capitalistic ideology, placed the individual at the center of all doctrine and policy. From this view, no social or political institution has a greater purpose of its own other than to aid the individual in living a fuller life. Relatedly, then, the development of the individual to his optimum and the fostering of the qualities needed for constructive citizenship were primary goals of education under the J.L.P. government. This policy, of encouraging each child to develop his individual talents and to capitalize on his abilities, is considered to be of greatest utility to the nation for "in the long-run no talent will be wasted in our land and no skill will be lacking" (Redden and Ryan, 1956, p.133).

Demonstrative of its commitment to this philosophy, education under the J.L.P. was aimed at developing: 1) self reliance 2) nationalism; 3) social and economic progress; and 4) equality of educational opportunity (New Deal in Education, 1966).

On the P.N.P.'s ascension to political power, it declared itself a socialist government and

announced its intention to develop a socialistic philosophy of national and economic organization of the state. Intimately connected to this philosophical stance, the P.N.P.'s educational plans aimed at developing: 1) self-reliance; 2) nationalism; 3) social and economic progress; and 4) equality of educational opportunity (Manley, 1974; Five Year Educational Plan 1978-1983).

It might be surmised from the preceding, that the enunciated aims of the J.L.P. and the P.N.P. were identical. The degree of agreement, however, depends on the connotative meaning of these terms. The literal agreement between the enunciated goals, however, may be indicative of a realization by both governments that, at this stage of Jamaica's development, education must help to unify society, aid economic development, and prepare individuals to accept the responsibility of independence. The agreement may also be indicative of the realization that the traditional aims of the Jamaican educational system, although effective under colonial administration, were inadequate to transform the plans for educational reform, into a structure through which individuals could become self-reliant, self-fulfilled, and make immediate and significant contributions on a large scale to the social and economic development of the nation.

The educational aims of the J.L.P. and P.N.P. as specified above, will be discussed further below. The particular meanings attached to the terms will be examined in terms of legislative and administrative actions.

EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE

From the J.L.P.'s point of view, self-reliance is defined to mean the readiness to take responsibility, particularly that of relying on one's own self" (Allen, 1963; New Deal, 1966). Illustrative of this position, Emerson (1966) noted that the only true man is a self-reliant man. Thus whosoever would be a man must be a non-conformist" (p.105). From this position, each individual has to secure for himself not only the conditions for living, but also the conditions for the good life.

To the J.L.P., education for self-reliance is desirable if the nation is going to

achieve economic maturity in order to take its rightful place among the nations of the world. In this analysis, self-reliance is not a condition in which the individual is largely, or certainly, entirely egocentric, but one in which the person will draw upon his education, technical skills, and national pride to help in the intellectual, political, and economic development of the country (Allen, 1967). It follows that education must do its part in shaping such an individual in the act of self-reliance.

To illustrate how the P.N.P. viewed education for self-reliance Manley (1964, p. 42) defined self-reliance as "implying the recognition by every human being of his ultimate responsibility for himself in his social context and to himself in the course of his life ... Self-reliance implies the ability on the part of the people of a country to common efforts towards the general development and welfare of the group." Manley (1974) outlined the debilitating effects of slavery, colonialism, and the doctrine of white supremacy on the attitudes of Jamaicans as well as on the development of self-reliance. He noted that "... the effect of slavery on the Jamaican attitudes must not be underestimated and should never be ignored. He argued that:

The great challenge in a society like Jamaica is how to develop this sense of personal responsibility (self-reliance), for one's own development subject only to the proviso: I am my brother's keeper. The lack of this spirit is the most difficult of the legacies of our past to undo. But our success will determine whether anything else is possible. This is important if we are to release society's collective capacity for performance (Manley, 1974, p. 45).

It follows that, for Manley and the P.N.P., self-reliance through education is necessary if the society is to reestablish self-confidence and reembarc upon the process of self-discovery that is expressed by the evolution of a people's culture (Manley, 1974, p. 47). Self-reliance is

necessary if Jamaica is to:

... rediscover the validity of its own culture at the moment of colonial intervention and retrace the steps that led through history to that point. They must establish within a frame of reality, the culture which was imposed on them so that this may loom neither larger nor smaller than it deserves and suffer from none of the distortions which can result from the ambivalence of a ruler subject situation (Manley, 1974, p. 146).

