THE COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOL IN JAMAICA

by

AUDREY ELOISE LINDSAY

(Under the direction of William G. Wraga)

ABSTRACT

After WWII, as countries of Europe sought to rebuild their economies, many abandoned their elitist secondary school systems in favor of the democratic comprehensive high school model. Yet, even as these countries adopted a model created in the United States, critics at home cried for its demise. While a great deal has been written about the adoption of the comprehensive high school in developed countries, scant attention has been paid to its embrace and sometime rejection by developing states as they sought to replace their secondary systems with a more democratic one.

The study traced the development of the comprehensive high school in a small state, Jamaica. It examined the factors that led to the recognition of the comprehensive school as an appropriate model for the country, the sources of support and opposition to the model, the impact of social and political forces on the policy process, the extent of implementation of the model, and the future possibilities for the model in the Jamaican secondary school system. The roles of actors in the various arenas of policy making were examined. The introduction of the model immediately after the Jamaica's independence from Britain was contrasted with the more recent Reform of Secondary Education (ROSE) initiative.

The decision to break with the tradition of borrowing educational programs from the past and imposing them on current school populations, by instead tailoring the model to the needs of the local situation, appears to have contributed to successful implementation of the comprehensive high school in Jamaica. The findings of the study also revealed that stakeholder inclusion at all stages in the policy process enabled implementation. Further, changes in the political arena led to a spirit of cooperation between political parties in regard to

educational policy matters. These factors have resulted in a lower secondary system that is almost fully comprehensive. All indications are that the project being piloted at the upper secondary level will be successful.

INDEX WORDS: Comprehensive high school, Comparative education, Curriculum development, Developing countries, Educational policy, History of education, Secondary education

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CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The comprehensive model of secondary education not only aims to offer students the academic and technical skills needed for the workplace, but to democratize the educational system as a whole (CRSE, 1918; Education Policies Commission, 1952; Hargreaves, 1982, p. 162). Evidence that the model has not spread more rapidly and/or more pervasively worldwide is thus as intriguing as it is surprising. This study will explore the factors that underlie this phenomenon. Specific focus will be on 1) how the comprehensive model was implemented in Jamaica and 2) how Jamaica's experience of the model compares with that of the United States and selected developed countries in Europe.

Background of the Problem

For a society to survive, its traditions and values must be transmitted from generation to generation. One of the purposes of education in any society is to perpetuate those values deemed essential, and to prepare the young to participate actively in the society (Husen, Tuijnman & Halls, 1992, p. 5). In some developing countries, a select

few who have power, control access to the different levels of the system, the numbers allowed and the quality of education to which they are exposed (Bacchus, 1997, p. 15). This phenomenon of keeping education exclusive to some is not new. When education became universal in Western societies, the system was two or three-tiered, with academic education reserved for those in the upper strata of the society (Fowler, 1995, p. 95; Kamens, Meyer, & Benavot, 1996, pp. 118-119). The ruling class could then use lack of education to justify the low status of the masses in the society.

Instead of adopting this class-based dual system of schooling, the United States broke with tradition, opting instead to provide the same education to all children. American proponents of the comprehensive model of education argued that it would expose all children to both academic studies and vocational training under one roof—thus preparing them for full participation in a democratic society. However, the model was never practiced as theorized. Instead, tracking occurred whereby students selected or were steered towards traditional academic or vocational subjects. Classes of pupils became homogenous groups with social mingling across backgrounds and abilities minimized.

The comprehensive high school model was ultimately blamed for tracking and for providing schools with a "cafeteria-style" curriculum. Paradoxically, as the model lost favor with educators in the United States, it was adopted with varying degrees of success, by European countries such as England, Sweden, France and Germany (Dahllof, 1990; Gray, 1990; Jonsson, 1990; Leschinsky & Mayer, 1990; and Prost, 1990).

While a great deal of research has been conducted on the comprehensive model of secondary education in European countries, there is little in the literature on the adoption of the model by Third World countries (Halliday, 1991; Lewis & Lewis, 1985; Miller, 1990; Mohammed, 1991). Like most former colonies, Jamaica continued the dual system of education introduced by the former colonial power, in this case, Great Britain. In former colonies, innovations in the mother country are usually copied, and therefore, it was not surprising that the British comprehensive model was introduced into the Jamaican system in the early 1960s. During this era, the Jamaican Government shifted resources from the elementary to secondary schools. However, after a decade, only two of the schools were comprehensive. The majority of secondary schools followed the Junior Secondary model (forerunners of

the New Secondary schools), or the traditional academic Secondary High school model. In 1992, there were 58 New Secondary schools, 56 Secondary High schools and 12 Comprehensive High schools (Ministry of Education, Youth, and Culture, *Education Statistics,* Various years).

Several factors may be responsible for the lack of dissemination of the comprehensive high school model in the developing world. Chief among these is the fact that Jamaica, like most former colonies, has always shown preference for grammar-school type education, and disdain for technical or vocational education (Lewis & Lewis, 1985). Similarly, in Ghana, the attempted "vocationalization" of secondary education in the post-Independence era was met with scant interest and participation on the part of employers, and thus failed to produce the desired results (Foster 1965). In Jamaica, this attitude has its roots in slavery. The freed slaves of mixed descent were exposed to the grammar-school education of the colonizers, and were socialized "to accept the values, beliefs and assumptions of superiority that the colonizers had of themselves" (Bacchus, 1992, p. 89). Writing on the difficulty of establishing a vocational curriculum, Williams (1951) noted, "The memories of chattel slavery have stamped upon the British West Indian

intelligensia a strong aversion to and a contempt for manual labor" (p. 35). Further, the underprivileged reflected this attitude, as they desired white-collar jobs for their children.

Later when secondary education became 'open' to all, it was the same classical education that Jamaicans had been conditioned to consider superior (Bacchus, 1994, p. 310). Academic education was an instrument of social mobility, often viewed as the only vehicle out of poverty. This belief has been significantly less so in recent years, but parents still desire academic education, not realizing, according to Bacchus (1992), that perhaps it is "more a means of consolidating and even extending social inequities in the society" (p. 106). The legacy of colonial education, with the aversion to technical education, "puts a brake on progress" (Bhagwati, as cited in Lewis & Lewis, 1985, p. 160) and makes the country dependent. Beckford, 1972, (in Lewis & Lewis, 1985, p. 160) contended that the insufficiency of technical content in the education system of developing countries "induces underdevelopment biases" leading to technological backwardness. For example, Jamaica and other Commonwealth Caribbean nations have often found themselves "deficient in the skilled people so necessary to the building of modern states, and short on the delivery

stems which could correct this" (Lewis & Lewis, 1985, p. 161).

However, several efforts have been made to correct these shortcomings. In the 1960s, the Jamaican Government attempted to expand secondary education in Junior Secondary schools (later renamed New Secondary). This met with little success. These schools had a strong vocational bias and were seen as catering largely to the children of the working class. The academic traditional high school held the sway, and neither the general public nor employers valued certificates from the new institutions (Miller, 1990; Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993; UNESCO, 1983). In spite of this, the Government increased the number of New Secondary schools during the 1970s and early 1980s.

The Jamaican government has also established vocational programs outside the secondary school system, in conjunction with local businesses, (for example the HEART Trust) in an attempt to address the problem of unskilled labor. These efforts at vocational education have had some success in alleviating the labor market shortage (Anderson, 1997). Yet, certificates from such programs still have low social currency (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993) and graduates often use their training as stepping-stones

to academic education or to jobs considered more prestigious. In addition, the traditional high schools have diversified their curricula to include vocational and technical subjects, making them less differentiated from other secondary schools. Nevertheless, such schools are still the most valued in the society, and attendance or non-attendance determines one's placement and mobility in the society.

In an effort to ensure equity, to improve quality and access to education, and to increase productivity, the Jamaican Government has most recently begun an initiative for the Reform of Secondary Education (ROSE). This calls for the creation of new Comprehensive schools, and for the conversion of All-age and New Secondary schools to Comprehensive high schools (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993). Supporters contend that the initiative has the potential to change the society’s perception of the value of vocational education for all, create an educational system that can be a force in uniting polarized groups in the society, and increase the socioeconomic levels of the population as a whole.

Significance of the Study

Some research has been done on the use of the comprehensive model of secondary education in developing

countries (Halliday, 1991; Hernandez, 1992; Lewis, 1983; Lewis & Richardson, 1984; and Mbanuzue, 1984). Several scholars, in addition, have recommended adapting it to suit non-Western school systems (Al-Malleess, 1980; and Tong, 1968). However, the adoption and diffusion of the model in Third World countries such as Jamaica has not been well documented. The findings of such a study would thus contribute significantly to existing understandings of the adoption of the comprehensive model of schooling in developing nations and to the broader history of the comprehensive model itself.

The present secondary school system in Jamaica is complicated, with a number of different streams running parallel to each other (Appendices A, C). The traditional secondary schools that emphasize academics are highly regarded by the society, while practical and vocational schools are not viewed favorably, partly because of the legacy of slavery (Lewis & Lewis, 1985), but also because their graduates reportedly are poorly prepared for the world of work (Brown, 1995). The school system is not meeting the needs of the society (McIntyre, 1990) as it produces too many academically trained graduates for few clerical jobs. In addition, graduates are not equipped with the skills needed for jobs in a society that is becoming

more reliant on technology (Gregory, 1995). Expansion of the present system of education may simply serve to reinforce the existing pattern of class inequality and further divide the society.

The comprehensive high school model, introduced on a limited scale in the 1960s, never gained widespread favor. Nevertheless, the Jamaican Government, with the ROSE Initiative, has embarked on an expansion of the model in an effort to resolve problems of access, equity, quality and relevance in the present educational system (Ministry of Education, 1993). A study of the earlier implementation of the model, taking into consideration the economic, cultural, and socio-political contexts, would thus provide contemporary educators with valuable lessons as they attempt future curricular reforms.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of the study is to document, explain, and appraise the development of the comprehensive high school in Jamaica. The study will examine the influence of national legislation, social values, economic issues, historical trends, local politics, and educational leadership on the current status of the implementation of the comprehensive high school model in a Caribbean nation.

Research Questions

The study will attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What factors led to the recognition of the comprehensive high school model as appropriate to Jamaica?
2. What were the sources of support for the comprehensive high school in Jamaica?
3. What were the sources of opposition to the comprehensive high school in Jamaica?
4. What influence did the local political and social forces have on previous policy implementation?
5. To what extent has the comprehensive high school model been implemented in Jamaica?
6. What are the future possibilities for implementing the comprehensive model in Jamaica?

Scope of the Study

This study encompasses the following:

1. Review of the literature concerning the comprehensive model of schooling in the United States, other developed countries and developing countries
2. Examination of primary sources - research in archives, interviews with people in past and present leadership positions

3. Analysis of local political and social forces in previous policy formation and implementation and their impact on the current educational environment
4. Analysis of contemporary education policy initiatives in Jamaica
5. Assessment of the impact of educational policy issues regarding comprehensive high schools on future directions in educational policy in Jamaica.

Methods and Procedures

The historical method of research was used in the study. According to Tanner & Tanner (1990), contemporary educators can learn what to do, and more often, what not to do, from history. History can guide the activities of reformers in decision-making (p. 10). Tanner & Tanner believe that departments of education, boards of education, principals and teachers should view historical consequences as research findings when considering curricular alternatives. By revealing the consequences of past ideas and events for the present, history can provide us with both perspective and direction (p. 25). However, as Crossley & Weekes (1986) and Hindson (1992) pointed out, while insights can be gained from the experience of others, the peculiarities of the local situation should be given greater consideration; what worked in the 1960s may not

work in the 1990s. Finally, historical research provides the opportunity to record the practical problems educators encountered in administering past programs. Such documentation can provide insights to those seeking solutions to contemporary problems, or evaluating the worth of suggested educational reforms.

Primary sources of data were gleaned from files in the Ministry of Education, and from files at several comprehensive high schools. Data on the socioeconomic and political climate were obtained from the archives of the Institute of Jamaica, the House of Parliament, and the leading newspaper, *The Daily Gleaner*. Finally, individuals in past and present leadership positions in the Ministry of Education, the Jamaica Teachers' Association, and high school principals were interviewed (Appendix B). Permission to conduct these interviews was obtained from the Institutional Review Board (Human Subjects) of the University of Georgia. The secondary sources consulted include relevant books, journal articles and dissertations on the aims of schooling, schooling in the United States, other developed countries, and developing nations.

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Georgia reviewed the proposal and gave prior approval for the research as it involved human subjects.

Models of political analysis (Kingdon, 1995; Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980) were used to interpret the political aspects of educational policy.

Policy Making

Policy decisions can be fully understood only after careful examination of dominant social, political, and cultural forces in a given society. Key factors to consider when analyzing the policy making process thus include:

1. The role of participants or actors in the policy making process—inside and outside the government
2. The arena of policy making (the institution)
3. Models of policy formulation
4. Policy implementation
5. Policy evaluation

The Role of Participants

Participants inside the Government-the President/ Prime Minister and political appointees do not usually initiate policy, but instead affect attitudes, opinions, and ideology and make political decisions. The political climate influences how issues are approached and how decisions are made, and the Minister usually selects policies that can have political impact. In contrast, career civil servants or bureaucrats initiate and implement policies or ministerial decisions. They provide the

Minister with advice and act as liaisons between the Minister and interest groups. While bureaucrats have little influence on setting agendas, they can thwart policy making if they disagree with the values of the policy they are asked to implement.

Of the participants outside the Government, interest groups are the most powerful. Usually concerned with protecting their benefits and maintaining the status quo, they tend to block new proposals rather than promote them. They exercise power through their specialized knowledge and ability to analyze issues.

The Policy Making Arena

Since the passage of the 1965 Education Law, administration of education in Jamaica has been centralized in the Ministry of Education and Culture, located in Kingston. Previously, secondary (traditional) high schools were under the control of the Schools Commission, while Board of Education administered the schools owned by the Government. Various modifications have been made, but vestiges of the old dualism still remain, as the Ministry of Education can appoint only two-thirds of the total members of the local school boards serving Church-affiliated schools (Jamaica Government, 1966). The Ministry of Education and Culture is the legal, political, social

and bureaucratic arena for educational policy making in Jamaica. Its organization includes six divisions (Appendix D), each headed by a Director. The Minister of Education is the constitutional head, while the executive head, the Permanent Secretary (PS), carries out all programs. Bureaucrats in the organization, following guidelines set by the Ministry of Finance usually carry out policy formulation. The Minister of Education, in turn, needs to have the support of Cabinet members, especially the Prime Minister. He, or she, on the recommendation of members of Parliament and principals, appoints a school board of management consisting of a chairperson and a number of persons according to the level of education and ownership of the school facilities. The boards recruit and temporarily hire teachers, but their appointments have to be confirmed by the Ministry. For the position of Principal, the Teachers Services Commission reviews a short-list of candidates selected by the board and makes recommendations to the Ministry. Education officers operating from regional centers, (Appendix D) supervise school administration and the quality of teaching.

Models of Policy Analysis

A number of models exist which attempt to explain educational policymaking. These include: the Rational

Choice Model (Lindblom, 1959), the Incrementalism Model (Lindblom, 1959; Wildavsky, 1979), the Multi-perspective Approach (Knapp & Malen, 1994; Wirt & Kirst, 1992), the Garbage Can Model (Cohen, March & Olsen, 1972), the Political Streams Model (Kingdon, 1995), and the Policy Environments Model (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). The last two models were chosen to analyze the findings of the study because they seem to fit real events, provide concepts that help to understand and explain these events, and explain the sudden agenda changes that take place in policy making.

The Political Streams Model

This version of the Cohen-March-Olsen (1972) Garbage Can Model of organizational choice addresses policy formulation and political forces in shaping policy. Kingdon considers policy making a set of processes that comprises (1) agenda setting, (2) the specification of alternatives from which a choice is to be made, (3) an authoritative choice among the specified alternatives, such as a presidential or legislative vote, and (4) the implementation of the decision. He views the "agenda" as a list of subjects or problems to which government officials, and people outside of government closely associated with these officials, pay serious attention to at any given time. The "participants" include the President/Prime

Minister, the Administration, bureaucrats in the executive branch, and various sources outside the government (media, interest groups, political parties, and the general public). These are sources of agenda items and alternatives (p. 16).

Three processes—problems, policies, and politics—determine how agendas are set and alternatives specified. Crises or changes in widely respected indicators often reveal problems. An increase in the generation of policy proposals by specialists such as academicians often contributes to the government's agenda, and constant discussions, speeches, and bill introductions can fuel ideas. Political processes such as swings in the national mood, changes of public opinion, election results, changes in administration, and government turnover may have significant influence on the setting of agendas. Kingdon describes these processes as parallel and often independent streams flowing through the system. At some critical point, the three streams are joined and agenda changes grow out of the coupling of problems, policy proposals, and politics.

The streams or processes can act as an impetus, promoting ideas to higher prominence on the agenda, or as a constraint, preventing an idea from rising on the agenda. The streams act independently of each other, that is,

solutions are developed whether or not they solve a problem and the political stream may suddenly change whether or not the problems facing the country have changed or the policy community is ready (p. 88). The streams do affect each other, for example, the criteria for choosing ideas in the policy stream are affected by the specialists' anticipation of what the political and budgetary constraints might be (p. 88).

The key to understanding agenda and policy changes is their coupling. The separate streams come together at critical times. A problem is recognized, a solution is available, the political climate makes the time right for change, and the constraints do not prohibit action. Thus, advocates develop their proposals and then wait for problems to come along to which they can attach their solutions, and for a development in the political stream like a change in administration that makes their proposals more likely to be adopted. When people look at a situation or condition, they tend to judge it based on their values and certain accepted indicators. If they conclude the condition needs to be changed, it then becomes at this point, a problem. A problem, even a very pressing one, stands a better chance of reaching a high position on the policy consideration agenda, and later on the decision

agenda, if it has attached to it, an "available alternative", a viable solution that has already been softened up, or worked out (p. 142).

Policy entrepreneurs are advocates for proposals or the prominence of an idea. They are instrumental in highlighting problems to the government and the public in general, and key players in preventing them from fading (keeping them high on the agenda list). These may be members of interest groups, elected or appointed officials, who invest their time, energy, or money in promoting ideas on the agenda. They do so in the hope of being rewarded with job security, career promotion, policies of which they approve, or simply because they like advocating. If policy entrepreneurs who are trying to couple a solution to a problem miss the chance, they must wait for the next opportunity. "An opportunity for pushing a proposal, a 'policy window', is open for a short time, when the conditions to push a given subject higher on the policy agenda are right" (p. 88).

The ideas of these entrepreneurs float around in an evolving "primordial soup" (p. 114). As the ideas confront each other, some die, some survive, often refined. So totally new ideas do not appear suddenly. The survival of an idea depends on its technical feasibility, its value

acceptability within the policy community, and a reasonable chance of receptivity among the elected decision-makers. If an idea survives these criteria, it spreads through the policy community by persuasion, and consensus is built. Policy entrepreneurs ultimately push their ideas by "softening up" policy communities and the general public so they will be receptive if and when a "policy window" opens. "Many good proposals have fallen on deaf ears because they arrived before the general public, the specialized publics, or the policy communities were ready to listen" (p. 130).

The political stream also acts independently of the other streams. It consists of the public mood, pressure group campaigns, election results, partisanship in the government, and changes of administration. Actors in this arena wield considerable power as the political system determines the authoritative allocation of resources for a society (Eason, 1971). Additionally, those involved in policy making have values that impact the decisions they make (Sroufe, 1995). Developments in this stream therefore have a powerful effect on the promotion of items on the agenda.

If a politician decides to take the initiative on a particular subject, a need will arise for proposals. Advocates will respond to this window in the political

stream, and advance their alternatives. Proposals, which have been worked up, that is, "softened", in the policy stream, are then coupled to the event in the political stream, and the subject rises on the policy agenda. However, if no suitable alternative is available in the political arena, the subject disappears from view, or never rises on the agenda. In the political stream, consensus building is achieved through bargaining--"trading provisions for support, adding elected officials to coalitions by giving them concessions that they demand, or compromising from ideal positions that will gain wider acceptance" (Kingdon, p. 199). This contrasts with the persuasive approach that is common among policy specialists (Kingdon, p. 163).

At certain critical times, streams of problems, policies and politics come together. Solutions get attached to problems, and both are attached to favorable political forces. This coupling is most likely to happen when a policy window is open; such a window is an opportunity for individuals to push proposals or problems. Policy windows are open when there is a pressing problem (problem window) or events in the political stream (political window). Events occurring in the political or problem streams determine the items on the government's agenda, while

softened up policy proposals (alternatives) in the policy stream set the decision agenda.

Policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation are all part of the policy making process, although policy makers often behave as if the policy process is complete once laws have been passed and guidelines completed (Darling-Hammond, 1990, p. 236). Much of the literature depicts policy formulation and implementation as separate stages with distinct separate actors. Research however indicates that those who implement policy are often involved in policy evaluation and even policy design (Cibulka, 1995).

Policy Environments Model

Nakamura & Smallwood (1980) depict the policy process as a cyclical, integrated system of elements and linkages. Unlike Kingdon (1995), they focus on the implementation environment. They charge that to understand the factors that influence policy implementation, one must look at the entire policy process as a changing cycle of connected elements and linkages.

Policy elements: Environments.

The main elements in the policy process are three interrelated functional environments, each with various groups and actors. These environments are fluid and

flexible as actors participate in different roles across all three (p. 23).

Table 1

Policy environments and their roles

Policy Environments	Roles
Environment I	Policy formation
Environment II	Policy implementation
Environment III	Policy evaluation

Environment I: Policy formation

This is a highly structured environment involving public actors, governmental and non-governmental, in a legally prescribed policymaking process. Policies arise in this environment in response to the interests of powerful actors, as a response to a crisis situation, or because of general public concerns and pressures (p. 22). Policy formation ends when the decision is made legal.

Environment II: Policy implementation

Implementation is affected by the "composition, disposition, and interaction of the actors and the conditions of the environment" (p. 23). Thus, policies are often re-formulated as responses to problems in the implementation environment. This stage of the policy

process ends when policy makers deem the policy a success or a failure, or lose interest.

Environment III: Policy evaluation

Evaluation usually serves two purposes: to evaluate the "success" or "failure" of the policy and to generate new alternatives. Ideally, the evaluation of a program policy should be ongoing, or 'formative', to allow those involved in implementation to make adjustments in program delivery. Thus all actors may be involved: policy makers from Environment I, policy implementers from Environment II, and even target groups of the policy. "Since policies frequently lack clear goals, implementers often reconcile design flaws and conflicting statutory objectives that many of the same people helped create at a policy's inception" (Cibulka, 1995). Policy makers in Environment I may legitimize the alternatives generated in this environment (p.23).

Policy Elements: Linkages.

Communication and compliance linkages between the different actors in the different environments tie the policy system together. The linkages between the policymakers in Environment I, and the implementers in Environment II, are particularly important during implementation, when those carrying out policy must know

what they are doing. Communication linkages often break down for several reasons: "(a) garbled messages from the senders, (b) misinterpretations by the receivers, or (c) system failure in terms of transmission breakdowns, overload, 'noise', and inadequate follow-through" (p. 24).

Messages may be garbled unintentionally, (for example, poor wording, limited time for communication), or intentionally (for example, when policymakers use vague wording) resulting in misinterpretation by receivers. At the same time, attitudes, values, and institutional norms may lead implementers to deliberately ignore messages transmitted by the policymakers. The lack of efficient machinery to transmit messages can also lead to communication failure. If too many messages are sent at the same time, the resulting confusion or "noise" blocks effective communication. Absence of follow-up mechanisms to ensure that messages are received and are implemented is a final significant factor in system breakdown.

Nakamura & Smallwood view the policy system as a cyclical one. Actors do not have equal power, but can influence each other across the different arenas. The system is not closed, for policy can emerge from within or outside the system, and the actors have the ability to participate in different environments (p. 27).

Cibulka (1995) believes that in conducting evaluation research, the political process should be considered, in addition to sociological concepts and theories. Such inquiry, he argues, has the potential to lead to improved policy making models. This study aims to do this by utilizing the models of Kingdon (1995) and Nakamura & Smallwood (1980) as frameworks for the analysis of the formulation, implementation, and dissemination of the Comprehensive High School Model of secondary education.

Assumptions

In this study, the following assumptions were made:

1. Primary source documents reviewed are authentic.
2. Responses of those interviewed are truthful.
3. Findings of the Jamaican situation could possibly be generalized to other contexts of post-colonial Caribbean nations.

Limitations of the Study

In this study, these limitations are recognized:

1. Informed principals, teachers, and/or Ministry of Education officials may be unavailable for interviews.
2. Relevant historical records of events may not have been included.
3. A single researcher may render judgments.

Definition of Terms

In this study, the following terms and acronyms are utilized:

CEE	Common Entrance Examination. English Language, Mathematics and Mental Ability. Replaced by NAP in 1999.
GNAT	Grade Nine Achievement Test. English and Math for students in All-Age schools seeking to enter senior secondary schools. Replaced in 1999 by (JSCH) Junior High School Certificate Examination
GSAT	Grade Six Assessment Test of the NAP. English Language, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, and Writing. Replaced CEE 11+ in 1999.
HEART	Human Employment and Resource Training Trust
JHSC	Junior High School Certificate Examination. English Language, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, Resource & Technology, and Extended Writing.
JSC	Jamaica School Certificate Examination. Six (6) academic subjects and 16 Vocational/Technical subjects.
JTA	Jamaica Teachers' Association
MOE	Ministry of Education
NAP	National Assessment Program. Assesses students at Grade I (Readiness Inventory), Grade 3 (Diagnostic Test), and Grade 6 (GSAT).
SSC	Secondary School Certificate. National Certification Examinations. Six (6) academic, 18 vocational/Technical subjects.

SCHOOL TYPES

Preprimary

Children admitted at age 3 or 4, for two or three years. There are 3 types.

Infant schools or departments: Government-owned; 12% of age cohort attend.

Preparatory schools: Administered by churches or other independent bodies.

Basic schools: Community-based; parents pay small fees; attended by 72% of all children.

Primary

Provide education to children between the ages of 6 and 11 in Grades 1-6 in Primary Schools, the Primary School Departments of All-Age Schools, Primary and Junior High Schools, and private preparatory schools. At age 10+ students, (about 17%), selected for entry to government-aided high and comprehensive schools on the basis of performance on the Common Entrance Examination (CEE) now replaced by the National Assessment Program's Grade Six Achievement Test. Those not selected do their post-primary education in all-age or new secondary schools.

All-Age

Encompass grades 1-9, and attended by students between ages 6 and 14+. About 62% of primary school enrollment offered in the primary grades of these schools. Located mainly in sparsely populated rural areas. This is terminal level for 95% of the students, but at age 13+, a few sit CEE or achievement tests for entry to high, technical, comprehensive, or vocational schools.

Secondary

Hierarchy determined by extent of academic subjects, degree of selectivity for entrance, and Sixth Forms (Grades 12 and 13).

Secondary High Schools--Entry is selective and academic courses are emphasized. Students attend

grades 7-11 or 13. Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) general proficiency examination or external General Certificate of Education "O" Level (GCE) examination, have high social currency. Some students (2.9%) continue to grade 13, and take GCE Advanced Level examinations for entry into the University of the West Indies.

Technical Schools--Offer technical, vocational and academic courses. Some include Grades 7 and 12, offering a full 5-year cycle. Examinations still external. Graduates work in industry or continue studies at tertiary institutions.

Comprehensive High Schools--Enroll students not selected by CEE, or those from All-age schools who take examination at age 13+. Encompass grades 7-9 and 10-11 and ages 11+ to 17+.
New Secondary Schools--Entry is non-selective, based on free transfer from nearest feeder primary school. Grades 7-9 and 10-11. Education is two-tiered, continuing and vocational. Continuing education, which is academic, incorporates continual assessment and leads to low-status Secondary School Certificate, (SSC). A few academic subjects are offered at the vocational level, but the main concentration is on vocational skills, and certification is based on continual assessment records.

Note: Ministry of Education inter- and intra-department memos cited in this study are preceded by “GS/”, and referenced by date, not by page numbers.

Organization of the Report

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the study, including introduction, background of the problem, significance of the study, statement of purpose, research questions, scope of the study, methods and procedures, assumptions, limitations, definition of terms, and organization of the report.

Chapter 2, the review of the literature, includes a discussion of the rationale for schooling, and a look at the comprehensive model of schooling in the United States and selected European countries. The model as practiced in the United States today is compared to those found in the developed countries of Germany, Sweden, Britain and France. This survey of research about comprehensive high schools in other countries will provide international context for understanding Jamaican comprehensive high schools.