While both the J.L.P. and the P.N.P. advocated self-reliance as an aim of education, there were significant differences in emphasis between them. The J.L.P. advocated self-reliance primarily for the development of individual self-discovery and the development of self-confidence. In this way, the individual will be motivated to embrace the opportunities provided within the educational system to develop his talents and abilities to the fullest extent and, in turn, will be enabled to make a maximum contribution to the society in every aspect (Five Year Independence Plan, 1962-1968, p. 159). Each person should recognize his individual worth and make maximum contributions to the economic, political, and social development of the country. The emphasis here, it should be underscored, is on the individual - individual development. Emphasis is placed, also, on leading the individual to discover latent potentials and then utilizing those potentials in the country's development.

The P.N.P., on the other hand, while recognizing self-reliance as a means to national development, gave primacy to the development of self-reliance as a means to group consciousness and as a tool for redressing the inaccuracies and distortions of the country's historical past. As Manley put it, "self-reliance is necessary if Jamaica is to rediscover the validity of its own culture at the moment of colonial intervention..." It appears also that self-reliance takes primacy within the group

and gains significance within the context of the group rather than in the behaviour of an individual. The P.N.P. advocated "group" action and "group" consciousness rather than individual action and individual consciousness. Manley noted that "this (self-reliance) is important if we are to release the society's collective capacity for performance" (Manley, 1974, p. 45). In short, as opposed to the J.L.P.'s purpose for advocating self-reliance for the amelioration of present and future economic, personal, and developmental problems, self-reliance under the P.N.P. appears to be geared toward a redefinition of Jamaica's cultural and historical past and, secondarily, to the individual development and amelioration of present and future problems through essentially group processes.

EDUCATION FOR NATIONALISM

Education for nationalism as indicated above, has been proposed as an aim of education by both the P.N.P. and the J.L.P. Nationalism is a central concern of developing nations because, in many cases, they are literally new nations with which the people have no identification. The problem of conflicting loyalties, connected with the desire on the part of political leaders to develop a commitment and identification with the nation is undoubtedly one of the most pressing concerns of emergent nations. There appears, however, to be no simple solution, and it is difficult to know how to develop an identification without destroying older, more local identifications. It follows, then, that the identification of nationalism as an aim of education in both the J.L.P.'s and P.N.P.'s educational programme cannot be treated lightly or ignored.

Neither the J.L.P. nor the P.N.P. provided any detailed definition for the term "nationalism." Some scholars, however, have used the term synonymous with nation building. Deutsch (1966, p. 188-89) states that "we do not know enough about nationalism to be sure what it is." Kohn (1944, p. 16) defined it as a state of mind, permeating the large majority of people and claiming to permeate all its members The supreme loyalty of man is therefore due to his nationality, as his own life is supposedly rooted in and

made possible by its welfare." Doob (1966, p. 6) stated that nationalism is a set of more or less uniform demands which: 1) people in a society share; 2) arise from patriotism; 3) incline them to make personal sacrifice on behalf of their government's aims; and 4) may or may not lead to personal action. Doob's (1966) definition of nationalism is used for the purpose of this discussion.

Even a casual consideration of the statements and definitions of nationalism advanced above will indicate the complexity of the problem. First, an individual must believe that his own welfare and that of the significant group to which he belongs are dependent upon the preservation and expansion of the power structure in society. Second, he must share a set of demands with others in the society which he believes to be justified and which inclines him to personal sacrifice. The first is the more problematic, but the second is almost equally difficult in the Jamaican context.

At the time of the Jamaican Independence, the educational system was geared to ensure loyalty to England and to make Jamaicans look outside for values and standards (Oakley, 1970, p. 16). With the advent of the the J.L.P. government's ascension to political power in 1962, "colonial attitudes which created negative value judgements were evaluated and challenged." In other words, the J.L.P. took overt steps to use the educational system to create a sense of national unity. Thus, in keeping with its stated aim of education -- education for nationalism -- the J.L.P. government in conjunction with the Institute of Jamaica established and financed the Folklore Research Programme in 1967. This was an attempt to perpetuate the Jamaican culture, not from a British perspective, but from the traditional aspect of a society which was left unattended under colonial rule to wither and die. The primary aim of the Folklore Programme was to gather Jamaica's cultural heritage through the simple folk of the country -- many of whom were illiterate (Hurwitz and Hurwitz, 1971, p. 216).