Chapter 3 discusses the social and political forces that influence models of schooling in post-colonial societies such as Jamaica. An overview of the evolution of the multi-tiered secondary educational system in Jamaica is presented. The relevance and effectiveness of such a system in meeting the needs of a changing society is addressed.

Chapter 4 outlines educational reform in Jamaica during the post-colonial period between World War II and Independence in 1962 and in the two decades after Independence. Various development plans are analyzed.

Chapter 5 details the early development of the comprehensive high school in Jamaica, 1963-1983. There is significant overlap between chapters 4 and 5. This was necessary in order to detail the introduction of the comprehensive high school and to document the contribution

of the educator and politician, Edwin Allen, to this process.

Chapter 6 traces the more recent efforts in the development and dissemination of the Comprehensive High School model in Jamaica - The Reform of Secondary Education (ROSE) Initiative.

Chapter 7 summarizes the study and uses the findings to address research questions posed in Chapter 1. The latest education reform policy in Jamaica (ROSE) is analyzed in light of earlier efforts to introduce the comprehensive model into the secondary education system. The chapter compares the Jamaican form of the model with that found in the United States and other developed countries. The "comprehensiveness" of the model in terms of the "unifying" and "specializing" functions is examined. Finally, the chapter offers recommendations for implementing the model in the unique context of Jamaica and in other Caribbean nations of similar background, and suggests implications for future research, policy formation and implementation.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter outlines the history of secondary education in the United States of America, from the Latin grammar schools, through the emergence of the academies, to the development of the comprehensive high school. It also examines the degree of success of comprehensivization of secondary schooling in developed countries such as Britain, France, Germany, and Sweden.

The Purpose of Education

A key purpose of education is to transmit to the young the traditions and values deemed important for the survival of a given society. As Tanner & Tanner (1995) explained, "the rise of virtually all societies has been accompanied by educational prescriptions for the acculturation of successive generations" (p. 3). Carnoy (1974) also stated that the main function of schooling is to transmit the social and economic structure from generation to generation through pupil selection, defining culture and rules, and teaching cognitive skills (p. 13). More recently, Husen, Tuijnman, and Halls (1992) explained, "Education is

concerned with the preservation, transmission, and enlargement of culture, with the roles of schooling being largely concerned with passing on the heritage of a civilization, preparing the young for life and for earning a living" (p. 5).

The literature suggests other religious or moral, economic, and political motives for educating the youth. Radical critics of formal schooling see education as an economic tool (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Carnoy, 1974; Illich, 1972). Carnoy (1974), for example, argued that schooling is primarily a tool for maintaining and reproducing class relationships in a society rather than an agent of social mobility and change (p. 13). In his opinion, primary schools were originally set up to care for children and inculcate useful skills while their parents worked long hours in the factories. Katz was even harsher in his criticism, and took the view that the movement for primary education was an attempt at social control of the masses (as cited in Herbst, 1996). Similarly, for Bowles and Gintis (1976), the function of schools is to make students fit into the structure of working life.

Husen (1979), in countering these arguments, purported the traditional liberal view of formal education as "an

instrument of progress and democracy" (p. 31), and pointed out that during the nineteenth century, many in Europe and America supported the common basic school for social reasons. He made specific reference to the fact that in America, Horace Mann championed the common school for the common man, to provide equal opportunity for participation in the democratic process of government (p. 34; 74).

Dewey (1966/1916) also saw education as the way to achieve a democratic way of life for all. He argued that if the goal of the society is democracy, and school is the means to attain these goals, then the methods used in schools must be democratic. Moreover, the needs of the students, their interests and individualism must be taken into consideration in the learning process. Students should use the knowledge gained to solve problems encountered in life. Education should result in an improved individual, and therefore an improved society.

Central to Dewey's philosophy was the notion that facts should not be learned just for the sake of learning. He firmly believed that theoretical and practical knowledge go hand-in-hand, and advocated the introduction of manual and industrial courses in the high school curriculum. As he explained (1985):

> the old-time general academic education is beginning to be vitalized by the introduction of manual, industrial and social activities; it is beginning to realize its responsibilities to train all the youth for useful citizenship, including a calling in which each may render useful service to society and make an honest and decent living. (p. 100)

Dewey (1914) believed that it is this melding of the theoretical and practical that enabled young people with different abilities, inclinations, aspirations, and from different backgrounds to intermingle, to break down class barriers, and in doing so unify society and allow individuals to utilize their abilities. He ultimately called for the reorganization of the high school to one more comprehensive, one that facilitated the understanding and integration of newcomers into the society, and at the same time offer a broader curriculum.

Development of the Comprehensive High School in the United States

As education developed in the America, there was continuous debate about the primary goals and responsibilities of the school. Various factions differed in their concept of schooling, viewing it as a vehicle for social and political ends and/or moral and religious beliefs (Clift, Anderson & Hullfish, 1962; Tanner, 1965).

Education at the secondary level was slow in developing in the colonies. As was the case in Europe, only the elite few had access to higher levels of education; the majority left elementary school and went into the world of work or apprenticeship in their early teens. During the colonial period, the social and economic framework of the country changed, yet the curriculum of the Latin grammar school remained constant--the study of the classics. Such an education did not prepare young people to function in the new centers of commerce. The schools became inadequate for the needs of the society. The college preparatory course could not satisfy the demands of the clientele (Kandel, 1930, p. 398).

In the early eighteenth century, English grammar-type schools offered practical subjects such as mathematics, navigation, geography, and bookkeeping. However, such schools were restricted to a few cities in the middle colonies and varied greatly in quality. The founders of the academies wanted schools that provided training in subjects that would better prepare students for the changing conditions of life and society, and that would be of value in whatever career choices they made. The curriculum stressed English and included relevant subjects such as mathematics, natural sciences, modern languages, geography,

modern history, agriculture, modern accounting, political science, and physical education (Inglis, 1918, p. 178). Many of the academies were secular, but their curricula had a moral objective. Thus, the aim of education was "not to acquire knowledge for its disciplinary value but to improve conduct so that the individual can better serve others" (Tanner & Tanner, 1990, pp. 62-63).

The academies developed as the new Republic itself developed. This growth was reflected in the admission of girls and the constant addition of new subjects to the curriculum. "The academies produced diverse, not uniform, educational experiences" (Reese, 1995, p. 33). Of the 149 new courses offered in the academies of New York State between 1787 and 1870, more than half appeared between 1825 and 1828 (Tanner & Tanner, 1990, p. 63). The expanded curriculum set the stage for the later comprehensive high school.

The academies had immense appeal, and in a short time there were thousands of such schools. In contrast, the number of Latin grammar schools declined (Inglis, 1918, p. 175). Grammar schools had been the dominant form of secondary education for more than three-quarters of a century, and had paved the way for the public high school.

The academies, however, lacking the financial support of the town or state, were not free. Board of trustees, religious denominations, or private individuals charged fees (Inglis, 1918, p. 173). "Academies suited families that could forego their children's income and afford tuition" (Reese, 1995, p. 32). The children of the lower classes had to be content with an elementary education which local communities provided for citizens through taxation, while nation-wide, the states aided the academies by appropriation of public money or land (Inglis, 1918, p. 177).

As the number of the publicly funded elementary schools grew, there was a demand for the extension of the common school ideal upward to the secondary level (Inglis, 1918, p. 183; Tanner & Tanner, 1990, p. 65). The budding spirit of democracy called for a school that was open to all, free from the lowest to the highest level. People now opposed the academy for its selective, exclusive, and aristocratic nature. They resented paying taxes for an institution that benefited only a few. A movement arose for the establishment of a public high school system paid for by public taxation and free for all, although the academy remained the dominant type of secondary school until after the Civil War (Monroe & Herriott, 1928, p. 16).

The Early High School

As the urban areas increased in size, the population of small businessmen, shopkeepers, and artisans also grew. They demanded "an education for their sons that could serve their vocational aims; an education that could be offered close to home; and an education that children could enter and leave as the family budget and other considerations required or suggested" (Herbst, 1996, p. 43). Workers in the trades and manufacturing now needed skills that the common school could not provide. Widening national and international markets also required people familiar with life outside their communities and with knowledge of foreign languages (Herbst, 1996, p. 42). Herbst called the high school that evolved to fill these needs, that prepared students for entry to the world of work, the "people's college" (p. 95).

The first free high school, The English Classical (High) School of Boston, was established in 1821. Its curriculum was academic and it provided three years free instruction in English (not Latin or Greek), mathematics, science, surveying, navigation, logic, geography, history, and natural and moral philosophy. The school was a great success, and its graduates were in demand for jobs in

businesses, but only the well-to-do middle class young men benefited as the working poor could not afford the loss of their children's wages (Katz, 1968).

The establishment of the high school in Boston stimulated the expansion of secondary education for girls that had started in the late eighteenth century. Parents of girls and education reformers persuaded the city fathers that educating girls would provide a source of teachers for the common schools, and a public high school for girls was opened in Boston in 1826 (Herbst, 1996, p. 44; Inglis, 1918, p. 188). In spite of its watered-down curriculum, the response was so overwhelming that city leaders were forced to close it when prospective students outnumbered available spaces. In 1852, they set up a normal school for training teachers for the common school, and two years later added a high school program (Herbst, 1918, p. 51).

For the first few decades after its inception, the high school movement grew slowly, hampered by the private academies that were supported by public funds. Between 1840 and 1860, however, there was tremendous growth, and by 1890, the number of private academies had declined, while the public high schools became an accepted and dominant part of the school system. Herbst (1996) viewed the public

high school or people's college as "the defining educational institution of the urban lower-middle class" preparing them for "careers as small businessmen and entrepreneurs and as their wives and helpmates" (p. 51). This contrasted with European societies that had "developed their defining institutions as schools for the children of the educated bourgeoisie, and charged them with preparing boys for careers as future professionals and higher civil servants" (p. 51). Graduates of the people's colleges were not expected to continue their education, but were prepared and considered fit for the world of work. Herbst considered this period the golden moment of the high school movement, a time when secondary education had been "defined in its own right and on its own terms for all its students regardless of their future destinations. It had been democracy's college" (p. 52).

However, as more students wanted to go on to college, the high school had to alter its curriculum, adding courses to satisfy a variety of interests. Since individual schools planned their own programs, one of the major problems facing the growing high school was articulation with other parts of the educational system. An ideal system would have allowed uninterrupted movement of students from elementary through high school to college level, but the elementary

system was considered terminal with terminal curricula unconnected to that of the high school. Control of the public secondary schools was left to individual states, which also provided aid, although the amounts varied significantly among the schools. These early high schools therefore ranged in the quality and types of courses offered. Moreover, they were accessible to only a few (one in 10 adolescents). There was "little uniformity in practice and gross inequality in educational opportunity" (Inglis, 1918, p. 1981).

The curriculum became more academic in spite of the fact that many of the students did not go on to college. Between 1880 and 1890, only 14.4% of high school students were preparing to go to college, yet the curriculum focussed on the needs of these few at the expense of over 85% of the students. At the same time, the universities encouraged this as they widened the range of academic subjects that could satisfy entrance requirements. The non-academic students were no longer being prepared for the world of work they would enter (Tanner & Tanner, 1990, p. 68).

According to Herbst (1996) schools no longer focused on preparing graduates for leadership in the commercial and

industrial life of their communities. He bemoaned the fact that the school no longer had clearly defined objectives and had turned its back on its tradition of common schooling by trying to serve the needs of all (p. 95).

Society debated which courses were more appropriate for the high school, the elite academic courses or the more practical ones. According to Cremin (1955), "discussions among educators and laymen alike revealed conflicts of purpose and confusions of aim" (p. 296). At the heart of the matter was the role of the school in the society, what its goals and responsibilities should or could be.

During the period between the last decade of the 19th century and the second decade of the twentieth century, the society was transformed from an agricultural to an organized industrial one. This, in turn, caused further significant social changes, including the industrial revolution that created a need for youth trained for employment, the wave of new immigrants needing to be schooled, and the progressive movement's push of a certain kind of schooling for democracy (Cremin, 1955).

The country became increasingly industrialized and urbanized after the Civil War ended, as manufacturing triumphed over agricultural production. Life became more

complex, requiring new kinds of social and economic skills never before encountered by the close-knit agrarian family (Cremin, 1955, p. 298). Community leaders began to look to the public schools to solve these problems, and gradually, the schools took on roles formerly assumed by the home and community.

Before 1880, most immigrants to the U.S. came from northern Europe, but between 1880 and 1920 there was a sharp influx in the number from southern and eastern Europe. They spoke different languages, and tended to settle in isolated groups in cities in the Eastern U.S. The school was often the only link between their enclaves and the wider culture. There was concern among civic leaders about building a sense of community, about developing a spirit of duty and citizenship among the immigrant groups. Progressive educators wanted all students to be given the opportunity, through the high school, to make the most of their capabilities. The school soon came to be viewed not only as a place to impart knowledge, but a place to prepare individuals to be citizens of a democracy.

Vocational Education

Some educators felt that the traditional emphasis on training the mind should be offset by training with the

hands, since the purpose of education is to prepare a person to cope with all facets of life. Soon, manual or industrial education was introduced into the high schools. Educators could not agree on the nature of manual training. Some saw it as enhancing motor and mechanical skills, while others considered it as education fit for those not ready or able to cope with academic subjects. The Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876 sparked an interest in more practical subjects, and soon separate public and private schools of manual training were established. These schools, however, were slow to spread, so that in 1898 there were only 10 (Kandel, 1930, p. 59). Advocates of manual training, such as John D. Runkle, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, influenced by the work of Della Vos in Russia, introduced shopwork, mechanical drawing, homemaking and laboratory instruction in science (Cremin, 1964, pp. 26-29). Calvin M. Woodward (1890) of the Manual Training School of the University of St. Louis also promoted manual training as groundwork for future engineers and draftsmen (as cited in Troen, 1975). Rapid industrial growth in the nation fueled the need for informed workers, and the schools were called upon to fill the need.

Soon, there was a rush to build institutions that offered only practical education. This was contrary to the intent of the proponents of practical subjects in the schools. The intention behind the introduction of manual training had been to give students a more rounded education, not to produce skilled artisans. Manual training, training of the hand, was meant to complement training of the mind, and therefore was meant to be a part of general education. Thus, Woodward entreated, "The object of the introduction of manual training is not to make mechanics" (as cited in Wraga, 1994).

As the society debated the introduction of manual education and the direction the high school should take, the National Council on Education of the National Education Association, in 1891, appointed the Commission of Ten to define the nature and purpose of secondary education. The Commission was charged to examine school programs and make the curricular offerings more uniform. The group, which was dominated by university personnel, recommended the college preparatory curriculum as the best way to strengthen the intellect and prepare the student for life (*Report of the Committee of Ten*, 1893). The Committee viewed the college preparatory program was useful for students planning to work in industry, business, or agriculture, as well as for

the students going on to college. In doing so, the Committee reinforced the traditionally held view that classical studies were more important than practical or contemporary studies because they disciplined the mind. The Committee ignored music, drawing, manual training, and commercial subjects.

The Committee did not consider the relevance of the knowledge to the contemporary society, the needs of the society, or the nature of the student in the learning process in preparing its report. Also, the Committee of Ten did not advocate that *all* students attend secondary school. Cremin (1955) pointed out that this was consistent with how members of the committee viewed the secondary school--as an institution designed to prepare a small segment of American youth for the duties of life by improving their intellectual abilities. To those holding the traditionalist philosophy of education, this was best done by disciplining the mind through the study of the classics, which contained all knowledge worth knowing.

The public high school had not been created to offer an academic curriculum or prepare students for college, but educators at the universities exerted great influence on the subjects taught in schools (Tanner, 1964). The college

preparatory curriculum in the secondary school thus ensured articulation between the high school and college (Cremin, 1955). It mattered little that it did not facilitate the transition from elementary to high school, or meet the needs of most of the students. Although most American schools quickly followed the recommendations of the Committee of Ten, the Report did not quell the debate about academic tradition versus practical instruction.

Many in industry and commerce believed that Europe’s industrial dominance was the result of the superior vocational/industrial training their students received. The manual training that American students received was considered too general to satisfy the needs of industry. Students needed be trained for specific trades and employment. Thus, in 1906, the Massachusetts’ Committee on Industrial and Technical Education concluded that to adequately prepare U.S. students for productive industry, industrial/vocational education would have to be provided in two ways: through the existing public schools, and through independent, industrial institutions. Businessmen, manufacturers, and farmers preferred the latter dual system of education as they saw it as being more efficient in providing them with workers trained in specific areas. The former plan of including vocational courses into the

existing high school curriculum was identical to the "wider high school" concept proposed by Dewey several years earlier. Educators and groups endorsing the expanded or "wider" high school included William T. Magruder, a professor of engineering at Ohio State University. Magruder advocated a "cosmopolitan high school" offering both academic and vocational courses to provide an education for both the masses and the elite in the society (as cited in Wraga, 1994).

The passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917 cemented the vocational education movement, and acknowledged vocational education as a legitimate part of public secondary schooling. The act provided for Federal funds to be allocated in ratio to state populations thus giving students more options. It supported vocational programs and enabled the secondary schools to educate a more diverse population. However, its wording was ambiguous, further encouraging the establishment of separate vocational schools. This ultimately separated students by vocational inclination (Wraga, 1994, pp. 14, 226).

Unrest in Secondary Education

Towards the end of the second decade of the twentieth century it became obvious that the school could not

continue to be isolated from the changes taking place in society. The National Education Association (NEA), concerned that the public high school was not meeting the educational needs of the society, commissioned a study of the conditions prevailing in the high schools with a view to improving the curriculum of constants and electives (NEA, 1908, p. 577). In 1910, the NEA Committee of Nine on the Articulation of High School and College was formed to examine the control and influence of colleges over the secondary school curriculum. Clarence D. Kingsley, a former mathematics teacher at the Manual Training School in Brooklyn, chaired the committee. By 1913, this committee had shifted its attention to reorganizing the structure of the secondary high school and became the Committee on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (CRSE). Unlike the Committee of Ten, the group included no college presidents, but was made up of public school teachers and administrators, and college professors who were more concerned with problem solutions of most benefit to the secondary schools rather than the college or university.

Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education Report and the Comprehensive High School

In 1918, the Committee on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (CRSE) presented its findings and recommendations in its report, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* (CRSE, 1918). The report stated:

> 1. The purpose of democracy is to organize society so that each member may develop his personality primarily through activities designed for the well being of his fellow members and of society as a whole.
> 2. Education in a democracy, both within and without the school, should develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits, and powers whereby he will find his place and use that place to shape both himself and society toward even nobler ends (p. 9).

The report outlined the basic principles by which secondary education should be determined: the needs of the society to be served, the character of the individuals to be educated, and the knowledge of educational theory and practice available.

The CRSE (1918) recommended that the curriculum of the high school be organized to meet seven "main objectives of education: 1. Sound health 2. Command of fundamental processes 3. Worthy home-membership 4. Vocation 5. Citizenship 6. Worthy use of leisure 7. Ethical character" (pp. 10-11). The specific task of the secondary school was

to try to achieve them in the lives of all children (Cremin, 1955, p. 306). According to the CRSE (1918) report, "education is essentially a unitary and continuous process, and that each of the objectives defined above must be recognized throughout the entire extent of secondary education" (p. 16).

Secondary schools could achieve these objectives by reorganizing the subjects taught in schools, and the activities, so that growth on the part of students in these fundamental processes could be facilitated (Cremin, 1955, p. 306). The report noted the growing diversity of the American population, and pointed out that "The school is the one agency that may be controlled definitely and consciously by our democracy for the purpose of unifying its people" (CRSE, p. 22). It also stressed that secondary education should follow and articulate with elementary education, and should be available to all. Entry to secondary school should be according to age and not academic accomplishment. The curriculum of colleges should also be aligned with that of the high school, to allow for easier entrance of high school graduates. The high school was the link between concepts introduced at the elementary level and later explored at higher level in the college:

> the secondary school should admit all pupils who would derive greater benefit from the secondary than from the elementary school. With the demand of democratic society for extended liberal and vocational education for an ever-increasing number of persons, the higher institutions of learning, taken as a whole, are under a similar obligation with reference to those whose needs are no longer met by the secondary school and are disposed to continue their education. (CRSE, p. 20)

The CRSE (1918) report supported vocational education as essential in a secondary school. Vocation was one of the seven objectives of education that should be pursued by all, and therefore there was no need for vocational programs to be offered in separate schools. The report took the view that "it is only as the pupil sees his vocation in relation to his citizenship and his citizenship in light of his vocation that he will be prepared for effective membership in an industrial democracy" (p. 16). Thus, the report asserted, "Consequently, this commission enters its protest against any and all plans, however well intended, which are in danger of divorcing vocation and social-civic education" (p. 16). The report supported the comprehensive high school as "the standard type of secondary school in the United States" (p. 26). Such a school was "the prototype of a democracy in which various groups must have a degree of self-consciousness as groups and yet be federated into a larger whole through the recognition of common interests and ideals" (p. 26). The concept of the

high school had come full circle. Originally created for the few, it was now intended for all.

The *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* report regarded the comprehensive high school as having two major functions: specializing and unifying, and the curriculum as central in achieving these functions. The unifying function would be achieved through:

> studies of direct value for this purpose, especially the social studies and the mother tongue, with its literature; the social mingling of pupils through the organization and administration of the school; the participation of pupils in common activities in which they should have a large measure of responsibility, such as athletic games, social activities, and the government of the school. (CRSE, 1918, p. 23)

The report argued that the curriculum was vital for the achievement of both functions. Unification would result when all students took certain courses called "constants", while specialization would be satisfied by "variables" which could be academic or vocational subjects (CRSE, 1918, p. 23). Both unifying and specializing functions would be satisfied by "free electives" taken by "pupils in accordance with individual appetites or special interests" (CRSE, 1918, p. 23). The organization of the curriculum would strengthen the unifying function by inclusion of "assignments of projects and problems to groups of pupils for cooperative solutions and the socialized recitations

whereby the class as a whole develops a sense of collective responsibility" (CRSE, 1918, p. 14). Thus, the twelfth grade course, "Problems of Democracy", that consisted of projects, would give students "a more definite comprehensive, and deep knowledge of the vital problems of social life and thus of securing a more intelligent and active citizenship" (*Report of the Committee on Social Studies* (1916, p. 52). Students would work on projects cooperatively and find solutions to assigned problems. Additionally, social activities within the school and between the school and the wider community would assist the unifying function.

According to the *Cardinal Principles* report, the comprehensive high school:

> has a unique opportunity in this field because it includes in its membership representatives from all classes of society and consequently is able through social relationships to establish bonds of friendship and common understanding that cannot be furnished by other agencies. (p. 9)

The unifying function, in turn, would impact society for:

> Through friendships formed with pupils pursuing other curriculums and having vocational and educational goals widely different from their own, the pupils realize that the interests which they hold in common with others are, after all, far more important than the differences that would tend to make them antagonistic to others. (p. 20)

The comprehensive high school provided programs that were flexible enough to allow students to transfer laterally from one to the other with ease:

> In a comprehensive school the influences interfering with a wise choice of curriculum may be reduced to a minimum. When an unwise choice has been made the pupil may be greatly aided in discovering a curriculum better adapted to his needs because he can see other work in the school, talk with school companions, and confer with teachers who are able to give him expert advice regarding such curriculums. When a pupil has found a curriculum better adapted to his needs, he can be transferred to it without severance of school relationships and, what seems to him, the sacrifice of school loyalty. (p. 20)

The comprehensive high school not only served to prepare all American youth for further education or the world of work, but also to unite increasingly diverse populations (Wraga, 1994, p. 41). It allowed children of all classes to learn and play together, unifying them while at the same time providing programs flexible enough to allow them to move from one to another with ease. The school attempted to fulfill both specializing and unifying functions. "The comprehensive high school is the prototype of a democracy in which various groups must have a degree of self-consciousness as groups and yet be federated into a larger whole through the recognition of common interests and ideas" (CRSE, 1918, p. 20). Secondary education was no longer just for the elite few preparing for college, but

for preparing everyone for democratic citizenship (p. 20). The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education had reversed the work of the Committee of Ten.

The report had a profound impact on the curriculum of the high school, although most schools focused on the specializing rather than the unifying function (Wraga, 1994, p. 38; 1999, p. 297). The number of specialized courses increased dramatically, especially vocational ones. Studies conducted by Lynd & Lynd (1929, 1937) on "Middletown" high school revealed that the number of courses offered increased from 20 in the 1880s to over 100 in the 1920s. Many extracurricular activities were formed: student clubs, student government, athletics, and journalism. These, on the one hand served to enhance the unifying function of the comprehensive high school, fostering school spirit, capacity for leadership, higher scholarship, and citizenship (Herbst, 1996, p. 155). On the other hand, they served as divisive tools, separating students according to social status (Lynd & Lynd, 1935). Additionally, in spite of the plethora of new subjects, academics still held sway in the high school, contributing to the division of students. This resulted, according to Counts (1926), in the generation of "attitudes of social inferiority in those who do not pursue the favored

curriculums" (p. 11). Hence Wraga's (1994) conclusion that while the U.S. claimed to have discarded the elitist dual system of Europe, unification of students all under one roof went little further than incidental co-mingling (p. 38).

Provision of Education for All

As the comprehensive high school struggled to meet the diverse needs of all students, as proposed by the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, other reports came out supporting the unifying and specializing functions. The Eight-Year Study of the Progressive Education Association developed a core curriculum with intentions similar to the Problems of Democracy course recommended by the Cardinal Principles Report (Giles, McCutchen, & Zechiel's study as cited in Wraga, 1994). However, the reports of the Educational Policies Commission, *Education for ALL American Youth* (1944) and *Education for ALL American Youth - a Further Look* (1952), played significant roles in the establishment of the comprehensive high school model with its unifying and specializing functions. The Commission advocated an educational program that would meet the needs of *all* youth. This would occur:

> first, by identifying the major types of educationally significant differences found among American youth; second, by noticing the equally significant characteristics that all or nearly all youth have in common; third, by devising and inaugurating educational programs and organizations that provide for the common needs of all youth and the special needs of each individual. (Educational Policies Commission, 1944, p. 26)

The curriculum would satisfy both the common and special needs of students by offering "common" studies and "differential" studies. The 1952 Report suggested that the unifying function be met through the "Common Learnings Course" or "core" curriculum in general education (pp. 223-239). This involved studies and activities in the fields of citizenship, economics, family living, literature, the arts, and English language arts. The subjects would not be taught separately but through the application of principles used to solve broad problems. This was similar to the Problems of Democracy course suggested by the CRSE (1918) report. The many vocational courses, business courses, and programs for the handicapped and gifted contributed to the specializing function.

Between the early 1930s and 1950s, the comprehensive high school model was the dominant format of the American high school, offering a terminal education program for almost all young people (Herbst, 1996, p. 140). However, not all educators were satisfied with the state of public

education. Many felt that the majority of students were not benefiting from the vocational and academic programs. Prosser (as cited in Herbst, 1996) believed the comprehensive high school served the needs of the academic minority, and suggested that vocational education would be better imparted in collaboration with trades and businesses outside the high school. He recommended a program of general education for most of the students in high school. This call, "for a general education program for boys and girls of low ability, low motivation, and low interest who responded to neither a preprofessional academic nor a vocational education designed for highly skilled trades", was echoed by the American Youth Commission in 1940 (Herbst, 1996, p. 171).

College and university professors were also concerned about the future of the high school, and the Harvard faculty, in 1945, endorsed general education in *General Education in a Free Society*, urging teachers to "preserve the best of tradition while embracing concern for the 'common man' and his children". According to Herbst (1996), given the "wartime rhetoric ringing in their ears" they had no choice but to champion the general progressive concerns for the comprehensive school, but that they were more

concerned about preserving the academic subjects in the schools (p. 175).

Wraga (1994) took the opposing view that the Harvard Committee's report supported the basic principles of the comprehensive high school model. "From the start, the Harvard Report embraced a comprehensive secondary education that provided for the needs of all youth and at the same time united diverse student populations in common sympathy with one another" (p. 79). Additionally, "the concepts of special and general education articulated in the Harvard Report bore a remarkable affinity to the specializing and unifying functions, respectively, and to curriculum variables and constants, again respectively, in the *Cardinal Principles* (1918) report" (p. 80). The report recommended two other activities to enhance the common experiences of a diverse student population. One was through extracurricular programs (p. 100), and the other was a social studies course to be taken in the eleventh or twelfth grade, dealing with the nature of contemporary society" (p. 143). It was unclear how this course would provide a "common" unifying experience, as there was no mention of its composition or how students were to be grouped. Nevertheless, both of these suggestions resembled the interdisciplinary and personal-social problems focus of

other proposals then popular in the field (Wraga, 1994, p. 81).