In an attempt to eradicate the snobbery that was attached to the use of the local dialect, the government (J.L.P.) made it incumbent upon teachers as well as other influential members in the society to give

recognition to the Jamaican dialect. As a result, the dialect was given a new life and it took its place beside standard English in the Jamaican schools. Jamaican honours replaced British honours in 1968, thus, knighthood was replaced by the Order of Jamaica (OJ). Not surprisingly, Hurwitz and Hurwitz (1971, p.125) have noted that "a uniquely national outlook has developed (in Jamaica) since independence to instill a sense of pride and confidence in the individual's identity as a Jamaican."

Manley (1974, p. 154) argues that "people are unlikely to respond to positive suggestions or influence of their education if they are unsure of their own (national) identity". Therefore, the educational system must be constantly concerned with the problem of self-perception. Manley and the P.N.P. took the position that, in terms of formal education, the following responses are essential:

Our history must have a strong, realistic national focus and should explore every example of achievement. Every slave uprising should be the subject of an exciting adventure tale so that we relate to our own Robin Hoods. Equally important, the educational system must come to grips with the question of blackness and the place of Africa. The many people in the Black Caribbean who rationalize their racial insecurity by dismissing our African heritage as irrelevant do so because they have never faced, in themselves, the scars that have been inflicted by colonial history ... we must face the myth of Caucasian superiority from across the chasms of doubt that have been created by the conscious distortions of our history which underlay our early education until very recently (Manley, 1974, p. 154).

Faced with a problem of this magnitude, Manley argues that there must be a total response to this problem. He acknowledged that not all responses to the problem can be generated from within the society

alone because part of the problem is external and many of the psychological problems in the development of national identity stem from the Jamaican's perception of the world around him. It follows that, "while we grant the primacy of locally-focused solutions, we dare not ignore the wider context. For every effort that is made to instill national-self-confidence (pride) there must be a parallel effort to set our African and, hence, our black heritage in legitimate context" (Manley, 1974, p. 155). To deal with the problem, therefore, it is necessary that:

... our educational system should include a strong stream of African studies, so that the historical imbalances which centre around the European myth can be redressed by truth. Equally, there should be the most vigorous promotion of cultural exchange African dance, drama, painting, and sculpture will be on constant display ... only by such means as these can our experience be enriched ... and our reaction to our blackness take on an increasingly natural character (Manley, 1974, p. 155).

Clearly, both the J.L.P. and the P.N.P. are concerned with the problem of creating and instilling a sense of national pride within the Jamaican society. The J.L.P. placed its emphasis on, and gave primacy to, the development of a sense of national pride in things Jamaican -- pride in its dialect, pride, first, as a Jamaican and, secondly, as a human being with feelings of identity and dignity.

The P.N.P. in contrast, while acknowledging the necessity for the development and perpetuation of the indigenous Jamaican culture, placed these considerations in a subordinate position. The overriding direction of the P.N.P.'s nationalism drive is toward the development of pride, first, as a Black African, second, as a member of the Caribbean community, and, then, along a cultural continuum, pride as a Jamaican. It appears from the P.N.P.'s conceptualization, as verbalized by the Prime Minister, the Jamaican can develop pride in himself as a Jamaican only when he has gone the

route of correcting the distortions of colonial history and, subsequently, accepting himself as Black and African. The Jamaican can only fully appreciate his own history and culture and, relatedly regional Caribbean history and culture when he has learned African history and culture.

While the J.L.P. gave primacy to Jamaican music (Reggae), art, dance, sculpture, and folklore, the P.N.P. gave primacy to their African counterparts. The J.L.P.'s position emphasized pride as a people and as Jamaicans within the world community. The P.N.P.'s emphasized pride as Black Jamaicans of African heritage within a third world community. The J.L.P. emphasized personal and national consciousness as prerequisites to the development of nationalism. The P.N.P. emphasized racial consciousness as an end to national consciousness and, hence, the development of a new nationalism. In other words, the former advocated a kind of "liberal nationalism: while the latter advocated "racial nationalism".

EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Jamaica, like most other developing countries, is and has been faced with the problem of planning for, and supplying, suitably qualified individuals in sufficient numbers to foster economic and social development. McPherson (1961, p. 61) noted that:

The most crucial economic problem facing Jamaica now and in foreseeable future is to keep the expansion of the economy and the increase in the labour force comparable while simultaneously developing ways and means of curbing the spiralling rate of natural increase in the population.

D'Aeth (1956, p. 48) noted that "the expansion of government service seems to be going faster than the expansion of secondary schools." It is not surprising, therefore, that both the J.L.P. and the P.N.P. although adhering to declared differing political ideologies, had attempted to structure their educational

programmes in order to foster social and economic development (see, for example, New Deal, 1966, p. 1-3; Five Year Independence Plan 1963-1968, p. 126; Manley, 1972, p. 94; Five Year Educational Plan, 1978-1983 p. 5; 6; and 69).

The J.L.P. in its educational planning aimed at fostering social economic development in this way:

Economic development cannot proceed without trained manpower, political independence cannot successfully function without trained manpower. No modern country could promote and sustain a high level of complex economic activity in a free country whilst its education remains rudimentary and unspecialized, nor could development depend on the continuous flow of technical assistance from developed countries. It is necessary to mobilize for development such resources as already exist and hence the need to encourage the expansion of educational facilities to foster social and economic development (New Deal, 1966, p. 1).

The New Deal noted further that the education provided would endeavour to:

- 1) "expand employment horizons of persons entering the labour force and raise the level of employment by the provision of education which will be immediately functional on entering the labour force; 2) gear the training in post-secondary schools for more specific skills to meet the distinct needs of industry, agriculture, and commerce" (p. 2).

Moreover, the New Deal noted that the government's educational programme was aimed at "improving the quality of education offered to ensure the soundest possible all-round education to bring about a degree of social integration that is found necessary to Jamaica" (p. 2).

Pursuant to this commitment to provide an education aimed at social and economic development, the government restructured the educational system to include Junior Secondary schools as well as Technical and Vocational schools. The College of Arts, Science and Technology, as well as the

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Pursuant to this commitment to provide an education aimed at social and economic development, the government restructured the educational system to include Junior Secondary schools as well as Technical and Vocational schools. The College of Arts, Science and Technology, as well as the

Jamaica School of Agriculture were expanded and upgraded to provide a wider range of courses at a more efficient and advanced level than were previously provided. By providing these educational institutions, which were to recruit, educate, and train the youth of the country in skills, trades and modes of behaviour conducive to national, social, and economic development needs, the government was laying the foundation for present and future development. These needs, as well as those of commerce and industry, would be met incidentally. That is, while government provided the educational opportunities and facilities, it was the individual's choice based on his talent, ability, aptitude, and interest that would determine the training he received.

The training he received would lead increasingly, it was hoped, to students regarding themselves as equal and worthwhile within the society, while retaining respect for genuine superiority of knowledge and skill. At the same time, they would learn and be equipped to cooperate with management and among themselves. Such a situation required an informal, self-disciplined, self-respecting work force, and one capable of independent judgement. It was to the achievement of these goals that the national educational drive to promote social and economic development was geared.

Manley (1974, p. 77), however, noted that:

... the growth of our economy can be meaningless in terms of a just society if the distribution of wealth is not equitable. A common feature of past colonial societies embarking upon the post colonial adventure has been a gross maldistribution of wealth Equitable distribution of wealth is a precondition of social justice in any country and takes on a particular urgency ... in Jamaica.

Clearly, then, social and economic development is only meaningful if it takes place within the context of defined objectives (Manley,

1974, p. 76). Consistent with this declared position, the Manley government (P.N.P.) defined its objectives for social and economic development within the educational system. The educational system was deemed the most conducive path for fostering rapid social and economic development within Jamaican society. In this regard, Manley (1974, p. 94) argued that:

Education is the means by which we equip today's generation for tomorrow's possibilities. This demands a careful assessment of the kind of economic development of which we are capable, which is modified by our physical environment and by a calculation of how they relate to national objectives. The educational system must seek to produce skills which are a calculable part of our opportunities and the kind of attitudes without which skills are sterile and the successful pursuit of objectives unlikely. This whole area is fundamental and is an indispensable key to development (social and economic).