The Harvard Committee (1945) contended that the curriculum should provide for specialized and general education. It stated, "The aim of education should be to prepare an individual to become an expert both in some particular vocation or art and in the general art of the free man and the citizen" (p. 54). In sum, special education would satisfy the former aim, and general education, the latter.

Charles Prosser, the vocationalist, bolstered the crusade for general education, when he announced that while the comprehensive school prepared 20% of youth for college, it did nothing for the rest of them. At the national conference, Vocational Education in the Years Ahead, 1945, he declared:

> We do not believe that the remaining 60 per cent of our youth of secondary school age will receive the life adjustment training they need and to which they are entitled as American citizens--unless and until the administrators of public education with the assistance of the vocational educational leaders formulate a similar program for the group. (Cited in Herbst, 1996, p. 176)

Prosser thus recommended that vocational education in the schools be replaced by general education. "Life adjustment training" encompassed programs for students who

made less than average scores on intelligence tests. "Life adjustment education" started out as an attempt to meet the needs of Prosser's "60%" of teenagers, who were thought incapable of benefiting from an academic curriculum or vocational training. It then developed into a medley of relevant, but undemanding courses that did not prepare students for future roles in the society (Angus & Mirel, 1999, p. 98). Soon, "Life adjustment" became equated with general education for *all* as proposed by the Harvard Report, but the academic bent of the latter was forgotten. According to Herbst (p. 178) everything could now be a part of the curriculum as long as it promised to keep students in school. Angus & Mirel (1999) also contended that as the population of young people swelled, and unemployment grew, educators responded, shifting the focus of secondary education away from its primary goal of preparation for school or work to a custodial one of keeping students in school (p. 98).

The high school now had three tracks: college preparatory, vocational, and general and students increasingly opted for the latter (Angus & Mirel, 1999). The specializing function of the high school was strengthened by increased course offerings, but its unifying function was often limited to the junior high

level. This concerned many individuals and organizations. *The American High School: Its Responsibility and Opportunity* (Caswell, 1946) was a report prepared by several esteemed scholars of the John Dewey Society and edited by Hollis Caswell. The 1946 Report reinforced the ideas of the comprehensive high school model as put forward in the *Cardinal Principles* report. The Report was committed to the unifying and specializing functions of the model, the former being achieved through a core curriculum involving all students in "common integrating experiences", and the latter through special interest offerings (p. 143). Finally, the report reaffirmed its commitment to the social functions of the school and its role in fostering democratic ideals (p. 106).

Impact of the Cold War

In the 1950s, the national mood and attitude toward the school began to shift from concern for the public good to concern for national supremacy (Bestor, 1953; Smith, 1954). As the decade progressed, the technical superiority of the United States faced challenge from the Russians. Praise for the comprehensive school turned to criticism and attack, as leaders sought answers to threatened U.S. world dominance. Critics such as Bestor (1956) and Rickover

(1959) charged that in trying to provide a general education for *all* youth, educators had sacrificed quality for quantity, and demanded a return to a basic academic curriculum. Wraga (1994) pointed out that the objective of these criticisms was to pare down the comprehensive high school to an academic preparatory school (p. 98). The launching, in 1957, of the Soviet Union's Sputnik, the first unmanned satellite into space, brought a new wave of even stronger criticism. The schools were blamed for the low standards in education and the U.S. lagging behind in the space race. School critics (Bestor, 1956; Rickover, 1959) called for a "return to basics" and to the principles advocated by the Committee of Ten in 1893.

The curricular response to such criticism in the late 1950s was the development of numerous discipline-centered projects by experts at the newly created National Science Foundation. The emphasis was now to be on a curriculum that prepared young people to be engineers, scientists, and technicians, with funding guaranteed by The National Defense Education Act of 1958. The embattled comprehensive high school model found support in members of the American Association of School Administrators, the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, and individual educators such as Conant. In his 1959 report, *The American*

High School Today, Conant supported the comprehensive model, but seemed to emphasize the academic aspect of the curriculum. While Wraga (1994) viewed this as a natural reaction to the prevailing cold war mindset (p. 124), opponents of the model (Hampel as cited in Wraga, 1994; Preskill’s study as cited in Angus & Mirel, 1999, p. 115) questioned Conant's commitment to the comprehensive model. Conant acknowledged that there was room for improvement in the school system, and made 21 recommendations for changes in the high school. He, at the same time, urged educators not to abandon the comprehensive high school model for the dual, elitist systems found in Europe. He viewed the comprehensive high school as being vital for democracy:

> If one accepts the ideal of a democratic, fluid society with a minimum of class distinctions, the maximum of fluidity, the maximum of understanding between different vocational groups, the ideal secondary school is a comprehensive public high school...If one wished generation after generation to perpetuate class distinctions based on hereditary status in a given society, one would certainly demand a dual system of schools...A dual system serves and helps to maintain group cleavages, the absence of a dual system does the reverse. (pp. 81-82)

The support of leading educators, especially Conant, for the comprehensive high school temporarily stemmed the tide of negative opinions and the cry for a system of schooling that favored the academically talented. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, the curriculum did not become more

academic, but more diversified as the schools focused on the specializing function of the model (Wraga, 1994, p. 127).

Ironically, as essentialists cried out for the traditional academic curriculum of European schools, these nations were experimenting with the American model as a means of solving problems of equity and access in their own systems. On the home front, the comprehensive high school was to face another onslaught of criticism from various factions during the middle 1960s, that called on it to solve an array of social and economic problems.

Radical critics regarded the schools as rigid institutions, as bureaucracies that stifled the creativity of students, and suggested that the system be scrapped (Illich, 1972; Silberman, 1970). The critics of the 1960s had called for changes in the schools to improve their role in curing society's ills. In contrast, those of the 1970s argued that the schools were a large part of the problem, and called for their demise (Angus & Mirel, 1996, p. 123). Illich viewed compulsory schooling as, "in principle, economically absurd, and that to attempt it is intellectually emasculating, socially polarizing, and destructive of the credibility of the political system

which promotes it" (p. 14). Others (Goodman 1964; Kozol, 1971) suggested that young people get their education through diverse activities such as apprenticeships. School administrators did act on some of the recommendations of the radical critics: non-school experiences were accepted for course credit, students were allowed a wide range of options to fulfill graduation requirements, and schools-within-schools or alternative schools were created.

The accountability movement of the late 1960s and 1970s sought efficiency and called for middle schools, career education, management by objectives, competency-based teacher education, and performance contracting. The movement was reminiscent of efficiency reform at the turn of the century. Supporters of the movement ranged from Black parents concerned about effective programs for their children, to disgruntled taxpayers and suburban White parents worried about the increased cost of public education (Angus & Mirel, 1996, p. 136).

Advocates of the Black Power movement, like the other above-mentioned factions, blamed the school for the problems the society faced. They believed the educational system reinforced the racial values of the society, and sought to end White dominance over the education of Blacks.

To this end, they called for the hiring of Black teachers and administrators for Black schools, and a revamping of the curriculum to reflect the history, culture and achievements of Black people.

Angus & Mirel (1996) pointed out that all the critics of this period agreed that the educational system had failed to meet the needs of young people, and that a diversified curriculum was the way to achieve this. Educators responded by introducing numerous courses. However, the authors argued that the pattern of student course-taking changed little "despite an explosion of new courses, programs, and reform initiatives in the 1960s and early 1970s" (p. 160). Instead the philosophy of "*Cardinal Principles* remained triumphant, and still guided the schools' policies" (p. 160).

In the 1980s, as America's economy lagged behind other industrialized countries such as Japan and Germany, the schools once again were blamed for the lack of efficacy, and the cries were loud for educational reforms to increase the country's competitiveness. The federal report, *A Nation at Risk*, led the demand for reform in the educational system, especially at the secondary level (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. 18).

Throughout the decade, educational leaders (Goodlad, 1984; Raywid, 1985; Sizer, 1984) demanded the return to a more academic program for all in the schools, and a movement away from the comprehensive high school to more specialized schools. Business leaders joined in the debate for higher educational standards for all students. Throughout the 1990s, educators, parents, politicians, and employers continued to voice strong criticisms of the existing secondary school model. Hannay & Ross (1997) cited powerful departments as the stumbling blocks to meaningful change in the schools (p. 620). McQuillan (1997) labeled the comprehensive school "inhumane," and characterized it as "a structure that promotes neither healthy relations between students and teachers, nor the academic development of students, nor the professional growth of teachers, nor the engagement of students as democratic citizens" (p. 644). Such criticisms have generated alternate models of schooling such as the career academy model, the tech-prep model, and schools-within-schools. For the most part, educators in the United States seemed unwilling to work to modify the present, and intent on replacing it as the model for the organization of secondary education.

The Comprehensive High School in Selected Developed Countries

The aims and organization of secondary education vary in different countries in the same way their social organizations, social ideals, history, and traditions vary. Husen (1992) wrote, "Education, by its very nature, tends to be provincial and ethnocentric. Each region or country has an educational system tied to its culture and traditions" (p. 14). According to Kamens, Meyer & Benavot (1996) when European countries established their secondary school systems in the nineteenth century, they all had a common purpose: to perpetuate the aristocratic tastes and manners of the upper class. They theorized this is why older European countries continue to emphasize classical, humanistic curricula (p. 118). These same classical curricula, they explained, were imposed on Europe's colonies to "create an exclusively dependent elite who presumably would accept the mission and values of the dominant power, and assist in administering the colonial possessions" (p. 119).

Until 1945, almost all developed countries, including those in Europe, used the school system to segregate the social classes, enabling access only to those in the middle

and upper classes (Fowler, 1995). Wirt & Harman's 1986 study (as cited in Fowler, 1995) suggested several events in the international arena that eventually forced changes in the educational policies of many developed countries. The end of World War II saw the emergence of the United States as the dominant world power that used its influence to spread its comprehensive model of high schooling. Secondly, rapid economic growth after the War led to increased standards of living and educational aspirations. Finally, worldwide, there was increased awareness of and focus on issues of equity (p. 96). So global forces caused most European countries to attempt educational reform. These reforms involved shifts in educational policy from highly selective segregated systems to the more democratic comprehensive one (p. 95).

The changes in practices of secondary education inevitably vary from country to country. However, in the interest of brevity and clarity, the following section will examine reforms in the education system of four select European countries.

Great Britain

Education in Great Britain had traditionally been the concern of the family and church and heavily influenced by

social class structure. The Elementary Education Act of 1870 established a system of elementary education controlled by the government. Secondary education, however, remained under private control, and was undertaken by fee-charging "public" and grammar schools. Public schools were exclusive boarding schools that offered a highly academic, classical education to the wealthy. Grammar schools fashioned their curriculum after that of the public schools and also catered to the elite.

In 1899, a national education system emerged when the Board of Education became the central authority for both elementary and secondary education. At the turn of the century, the Board of Education empowered local education authorities (LEAs) to provide secondary schools and develop technical education. However, the Education Act of 1944 of England and Wales moved control of the LEAs from the Board of Education to a Minister of Government. The Act provided free secondary education for all, in any school maintained by the LEAs, according to age, ability, and aptitude. This education was provided in three, separate schools: the independent grammar school (similar to the elite public schools), the less academic secondary modern school, and the technical school.

Children began primary school at age 5, spent two years in the infant stage and 3 years at a junior stage. At the age of 11, children were channeled to the appropriate secondary school based on the results of selective tests. Those of the upper and middle classes were "creamed off" into the traditional, academic grammar schools (20%), or technical schools (10%), while the majority of those from the working class were channeled to the secondary modern school (Gray, 1990). (In practice, the school system tended to be bipartite rather than tripartite, as the percentage of school spaces provided to the "technically-minded" was so small.) Seventy percent of the students who failed the selective 11+ examinations were placed in the secondary modern schools to pursue courses not designed to lead to any qualification, thus losing their opportunity to enter the university, which could be accessed only through the grammar schools. Wealthier parents of less able students could pay for their tuition at the private, independent grammar schools, thus giving them a chance for a university education. Secondary public education was supposed to be for "all", but it was clear that the schools were not all on the same level. In addition, the grammar schools often received more financial support from the LEAs, and attracted more qualified teachers. The selective system of

secondary schooling was not allowing the majority of children to realize their potential.

During the election of 1964, the Labour Party promised to end selection at 11+, and to establish a comprehensive system of secondary education. The government did not pass legislation, but issued Circular 10/65 to all LEAs, asking them to reorganize the school system along comprehensive lines. The idea was that the circular would enlist local support and encourage local initiative for the comprehensive school model. Proponents of comprehensive schooling believed: 1. The transition from primary to secondary school should not be based on selection. 2. All pupils should have equal opportunity of access to their curricula, the qualifications offered, and the life chances generated by them. 3. The comprehensive system would result in increased mixing of the social classes, as the grammar and secondary modern schools blended. Thus, the link between educational attainment and social class so prevalent in Britain would weaken, and educational achievement would be strengthened (Gray, 1990).

In some areas, LEAs paid lip service to the national policy, and many schools, though labeled comprehensive, retained their operation as secondary modern schools. In

other areas, the more able pupils were "creamed off" into still-existing grammar schools, leaving the comprehensive schools with a high proportion of less able and disadvantaged pupils. The Conservative government withdrew this circular in 1970, and allowed LEAs to make their own decisions about reorganization, thus variations abounded. Hargreaves (1982) reported, "Little of the detailed operation of comprehensive schools was ever laid down in the form of a blueprint or a model that comprehensive schools should enact or follow" (p. 67). Evaluation with the more predictable grammar school was difficult, making the latter more attractive to parents. Additionally, "curriculum innovations were directed towards non-"O" level students," while "the grammar school curriculum continued to hold its central position in the secondary school curriculum" (p. 49). Comprehensive schools gained acceptance with the public when they were told that the grammar school curriculum and public school examinations would be maintained. Ironically, the comprehensive schools had become to be seen as "grammar schools for all" (p. 67).

On its return to power, the Labour government, through Circular 4/74, requested all LEAs that had not reorganized along comprehensive lines to do so (Walford, 1997). The government followed this with a decision to phase out

grants to grammar schools. The comprehensive model became dominant, so that in 1979, about 90% of children were enrolled in these secondary schools. The remaining 10% attended the grammar schools and church-affiliated or voluntary schools.