In keeping with this stated belief, the P.N.P.'s Five Year Educational Plan 1978-1983 notes that "education should enable each individual to strive for excellence at all levels of endeavour, thereby contributing positively to societal needs for economic productivity as well as aesthetic and cultural development" (p.6). The Five Year Educational Plan noted, further that "education must help the individual to be adaptable in order to cope with economic and technological changes" (p.7).

Moreover, the P.N.P.'s educational plan stated clearly that its education was aimed at "developing and implementing a school production program with accent on economic production and cooperative activities" (Five Year Educational Plan, p. 69). In an attempt to implement the aim of developing a "social production program," the P.N.P. introduced the "Productive Work Programme"

in the Jamaican schools (Five Year Education Plan, p. 74). This program -- the Productive Work Program -- sought to:

1. form positive attitudes on the part of students toward purposeful work;
2. prepare students for the world of work; and
3. impart to students the value of direct involvement in economic productivity at the personal, school, community and national level (p. 76).

Manley (1974, p. 95) noted that, because of Jamaica's chronic tendency to import people's technology, "we have condemned ourselves to a kind of capital intensive process which is appropriate only for metropolitan areas at their contemporary stage of development." Capital intensive processes are not basically suited to a country like Jamaica. In order for Jamaica to ensure basic continuity and stability of social and economic development, the educational system must be used to research and produce technological innovations that are related to the Jamaican needs.

In this regard, Manley (1974, p. 95) noted that:

All technological adaptations and consequently much economic development, can be traced to research. But every country pursues research in terms of its own general, natural or particular sectoral needs. It is unlikely, therefore, that the research of one country can provide all the answers that are relevant to the needs of another. Therefore, Jamaica must devote a substantial proportion of its resources to the development of its own research techniques and processes.

In this context, the educational system must play a direct role in research directed

at Jamaica's technological and economic needs, particularly those aimed at the development of a technological mixture which is unique to the nation's needs. This should "focus upon the exploration of new technological 'mixes' which seek to find a balance between modern equipment ... and maximum use of labour (for) the employment of metropolitan technology will leave us with a mounting employment problem" (Manley 1974, p. 97).

From this, it is obvious that the J.L.P. and the P.N.P. differ in their specific aims for "Education for Social and Economic Development," in terms of emphasis, mode, and means for attaining this general objective. Both the J.L.P. and the P.N.P. are convinced of the need to provide and maintain infrastructures such as technical and vocational educational institutions from which trained and skilled personnel will graduate to participate in the economic development of the country. This, however, is where the similarity or agreement in emphasis between the P.N.P. and the J.L.P. ends.

The J.L.P. appears to be more concerned with the internalization or indoctrination of a "good" work ethic -- instilled or inculcated through an "incidental" process. While they provide physical facilities for training in skill acquisition, no conscious effort was made to impress upon students their worth to the society, respect for genuine superiority of knowledge and skills, or the provision of work experience and on the job training. These factors, apparently, would be learned spontaneously.

The P.N.P., in contrast, is not content to leave attributes such as these to chance or to an acquisition by means of an "incidental" process. Instead, they (P.N.P.) proposed and introduced the "Productive Work Programme", which was designed to provide early exposure and indoctrination to "desired" work and industrial habits. Perhaps illustrative of this intent was Manley's (1974, p. 143) statement that:

Society cannot afford to wait for market forces to produce the required shift in the focus of personal ambitions ... it is obvious that the

system cannot respond adequately through a mere extension of course options. A conscious effort to fashion new attitudes toward the educational process, its purpose and possible benefits is a necessary exercise. This, in turn, implies the development of an attitude toward society itself ... It is impossible to talk about economic transformation without accomplishing a transformation in attitude

Unlike the J.L.P., the P.N.P. was not content to allow metropolitan technological innovations to determine the path, mode, or direction of Jamaica's social and economic development. Instead, the P.N.P. proposed that the educational system and its physical facilities be used to set up and conduct research aimed at developing technological innovations compatible with Jamaica's industrial and developmental needs from which maximum benefits will accrue to Jamaica.