In 1979, the Thatcher government repealed the Labor government's 1976 Act, thus allowing some academically selective schools to continue operating. Several variations on the comprehensive theme existed. Some grammar and secondary modern schools united in comprehensive buildings and continued their selective practices under the one roof (Reynolds, Sullivan & Murgatroyd, 1987), not unlike tracking in the United States. Other schools used the selective approach in some subjects: the students were streamed for mathematics and languages, but not for other subjects such as English where pupils had mixed abilities. The Conservative government embarked on a privatization policy with the aim of increasing the types of schools. These measures included parental choice of public schools and financial assistance for attendance at elite private schools. Another was the creation of City Technology Colleges, or new secondary schools for the inner cities. These institutions emphasized science and technology and

were outside the jurisdiction of the local governments (Walford, 1997, p. 161; Whitty & Power, 1997, p. 222).

This policy culminated in the 1988 Education Reform Act, which critics charged was designed to encourage market processes in education (Walford, 1997, p. 167; West, Pennell, & Hedge, 1997, p. 171; Whitty & Power, 1997, pp. 223-224) and a move towards a consumer-dominated education system (Whitty & Power, 1997, p. 235). Parents and business leaders were empowered to play roles in policy formation and implementation, while the LEAs saw their positions diminished (Walford, 1997, p. 166). The Reform Act established a national curriculum of ten compulsory subjects: the three core disciplines of mathematics, English, and science, and seven foundation subjects--a modern foreign language (French, German, Spanish, or Italian), technology, history, geography, art, music, and physical education (David, 1992, p. 222). The 1988 Act also introduced Open Enrollment that gave parents greater choice, and grant-maintained schools that could opt out of LEA control, and still receive funding from central government (David, 1992; Whitty & Power, 1997, p. 222). The 1993 Education Act encouraged partnerships between schools and businesses, and enabled private individuals and sponsors to use government grants to establish faith-based

and subject-specialized schools (Walford, 1997, pp. 164-165). Walford (1997, p. 166)) and Whitty & Power (1997, pp. 221-222) suggested that the real aim of the Conservative government policy of school system diversification in the 1980s and early 1990s was to weaken local government control of public education.

Critics of the Conservative Party policy (Hargreaves, 1982, p. 67; Walford, 1997, pp. 161, 167) argued that increasing diversity in the types of schools weakened the comprehensive system. The idea of competing school systems posing a threat to comprehensivization found support among researchers. Kamens, Meyer & Benavot (1996) reported that comprehensive high schools were more likely to be successful if they were the *only* kind of school in the system, that is, had no significant competition from traditional grammar-type schools or technical schools (p. 132).

Hargreaves (1992) argued the curriculum of the secondary school in Britain was still highly academic, despite comprehensive reorganization. This was due to the fact that heads of departments in comprehensive schools were former grammar school teachers. He reported the curriculum stressed intellectual-cognitive skills, rather

than affective-emotional, physical-manual, or personal-social. The subjects such as music, art, drama, woodwork, and physical education that emphasized the non-cognitive skills, were either offered once per week or optional in later years.

Other researchers point to positive outcomes. According to Gray (1990), comprehensive reforms have delayed some aspects of selection to perhaps fifteen years of age, but have not abolished them. He reported that comprehensive reorganization resulted in more pupils getting the opportunity to achieve the levels of qualifications of which they are capable. However, performance levels of students in comprehensive high schools were the same, no better than the performance of pupils in selective secondary schools. Despite these positive aspects of the reforms, David (1992) and Walford (1997) charged that reform policies since the 1980s have resulted in problems of selection that the comprehensive school tried to overcome, and to greater social segregation as schools became more polarized along class and racial lines.

Sweden

The school system in Sweden, especially at the secondary level, has historically been centrally controlled. Up to the 1940s, the majority of the population received compulsory elementary education between ages 7-14. A small proportion of the society (20%) attended lower secondary school that started in the 4th grade and ran parallel to the primary system up to the 9th grade. An even smaller proportion (4%) acquired upper secondary education. (Dahllöf, 1990). Students from the lower secondary schools went on to a number of different schools—academic upper secondary, folk school, and vocational.

As in other countries of Europe, however, the aftermath of World War II brought economic and technical changes and a growing demand for secondary education in Sweden (Dahllöf, 1990; Fowler, 1995). Between 1950 and 1962, the Swedish Government experimented with the American style of comprehensive school as a means of breaking down class barriers. The favorable results prompted the government to implement the comprehensive model of secondary schooling. Over a 10-year period (1962-1972), the elementary and lower secondary levels were unified into the *grundskola*, a nine-year (7-16) compulsory comprehensive

school. All students followed the same curriculum for the first six years of the program after which they selected one of two streams—an academic or preparatory, for admission to upper secondary school, or a practical-oriented stream. The streams of this upper secondary level school system (ages 16-19) were eventually integrated in 1971, incorporating vocational and academic study programs or tracks in one school or *gymnasieskola* (Dahllöf, 1990; Fowler, 1995). In a few years, enrollment at this level jumped from 20% to 70%, and was 90% by 1990 (Dahllöf, 1990). By 1960, some 10 years after the implementation of the comprehensive model, the number of upper secondary graduates entering university had doubled to 10% (Dahllöf, 1990).

Critics point out that while comprehensive reforms appear to have succeeded in Sweden (over 90% of pupils are in such schools), it has been at the cost of effective teaching, and time allotted for subjects such as geography, history and the Swedish language (Dahllöf, 1990). Others have also argued that while the reform has resulted in increased educational attainment for all classes of the society, those of the middle and upper classes still have better job opportunities (Jonsson, 1990). He, however acknowledged, that in a limited way, the extension

(lengthening) of compulsory education reduced early self-selection resulting in more educational opportunity and therefore more social equality. He concluded that greater access to higher education, more freedom of choice, and increased opportunities for adults to study, have had significant impact on the lowering of class barriers.

France

For thousands of years, the Church was the main provider of education in France. However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, France had established a centralized, free, compulsory, and secularized system of elementary education. The overall educational system, prior to 1959, was divided along the same social lines that separated the society into an aristocracy and the masses (Prost, 1990). Children of the elite and professionals attended the primary, then first, and second level secondary departments of the *lycee*. The masses attended free public elementary schools until school leaving age. Primary graduates who could pay, entered the sixth grade *lycee*, while others went on to Senior Primary Schools (*ecoles primaires superieurs*) or to Complementary Courses (*courses complimentaires*).

Reform after World War II made education compulsory from age six to 18. Schooling was divided into three stages: (a) elementary—ages 6 to 11, mastery of basic skills and knowledge; (b) lower secondary—ages 11 to 15, guidance to discover aptitudes; and (c) upper secondary—ages 15 to 18, diversification and specialization of learning. The Senior Primary Schools were merged with the Complementary Courses, to form a four-year lower secondary school or *l'ecole unique* (Grades 6-3, that is, ages 11-15) that competed with the prestigious *lycee*. The latter eventually lost its primary and middle grades formerly attended by children of the elite, when all primary pupils were required to enter the *l'ecole unique*.

L'ecole unique is the comprehensive secondary school for all pupils. During the first two years (the observation cycle) at these institutions, teachers closely observe student performance. The national common curriculum that builds on the work done at the elementary level includes French, mathematics, a foreign language, biology, geology, physical sciences, history/geography/economics, technology, artistic subjects, physical education, and sport. In the remaining two years (the orientation cycle) students can choose an optional subject and a second language. Teachers guide students in identifying their abilities and choosing

a career. There is intense pressure for students to perform well, so as not to be "oriented" to certain streams when they enter the *lycee*. Administrators claim that in an effort to raise standards in education, and to ensure that low achievers acquire training in a skill, some students are taught in small pre-vocational classes, others in preparatory apprenticeship classes (Stokes, 1995). Prost (1990) took the opposite view, arguing that those of low socioeconomic status are streamed into pre-vocational or apprenticeship programs, while the children of the elite and professionals make up a disproportionate percentage of the top (academic) streams of classes.

Students take a national examination, the *brevet des colleges*, which marks the end of compulsory schooling. Most students, however, continue on to higher education which clearly "distinguishes between occupational futures, each of which can contribute to the national interest" (McLean, 1995, p. 41). These studies take place in a traditional lycee, *lycee general et technologique* (LEGT), a vocational senior high school, *lycee d'enseignement professionel* (LEP), or in an apprentice training center, *centre de formation d'apprentis* (Vigouroux-Frey & Convey, 1994). Students in the LEGT specialize in one of 5 subject areas: literary-philosophical studies; economics and social

sciences; mathematics and physical sciences; earth and biological sciences; and scientific and industrial technology. Students at the LEP take a selection of courses. About 80% per cent of the age group (15-18) take the *baccalaureat*, the national examination, at the end of the course of studies. Anyone who passes the examination is entitled to university education.

Although a common curriculum now exists for students at the lower secondary level, vestiges of elitism exist at the upper level. After the *brevet* examination at the end of *l'ecole unique*, students are 'oriented' into academic/technical *lycees*, vocational *lycees*, or centers of apprenticeship. Additionally, "highly elitist institutions--notably the *grandes ecoles*--survive as testaments to older revolutionary views that an intellectual elite must be identified to lead national transformation" (McLean, 1995, p. 41).

Germany

The roots of the German educational system go far back into the nineteenth century. Up to the late 1960s, primary schooling (in the *Grundschule*) started at age 6, and was the same for all to the 5th grade, after which students went on to 1 of 3 kinds of general education schools, or to

vocational school. The 3 traditional secondary schools (*Hauptschule, Realschule, and Gymnasium*) did not allow lateral transfer, so individuals had educational paths closed to them from they were 10 years old. The *Hauptschule*, the upper primary (grades 5-9 or 10) was an extension of the elementary school and equivalent to the British Secondary Modern School for the masses. Its curriculum included language, arithmetic, geography, history, science, music, art, and physical education. Students attended for 4 or 5 years, and then transferred to apprenticeship training. The *Realschule* provided general education and had a curriculum that was more demanding with some vocational/technical bias (grades 5-10). Students could leave at age 16 for vocational school or apprenticeship training both of which lead to commercial, technical or administrative jobs. The program at the *Gymnasium*, like the *lycee* in France or the grammar school in England, was for students who showed academic promise of going on to university. It encompassed both primary and secondary grades (5-13). The curriculum provided for nine years of languages, mathematics, natural sciences, and social sciences. Students who did not perform well academically transferred to the *Hauptschule*, but all pupils, at 16, had the option of switching to the

vocational school. At the end of their program, students at the *Gymnasium* took the *Abitur* Examination, which provided them the Certificate of Maturity, necessary for admission to university.

In the early 1970s, the integrated comprehensive school, the *Gesamptschule*, was introduced as an alternative option within the regular school system, in an attempt to integrate the three traditional types of secondary schools. This model of secondary high school had positive outcomes. It delayed decisions that elementary students had to make about their school careers, enabling them to experience a broader range of subjects, and to develop their talents and abilities to the fullest. It also promoted democracy as students experienced the community of learners, and provided equal education for all.

Leschinsky & Mayer (1990) found that in addition to providing a higher quality education to more students than in the diversified system, the *Gesamptschule* model raised standards of general education in *all* types of schools. Others (Brock & Tulasiewicz, 1994) reported an increase in opportunities for higher education for working-class children, an increase in courses that are modifiable, and

an opening up of life outside the school as a resource (p. 99).

The implementation of the *Gesamptschule*, however, has been regional, and widespread in only a few districts, or *Landers* (Leschinsky & Mayer, 1990). Thus, Stokes' study (1995) showed that while 95% of the schools in Northrhine-Westphalia are comprehensive, nationally only 5% of the age group attends such schools, whereas 35% of all 14 year-olds were at the *Hauptschule* and 55% at the *Realschule* and *Gymnasium*. Moreover, inequality continues to some extent in the comprehensive schools, since they do not award a unitary certificate, but all the qualifying certificates of the tripartite school system.

Changes *have* occurred in the three types of traditional schools, including more choice and variety of instructional settings. Thus, Leschinsky & Mayer (1990) suggested that perhaps the comprehensive high school in Germany no longer has the characteristics that made it an alternative to the traditional education system, since many of its functions have become a part of the traditional West German school. However, it could be argued that, unlike the system in the United States, the German comprehensive high school system does not encompass the full range of

abilities and interests, as weak students tend to transfer from elementary to the *Hauptschule*, and the high achievers to the *Gymnasium*. In this regard, the model practiced is not the model planned, one that would house all abilities and interests under one roof.

The comprehensive high school has contributed to the expansion of education and participation of all social strata in Germany. Some, idealistically, hoped for loftier outcomes and expressed disappointment that the model was unable to break the link between social class and type of school attended, or end the enduring tradition of selectivity (Leschinsky & Mayer, 1990; Stokes, 1995). According to Brock & Tulasiewicz (1994), the selective nature of German general education "is no longer in line with the central principles of an education for democracy, and perhaps not even with those promoting the European idea."

European Union

When the Treaty on the European Union was enforced in November 1993, member countries initially focused on economic and political concerns. However, it quickly became evident that there was a need for educational co-operation between the member states. Achieving this has not been an

easy task, for while there are similarities, the countries in the Community vary significantly in culture, politics and educational systems.

Although the curriculum and the content of subject syllabuses are controlled nationally, the extent of control varies in the different countries. So also does comprehensivization. While Germany still has selective schools, in almost all of the remaining countries, comprehensive schools are the norm (Brock & Tulasiewicz 1994, pp. 9-10). Unlike the United States, or Britain, comprehensivization is often limited to the lower secondary stage, or the end of compulsory schooling, after which selection takes over (Elvin's study, as cited in Brock & Tulasiewicz, 1994).

The educational systems, however, do have in common the same pattern of sequence and structure of schooling: nursery to university education, distinctions between academic and vocational education, control of students' access, and a scope of school-leaving certificates. Perhaps it is perhaps this mix of communality and difference, that led Brock & Tulasiewicz (1994) to conclude, "The only possible policy for Europe, and the one adopted by the Council of Europe, is to face up to the existing unity in

diversity, and to regard it as an asset and a source of strength" (p. 9).

The diverse nations of the European Union have different objectives, but through democratic participation, integrated solutions can be found. Education contributes to democracy and participation in public affairs. Unlike elitist models of secondary education that stress individual activity, the comprehensive high school serves as a source of learning of democratic behaviors. The lessons of participatory democracy learnt in youth results in active participation in later life. Such participation is vital for the survival of the Union, and member countries should give great consideration to the comprehensive high school as the model for secondary education.