The J.L.P.'s educational programs were such that values and attitudes toward society, in general, and work, in particular, were not taught directly. This was, primarily, an indirect process in which the individual student accepted and internalized those values and attitudes with which he identified. Attributes such as cooperation, punctuality, acceptance of one's social position within the hierarchy, and respect for superiors (deference) were also left to an indirect process.

The P.N.P.'s program, in contrast were intended to teach directly the above values and attributes. This intent -- to consciously teach approved societal values and an acceptable work ethic -- is vividly emphasized by Manley's (1974, p. 145) statement in which he argued that "we must strive consciously to a general acceptance of the work ethic as both a means to personal satisfaction and the personal investment that each man must make in the progress to which he is committed by his ambition".

The provision of an educational system conducive to the development of equality of opportunity was a primary aim of the J.L.P. government. This was stated clearly in the preamble to the New Deal. In the J.L.P.'s frame of reference, equal opportunity meant that no person should be denied the chance to share in the present or potential good of the society by reason of his race, his religion, his class (economic status), or his nationality. That is, all individuals would be given the same access to opportunities and advantages. Some citizens would not be arbitrarily privileged, and others would not be deprived (New Deal, p. 1).

In this context, equal educational opportunity implies not just the absence of restrictions but a positive setting of conditions which will be favourable and conducive for one's receiving an appropriate education. Those students who have poor parents will be able to attend school and advance in the educational system as far as their talents will permit. The New Deal noted that:

... poverty or low social status of parents will no longer be a barrier to a sound education nor will it determine the social, economic, or civic future of any child. As a result of this educational revolution (the New Deal) no Jamaican child will be debarred by his poverty from qualifying for any position in this country.

The J.L.P. noted that the education system up to 1960 had succeeded in emphasizing the social problem -- inequality -- by creating a cleavage based largely, on wealth in society. However, the J.L.P. was convinced that "education should unify society instead of dividing or stratifying it." It follows that "educational opportunities should be open to all who qualify and impediments such as poverty and lack of opportunity should be removed" (New Deal, p. 21).

The method of selecting students for high school education was criticized by the J.L.P. as a means to the creation and development of inequality within the Jamaican society. The New Deal (1966, p. 21) noted that:

The Common Entrance Examination discriminates against under-privileged children and, in particular, those living in rural areas who, because of their late enrollment at school, irregular attendance and lack of good infant education cannot compete successfully against more privileged children for scholarships and free places at the age of 11 or 12. They are treated as discards and are mostly condemned to low income, and unskilled occupations for the rest of their lives.

Clearly, from the J.L.P.'s perspective, what was needed was a system of secondary school selection which provided equality of opportunity. The J.L.P.'s answer to the problem was the introduction and implementation of the 70:30 system of awards. This reform effort by the New Deal (p. 24) underscored the government's intent that educational programs should be aimed at "providing opportunities for all pupils to progress according to attainment, aptitude and ability."

In addition to the introduction of the 70:30 system of awards, the J.L.P. re-organized the school system so that all students would move from one cycle to the next according to ability and achievement at the previous stage. There was also a significant increase in the number of government grants, bursaries, and scholarships offered to qualified Jamaicans (New Deal, p. 34).

Equality of opportunity is as important to developing societies as the idea of nationalism. It is not surprising, therefore, that equality of educational opportunity is a primary aim of the P.N.P.'s educational program. To the P.N.P., equality of opportunity meant that "everyone in society must begin with a sense of equal

worth. In this way, a society must value every human being within its purview" (Manley, 1974, p. 37). Clearly, this implies that each individual within the Jamaican society must be entitled to equal access to the opportunities presented and succeed or fail only on the limits of ability or interest. Illustrative of this claim is the P.N.P.'s statement that:

The government (P.N.P.) believes that all children in this society (Jamaica) should have the opportunity to learn the basic skills and develop abilities which will enable them to adjust to adult life and that this opportunity should be extended regardless of culture and home backgrounds and mental, emotional or physical difficulties (Five Year Educational Plan 1978-1983, p. 83).

Concomitant to this belief was the P.N.P.'s claim that no society can approach the organization of equality except within the framework of a single, integrated educational system. "This is because equality must imply, in the most literal sense, that it is possible for a man to rise as his innate talents permit" (Manley, 1974, p. 39). As a continuation of this line of thought, the Five Year Educational Plan 1978-1983, p. 5) stated that "this government's philosophy envisages the creation of an egalitarian society based on the twin pillars of social justice and equality of opportunity."

The Five Year Plan continued this argument by stating that:

Equality of educational opportunity must exist, that is: 1) secondary education must be available for all students as the normal continuation of education; and 2) there must be equality of access to different types of secondary stage instructions and equality of educational opportunity within these institutions (p. 69).

It follows that if equality of educational

opportunity is to become reality, there must be an egalitarian society. In this regard, Manley (1974, p. 39) noted that "it is enough to insist that a single educational system is critical to egalitarianism." This is necessary because it is the means by which "we can teach the first lesson that parental accomplishment does not confer a privileged status on children" (Manley, 1974, p. 40).

Clearly, from the P.N.P.'s position, equality of educational opportunity can only be achieved through the development of one strand of educational patterning through which all must pass. Moreover, the educational system must begin with a single stream of basic and primary education in which the quality of facilities that are available are the same for all children. This is a prerequisite since "it is impossible to reconcile the notion of a society of equality with unequal educational facilities" (Five Year Educational Plan, p. 160).

In order to facilitate its stated belief in the necessity of a single stream of secondary education as a means of providing and ensuring equality of educational opportunity, the P.N.P. announced in 1973, the commencement of a system of Free Education. Under such a system, students would attend school from the primary level through the tertiary level free of charge. By so doing, the government attempted to ensure that neither parental wealth nor parental accomplishments would determine the kind or level of education a child received. Consequently, such a system would be conducive to providing equality of educational opportunity.

The J.L.P. and the P.N.P. conceived of equality in more or less the same manner. Both governments regarded an educational system providing equal opportunity as one in which all students would have the same opportunity to achieve educationally. Both governments expressed in no uncertain terms, the belief that all students are equal and that no child should be arbitrarily privileged because of his high social and economic status or by the high or exceptional accomplishments of parents. In sum, both the J.L.P. and the P.N.P. stressed emphatically that all individuals should be given the same access to opportunities and advantages.

While there are basic similarities, there appears to be a significant difference in the methods deemed fit to achieve a system which provides equality of educational opportunity. The J.L.P. attempted to provide a wide range of opportunities among which each student could move according to his ability. The P.N.P., on the other hand, advocated a single common school system through which all must pass. The J.L.P. chose gradualism and limited change as an approach to the achievement of equality of educational opportunity; the P.N.P. chose immediate and sweeping change.

There is also a difference between the J.L.P. and the P.N.P. in their philosophical approach to the system intended to provide equality of educational opportunity. It appears that the J.L.P.'s primary effort in providing equality of educational opportunity was to redress the imbalances between the economic classes and to extend previously withheld educational opportunities to the poor classes so that each individual may make a contribution to Jamaica's social, economic and political development. It appears, however, that the overriding intent of the P.N.P.'s objectives in providing equality of educational opportunity was to lay the foundations of an egalitarian society.

This emphasis -- the creation of an egalitarian society -- is clear in a number of Manley's statements. Manley (1974, p. 38) noted that "when a child is born, an egalitarian society must, first of all, ensure equality of opportunity." He noted further that "a single educational system is critical to egalitarianism." Moreover, the Five Year Educational Plan 1978-1983 (p. 5) stated clearly that "this government (P.N.P.) envisages the creation of an egalitarian society based on the twin pillars of social justice and the equality of opportunity." Furthermore, Manley (1974, p. 39) argued that "when it is insisted that all children share this common experience (a single common school), the first foundation of the egalitarian instinct will have been laid."

SUMMARY

This discussion of the J.L.P.'s and the P.N.P.'s educational aims suggests that, while there are similarities between the

educational aims of both governments, there are differences in both emphasis and methods for attaining their objectives. These differences in ideological and philosophic tone are obvious in rhetoric, but the resultant outcomes are not as different as the political antagonists might claim. Both governments advocated the same basic aims. The largest difference in emphasis is that observed in the equality of opportunity question. Despite political polemics, the claimed differences between one government that assertedly is socialistic and one that is pronouncedly capitalistic is not reflected in great differences between the educational objectives and the programmes of the P.N.P., and the J.L.P. educational goals, patterning, and curricula are basically similar. To students and parents the differences may be unobservable.

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