Summary

The comprehensive high school is one that provides academic and vocational secondary education, under one roof, for *all* youth in a given catchment area. It allows youth from diverse economic and social backgrounds, with varying abilities, aptitudes, and interests to learn and play together. It caters to individuals preparing for college and for those planning to enter the world of work

immediately. The comprehensive public high school is considered by its advocates to be vital for democracy, as it discourages the perpetuation of class divisions in the society. Its critics in the United States view its curriculum as lacking academic rigor and consider the many subjects offered as a *smorgasbord* of choices.

Nevertheless, after World War 11, as developed and developing countries focused on equity in education, they abandoned their elitist secondary educational systems in favor of the comprehensive model of secondary schooling. Husen's (1979) study of surveys undertaken by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) indicated that the comprehensive system is better able to produce informed citizens capable of contributing to their country's economic development, and participating in the global economy (pp. 95-100). Thus, countries have moved, or are moving away, from traditional academic secondary schools, and towards the comprehensive model. The degree of adoption of the model in Europe varies from a fully comprehensive (Sweden), to a substantially comprehensive (Britain) to a slightly comprehensive (Germany), to a non-comprehensive system (Austria).

The success of the model in terms of increased access and equity has also been varied. Comprehensivization in Britain provides more students with the kind of secondary education needed to enter the universities. However, market reforms introduced in the 1980s and 1990s erased inroads made by the comprehensive schools. For, although the majority of pupils attend comprehensive schools, the more advantaged ones now opt for academically selective grammar schools, leaving the those less able and those with special needs, in the comprehensive schools. Comprehensivization has not resulted in improved pupil performance, and schools are increasingly reverting to social segregation along racial and class lines.

Equity is still an issue in the secondary school system. While the lower level of the secondary school system in France is fully comprehensive, the upper level maintains vestiges of the old elitism, offering education along three separate lines: academic, technical, and vocational. It is to the intellectual elite that the country looks for its leaders. This attitude also prevails in Sweden, for although all its students receive comprehensive education, research shows that employers favor students from the middle and upper classes. Germany’s educational system is still tied to its roots and

traditions. Although the country has embraced the comprehensive model of secondary schooling, it is popular only in certain regions, and the educational system is still class-based and selective.

In sum, the commitment to comprehensivization varies in the European countries. However, the union forged by many of these nations, may lead to a re-examination of the basic principles and functions of the comprehensive high school model.

CHAPTER 3

SCHOOL AND SOCIETY IN JAMAICA, 1494-1956

The Caribbean's educational systems developed from a plantation society stratified by color and race and dominated by a few concerned for their own welfare. Later, when education was extended to the masses, those with power used the system to maintain the *status quo* and further increase stratification in the society. The models of schooling introduced into the system focused on academic education for a few and extended elementary or vocational education for the masses. Thus, when Kandel (Jamaica Government, 1943) recommended changes in the educational system that would have resulted in children of the poorer classes having access to secondary schools and some of those in the upper classes being assigned to vocational schools, educators took no positive action.

This chapter traces the development of education in Jamaica to the end of the first decade after World War II, and highlights the parallel social, economic, political and religious forces that have impacted policy making at each stage of the nation's development.

The Colonial Influence

The system of education that developed in Jamaica was heavily influenced by the European powers (Spain and later Britain) that colonized it and exploited its resources. To achieve their goals, the colonizers had to maintain social order and stability. They achieved this by educating a select few to carry out the basic administrative tasks in the society. Thus, the British sought to "socialize a few of the local population to accept the values, beliefs and assumptions of superiority which the colonizers had of themselves, and to use these individuals both as models for others who were aspiring to improve their conditions of life and to establish some links with the masses" (Bacchus, 1992, p. 89). Initially, this education was largely achieved through religion, but later it was accomplished through the strict academic curriculum of the colonizing country. So successful was this strategy that even after the country became independent, the education favored by all levels of the society was that provided by the elitist grammar schools.

The Spanish

In 1494, Christopher Columbus of Spain, in his search for the East Indies, "discovered" Jamaica. He found an

indigenous Indian population, the Arawaks, who by available reports (Knight's study as quoted in Bacchus, 1990), were economically self-sufficient and had educational, social, and political structures. In order to establish their dominance over the native population, the Spaniards destroyed the society, and through the teaching of Christianity, "resocialized" the native people into accepting their new status. Thus, during this period of colonization the Catholic Church was responsible for education.

In the early years of occupation, the Spanish introduced sugarcane into the island. This crop required large plantations and was labor intensive. The colonizers used the native Arawak Indians as a cheap source of labor (Bacchus, 1990, p. 9). Within a century, through overwork, slaughter, or by diseases introduced from Europe, they had eradicated them. As the supply of native people dwindled, the Spanish had to seek alternate sources of labor. They brought Jews in as indentured servants, in the early sixteenth century, because of their skills in sugar manufacturing (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998). Jews became traders after serving their indenture, exchanging goods between Jamaica and Europe. They remained on the island when the Spanish left, and continued trading with the new

colonizers, the English, thereby "helping to lay the foundation for the island's internal and external trade" (Sherlock & Bennett, p. 316). As the need for labor intensified, the Spaniards turned their attention to Africa, and in 1518, the first license was issued to import Negro slaves into the island on a regular basis. According to Bacchus (1990), "this marked the commencement in earnest of the trans-Atlantic trade in slaves which became a profitable business for Spain" (p. 10).

The English

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Spain's domination of the New World was challenged many times by other European countries anxious to share in the massive amount of wealth that flowed from the West Indies (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998). The English were most successful in their efforts to establish colonies in the region, and in 1655, drove off and supplanted the Spanish in Jamaica. The new colonizers, however, not only continued, but also significantly expanded the slave society begun by their predecessors.

The growth and wealth of the sugar plantations attracted many English colonists and their white indentured servants to settle on the island. They were mostly male,

came with no families, and, unlike their counterparts who colonized North America, their objective was not to settle, but to make as much money as possible and then return "home." "Personal advantage, not the public good, was what counted; the exploitation of woman, man, land, not responsible conduct; profits, not morality; a society totally corrupted by its perception of nine-tenths of the total population as property, as an inferior form of human being" (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998, p. 159).

The White minority cohabited with the female slaves on the plantation, producing children of mixed color. A continuum of color groups eventually resulted. The "colored" people or mulattos were usually freed by their masters (fathers) and, though not given all the privileges of the Whites, were gradually able to accumulate wealth and eventually become the middle class. Thus, by 1830, they had gained the right to vote and to become members of the Assembly (Heuman as cited in Miller, 1990). The majority of the White colonists were from the less privileged classes in England, yet all considered themselves superior to the Blacks, simply on the basis of race. This racism permeated all aspects of Jamaican society, including education (Miller, 1990).

Education of the Whites and Freed Slaves

While plantation administrators sent their children to England for secondary and university education, others patronized elementary schools set up by the Protestant clergy to supplement their income (Whyte, 1977, p. 3). These schools, however, were often not of a high standard. As a result, several benevolent estate owners bequeathed sums of money or property to build elementary schools for the poor Whites and later the freed slaves. One of the earliest donations was from one Raines Waites in 1694, for the establishment of schools in the parishes of Clarendon and Manchester (Black, 1999, p. 138). The new bequest schools aimed to provide an education similar to that available in England. Teachers were thus imported and the curriculum identical to that found in English grammar schools. Many of the older traditional high schools were originally elementary schools set up from funds bequeathed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Table 2 lists some of these schools, their benefactors, and those that have survived to the present day.

Table 2

Endowed Schools, 1694-1825

Date	Benefactor	Original Name	Present Name
1694	Raines Waites	Alley and Manchester	Manchester High
1721	Charles Drax	Drax Free	Jamaica College
1736	J. Wolmer	Wolmer's	Wolmer's
1738	Manning	Manning's	Manning's
1738	Sir Nicholas Lawes	School at Half-Way Tree	* ---
1744	P. Beckford	Beckford & Smith	St. Jago
1770	Martin Rusea	Rusea Free	Rusea
1785		Titchfield	Titchfield
1795	Charles Drax	Walton Free	Jamaica College
1797	Munroe	School Potsdam	Munroe College
1825	Dickenson	Malvern	Hampton

Source: Whyte, 1977, p. 17
* No longer exists.

Education of the Slaves

There was no provision for the education of slaves until the arrival of the missionaries in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998, p. 203). The missionaries' aim was to spread Christianity among the slaves; they taught slave children reading from the Bible, Catechism, and basic arithmetic and writing skills. At first, the plantation owners resented this, for they feared the slaves would realize their value as human beings and become rebellious (Bacchus, 1992, p. 129). However, they quickly recognized the placating influence of Christian teaching, with its promise of later rewards for the "meek" (Bacchus, 1990. pp. 140, 148).

Initially, the missionaries remained steadfast to their narrow religious duties (Braithwaite, 1971), but became increasingly more sympathetic of the slaves' plight and supportive of their desire for freedom. They gained the support of the English Abolition Society, whose members put forward their case for Emancipation (freedom), as a "cause that had to do with freedom of conscience, and not only with property" (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998, p. 223). Public support for the abolition of slavery also peaked during this period. On August 28, 1833, the British parliament

passed the Act of Emancipation giving slaves their freedom. For the majority of freed slaves, however, life remained little improved from that to which they were accustomed on the plantation.

Development of Elementary Education

During slavery, children of the plantocracy received their elementary education in schools operated by the Protestant clergy. Later, benevolent estate owners donated property and money to increase the quality and quantity of such schools. Children of slaves, on the other hand, received no education until the arrival of missionaries in the late eighteenth century. The education they received included the three R's, but emphasized values that would make them more subservient and accepting of their circumstances. Gradually elementary education spread across the plantations.

In 1835, a little more than a year after Emancipation, the British Parliament voted in the Negro Education Act to assist in elementary education for the ex-slaves in the West Indies. The initial grant was for £25,000, but was increased to £30,000 in 1836 (Bacchus, 1990; Parry, Sherlock & Maingot, 1987). Jamaica's share of the grant, based on the number of ex-slaves, was £7,500, and was used

largely to erect buildings for the elementary schools (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998). All education offered to the masses was to have a religious and moral tone, for the British Government hoped to convert the ex-slaves. The new Christians would "accept their subordinate role and thereby modify their occupational and social aspirations" (Bacchus, (1994, p. 15). Bacchus further contended:

> During the immediate post-emancipation period, especially prior to 1846, the major focus of the primary education provided by West Indian schools was to develop in the young the values, beliefs, attitudes and dispositions considered necessary for the maintenance and reproduction of the social order that existed in pre-emancipation times (p. 14).

The new convert would wait for their "reward in heaven" rather than seek revenge as their counterparts had done in neighboring Haiti. Since the missionaries were already keeping school for the slaves, they, rather than the Jamaican Assembly, were chosen to administer the grant (Augier, 1969, p. 178; Gordon, 1963, p. 19; Whyte, 1977, p. 7).

Each denomination established a school for its followers, and in addition to reading, writing and the Bible, taught geography, history, grammar, general knowledge, general science and needlework. Teachers were White expatriates sent by the parent missionary societies,

adult "colored" persons who could read, and those trained at the newly established Normal Schools such as Mico, founded in 1836. Expatriate teachers were paid twice as much as locals and this prompted measures to set up Normal schools or teacher training colleges to train the latter. These Normal schools were also avenues of upward mobility for Blacks locked out of the traditional or "academic" secondary education long available to the upper classes. According to Miller (1990), the Normal schools functioned as high schools for Blacks, for in addition to pedagogy and some vocational subjects, they offered the traditional curriculum of the high schools (the classics, science, mathematics, and modern languages).

In the mid-1840s the economy experienced a depression, and funds from Britain dwindled. The removal of preferential treatment for West Indian sugar in Britain had resulted in the further decline of the sugar industry, a decline that had begun in the late 1700s (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998). The White population quickly decreased. The mulattos (Browns) became more numerous and vocal in the Assembly, and a growing threat to the minority White plantocracy. The growing mulatto or "colored" classes were concerned about education and were pressing for local institutions to train a professional labor force (Heuman as

cited in Miller, 1990). However, few schools were formed between 1845 and 1865 as the profitability of the colonies declined, and the local government contributed very little money toward the education of the ex-slaves. The Negro Education Grant was reduced and finally discontinued in 1845 as the Imperial government "washed its hands" of any further financial responsibility for the education of the Negro population (Bacchus, 1990, pp. 336-337). The British government discontinued the grant for several reasons. For one, it had always expected Negro parents eventually to pay for their children's education. Also, since the Baptists had been able to provide education without financial aid, the Government believed other missionary societies could do the same. Finally, the home government lost interest in the colonies, as they became less profitable (Bacchus, 1990, pp. 336-337). The Jamaican Assembly and the churches once again took on the job of financing the schools, but the funds were often inadequate, and some schools had to be closed. After the middle of the eighteenth century, several private fee-paying elementary (preparatory) schools were established for White or "colored" children. Later, when secondary schools were established, these children readily gained entrance.

Crown Colony Rule

The Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865--instigated by Black small farmers--ultimately served as a key turning point for White minority on the island. Plantation owners used the rebellion as an opportunity to ask for and justify the reinstitution of Crown Colony Government or direct rule from the British Parliament and the dissolution of the local Assembly. While Whites relinquished their direct control over the political, social, and economic life of the island, they effectively thwarted the political aspirations of the increasingly vocal Jewish and "colored" population.

Crown Colony Government was established under the leadership of Sir John Peter Grant who made several reforms aimed at addressing the concerns of the Black majority. The most important education reform was the Payment-by-Results system of 1867 by which schools were granted sums of money based on the quality of the students’ work, size of the school, and attendance. Basic salaries for teachers were also paid by grants based on pupil attendance and performance. Extra grants were paid to schools with certified teachers, and those schools that included sewing, manual training and gardening in the curriculum. An

Inspector upon whose findings the teachers' salaries now depended, visited the schools annually. The awarding of grants was a major factor in stimulating the development of schools. *The West Indies Royal Commission Reports 1838-1839* (as cited in Goulbourne, 1988, p. 42) revealed that there were 286 schools receiving aid, and 158 that were not; by 1891, the number receiving aid had increased to 912.

Development of Secondary Education

The increased enrollment in elementary schools led to a growing demand for secondary education. First, the Whites hired from Britain to fill the posts in the colonial offices had a vested stake in increasing secondary school spaces for their progeny (Miller, 1990). Second, people of "color" who could neither pass for white nor gain entry to the established high schools were calling for the creation of additional secondary schools.

In response to these new demands, the established Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist churches opened a number of secondary schools in the mid to late nineteenth century. Table 3 shows the dates, founding denominations and the names of the schools. These church schools offered the same academic education as their more established competitors--the benefactor high schools. The former,

Table 3

Secondary Schools Established by Churches

Date	Founder	School
1843	Baptists	Calabar College
1850	Roman Catholic (Society of Jesus)	St. George's College
1858	Roman Catholic	Immaculate Conception
1875	Anglicans	St. Hilda's High
1876	Methodist	York Castle High
1882	Baptists	Westwood High
1897	Anglicans	Cathedral High
1898	Religious Society of Friends	Happy Grove
1899	Anglicans	Deaconess High (St. Hugh's High)

Source: Whyte, 1977, p. 46

however, were considered less prestigious because they catered to a lower social class. These new church schools got little support from the government and limited contributions from abroad, and as a result, had to charge fees to meet expenses. While people of "color" had the means to pay, most Blacks remained unable to benefit from

the new opportunities in secondary education (Hurwitz & Hurwitz, 1971).

The Grant Reforms (1866-1874), in favor of the Black population, had angered the Browns, who became critical of the Crown Colony Government (King, 1979). According to Heuman, while slaves were fighting for freedom, they (the Browns) had been fighting for their civil rights. In 1815 they gained entry to the trust schools, and by 1830, along with the Jews, had a political force in the Assembly (in Miller, 1990, p. 60). Crown colony government now dampened the political aspiration of the Browns, and reduced their opportunity for advancement.

Governor Musgrave, newly appointed in the late 1870s, therefore attempted to placate this faction by focusing on their interests, especially in secondary education. By the late 1880s, as the economy begun to recover following the diversification into crops such as bananas and coffee, some money became available for education. More funding was obtained from the reorganization of the endowment trusts created in the late eighteenth century to build schools for poor Whites. According to King (1972), the Endowed Schools Commission had been set up in England in 1867, to foster secondary education for the middle class. Twelve years

later, under Law 34 of 1879, the Crown Colony government set up the Jamaica Schools Commission to supervise the secondary schools, adopting both the concept and the methodology of the trusts for the same purpose without regard for the dynamics of the local situation (Miller, 1990, p. 63). The Commission was an executive body and the Governor appointed its members. Though a part of the Education Department, the Schools Commission eventually became independent *(West Indies Royal Commission Report, 1938-1939* as cited in Gouldbourne, 1988). Under Law 34, secondary education was provided for the middle class, for "a higher grade of education among those classes of the community who would value it if it were placed within their reach, but whose means do not enable them to send their children to Europe for the purpose of receiving it" *(Handbook of Jamaica, 1911*, p. 60).

The Secondary School Curriculum

The Commission reorganized the schools and introduced the English Grammar School curriculum and the Cambridge Local Examinations. The curriculum in these schools, both trust and church, was thus strictly academic, and similar to that used in Britain. According to the 1906 *Report of the Jamaica Schools Commission* (as cited in Miller, 1990),

the curriculum at Wolmer's Boys' School included English, French, Latin, history, geography, arithmetic, mathematics, natural sciences, scripture, bookkeeping, shorthand, geometrical drawing, and physical drill. Boys were grouped as classical (taking Latin and Greek), or commercial (taking natural science, bookkeeping, and shorthand). In the Girls' school, students took needlework and singing, and chose between Latin and shorthand. Smaller schools often offered practical vocational subjects such as woodwork, agriculture, and domestic economy. To teach the imported curriculum, these secondary schools also hired teachers from England for their staff. This was the beginning of the practice of adopting and adapting educational policies started in the "mother country" that would persist into the 1980s.

To provide for senior high school education, the Schools Commission sold the Walton Free School and used the proceeds along with the Drax endowment to form the Jamaica High School at Hope. Jamaica High School functioned as a senior high school offering the highest level of education in the country; all other endowed high schools were middle-level schools. By 1911, the official records *(Annual General and Departmental Reports, 1911-1912)*, indicated 1,544 students were receiving secondary education in

Jamaica, of which 52.4% were boys and 47.6% were girls. This number of students, however, represented only 0.87% of the total number of youth between the ages of 10 and 19 (Miller, 1990 p. 69-70). Education separated and reinforced the classes: high school education for the middle and upper classes, elementary education for the masses. In sum, the island's class-based secondary education system, begun in 1879, was firmly established by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century).

The Lumb Commission, the Rise of the Normal Colleges and the Piggott Reforms

In 1897, a steep decline in the economy prompted the government to appoint the Lumb Commission to look into ways of making elementary education more efficient and economical. The Government's subsequent attitude toward setting up schools was arguably influenced by the *Report of the Lumb Commission (Report of the 1898 Education Commission*) which gave priority to elementary education, and suggested that secondary schools be established only when finances were available (Goulbourne, 1988, p. 43; Miller, 1990, pp. 75-77). The Report had the most significant impact on the training colleges or Normal schools. It recommended: (a) the elimination of the

academic curriculum and the inclusion and/or extension of vocational subjects, (b) reduction of the course from three to two years, and (c) that all male Normal colleges, except Mico, be closed. The implementation of this new initiative blocked the one avenue of social mobility for Blacks, and reduction of the number of men entering the training colleges contributed significantly to the feminization of the teaching profession (Miller, 1990, p. 92). By 1902, at Shortwood, the government-owned female training college, students had to enroll in domestic science, and worked as domestics at the school for the first year of their training to offset fees. They trained simultaneously to be teachers and domestics, taking pedagogy, literacy, numeracy, agriculture, manual instruction and domestic science (Miller, 1990, pp. 77-78). This contrasted sharply with the academic curriculum recommended for the high school.

In 1911, the British Colonial Office sent H. H. Piggott, an English Inspector of Schools, to assess the secondary school system in Jamaica. He found great variation in control of the schools, much of the curriculum irrelevant, and an overemphasis on external examination results as a measure of school efficiency (Piggott, 1911). Piggott recommended that local history be taught instead of

Greek and Roman history, Spanish rather than German, French or Latin, and music and physical education be included in the curriculum. He suggested that a Director of Education control all the secondary schools and that teachers be trained locally to decrease the dependence on foreign staff. At the same time, Piggott reinforced the Commission's stand on different types of education for the various classes of the society. The large endowed boarding secondary schools would offer an academic curriculum that prepared students for continued studies in England or America. On the other hand, the small, local day schools "should aim more definitely at meeting the special needs of the locality, either in the direction of commercial, domestic manual, or agricultural work" (Piggott, p. 21).

The Secondary Education Law 34 of 1914 was enacted based on Piggott's report. According to the new law (as cited in Miller, 1990, p. 95), secondary education was:

> a course of education which does not consist chiefly of instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, but which includes instruction in Latin, the English Language, Modern Languages, Natural and Applied Sciences, Commercial, Geography, Book-keeping, Shorthand, Drawing or in some such studies and in the higher branches of knowledge.

Miller (1990) pointed out that the class basis of the 1879 definition of secondary education had been changed to

a curriculum or subject basis, but one that did not include needlework, domestic science, woodwork, or singing, subjects that were included in the curriculum of some high schools (p. 95). To Whyte (1977), the literary slant to education made it difficult for manual training to be associated with secondary education (p. 51). In contrast, vocational subjects associated with manual training were being emphasized in the teachers' colleges and were replacing the academic subjects. Once again, secondary education was reinforcing the division between the classes.

The Rise of the Grant-Aided School

Many secondary schools were started in the first half of the twentieth century, and by 1943, the number of public secondary schools had increased from 13 to 23 (Whyte, 1977). The government built Montego Bay Girls School in St. James, while the Missionary Society of England and the Congregational Church started Clarendon College in Clarendon. The Methodist Church took over Excelsior High School that Wesley Powell had started in Kingston in 1931. Camperdown and Merl Grove began as preparatory (private elementary) schools, but later added secondary levels as their enrollment grew. The Deaconess High School in Kingston was taken over by the Deaconess Education Board

Table 4

Grant-aided Secondary Schools, 1920-1943

Secondary School	Ownership Grant-Aided	Year	Grade
Jamaica College	Trust	1920	I
Wolmer's Boys	Trust	1920	I
Wolmer's Girls	Trust	1920	I
Cornwall	Government	1920	I
Titchfield	Trust	1920	II
Rusea's	Trust	1920	II
Beckford & Smith's	Trust	1920	II
Manning's	Trust	1920	II
Calabar	Baptist	1920	I
Manchester	Trust	1921	II
Westwood	Baptist	1921	II
Cathedral	Anglican	1921	II
St. Hilda's	Anglican	1921	II
Happy Grove	Quaker	1921	II
Munroe	Trust	1923	I
Hampton	Trust	1923	I
St. Hugh's	Anglican	1923	I
St. Helena's (MoBay High)	Anglican/Government	1928	II
St. Andrew's	Wesleyan/Presbyterian	1929	I
Kingston College	Anglican	1923	I
St. George's	Catholic	1923	I
Alpha	Catholic	1937	I
Immaculate	Catholic	1937	I

Source: Miller, 1990, p. 114.

and renamed St. Hugh's High School. In all, there were 10 trust schools, 2 government schools and 11 church schools - 4 Anglican, 3 Catholic, 2 Baptist, 1 Wesleyan and Presbyterian, and 1 Quaker (Table 4).

The churches, through the Jamaica Schools Commission, sought aid from the government to operate the secondary schools. In 1920, amendment of *Law 34 of 1914* paved the way for grants-in-aid to support both endowed and church-managed secondary schools. By 1943, seven of the trust schools, one government school (Cornwall), and one church school were receiving assistance (Table 4). However, the stipulations of the grants prevented them from being evenly distributed. First, the schools, to be eligible, could not be operated for profit. This effectively excluded secondary schools formed by individuals for Black children from elementary schools.

Second, the grants were based on the grade of the school, average attendance, and the level of academic courses offered. A school was classified as Grade I if it had an average attendance of at leas 60 students, prepared at least 10% of them for the Cambridge School Certificate Examination, and offered courses leading to the Higher Schools Certificate. A Grade II school that received a

lower grant was one that maintained an attendance of at least 30 pupils, and prepared students for the Junior Cambridge School Certificate. Teachers in the Grade II level schools were less qualified than their Grade 1 counterparts and not prepared to teach the Higher Schools Certificate curriculum. It was therefore difficult for Grade II schools to improve their status.

Third, some schools, concerned that grant-in-aid would allow the government to inspect the schools, set up private fee-paying elementary/preparatory departments that fed the secondary departments. It thus became customary for students to move into secondary schools from the same institution's preparatory division. Few students from the "working class" elementary schools entered these secondary institutions.

Finally, although the elementary schools produced enough pupils to fill the entry-level classes in secondary schools, the regulations of the law allowed the latter to admit only 10% (Miller, 1990, pp. 102, 108). Public funds were thus being used to support secondary education in a manner that failed to benefit those most in need.

The Socio-Economic Milieu (1880-1938)

These developments in Jamaican education took place against a backdrop of poor economic conditions on the island. When sugar prices declined in the 1880s, hundreds of people migrated to the capital, Kingston, in search of employment, or went to Panama to work on the Canal and Railroad projects (Black, 1999; Sherlock & Bennett, 1998). The economic conditions did not improve, and between 1880 and 1920, approximately 150,000 Jamaicans migrated in search of employment (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998). Conditions worsened after the First World War, and became even more severe when the great Depression set in. The resulting lack of jobs in Panama, Costa Rica, Honduras, Cuba, and the United States closed the avenue out of poverty. Restrictions on immigration to these countries also forced many to return home to swell the ranks of the unemployed, especially in the countryside. Unemployed workers moved in droves to the main city and larger towns.

Meanwhile, the Jews and Browns had grown dissatisfied with their second-class status in the society. While they had more privileges than the Blacks, they were not considered socially equal to the Whites. A strong sense of nationalism developed within this group. At the same time,

the dissatisfaction of Black workers, especially on the waterfront and in the sugarcane fields, resulted in the formation of trade unions. According to Sherlock & Bennett, 1998, "the inflow of disaffected, educated, unemployed people from Europe and the United States reinforced the ranks of the proletariat and the radical bourgeoisie, whose leaders were drawn from the Jamaica Union of Teachers, the Jamaica Agricultural Society, and Garvey" (p. 350). The frustrations of these various factions would soon have serious repercussions.

The society was deeply divided into a Black, illiterate, unemployed majority and a well-off, White minority. Clarke's study (as cited in Sherlock & Bennett, 1998) reported:

> In 1943 fewer than 2.5 per cent of the blacks in Kingston had received or were receiving secondary education . . . colored men had achieved much greater success than blacks in obtaining white collar jobs in the civil service and the professions and in acquiring artisan and technical skills. (p. 65)

There was an obvious link between poverty and educational opportunity. Although a few blacks had become solicitors, doctors, teachers and other professionals, most of them were employed as semi-skilled or unskilled workers, or were unemployed. The educational system "barred the way to vertical mobility and neglected even those areas for which

it was supposed to fit the people: craftsmanship and the mechanical trades" (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998, p. 353).

High school leavers were of course affected by the high unemployment in the general population. The Director of Education attributed the high rate of unemployment among school leavers to the grant-in-aid scheme started in 1920. In the *Annual and Department Reports*, *1936* (as cited in Miller, 1990) he argued too many secondary graduates were being produced, many "without having reached a sufficiently high standard of education to warrant employment in any important capacity."

At that time, only 1.3% of the secondary school age population of 255,871 was enrolled in school (Jamaica Government, *Census of Jamaica, 1943*). Nevertheless, the Director of Education recommended that rural secondary schools be reorganized to operate along vocational lines Moreover, he expressed the view that Black males in these secondary schools were wasting their time pursuing academic education in an attempt to avoid employment in agriculture or as an elementary school teacher (Miller, 1990). The affected schools were those that most Black elementary students entered--Rusea's, Titchfield, Manning's, Beckford and Smith's, and Manchester. In sum, far from expansion of

students' access to secondary school education, the period saw systematic attempts to erode the Black majority's access to that level of education.

Across the island, worker dissatisfaction and frustration with the lack of social progress eventually culminated in widespread riots in 1938 (Black, 1999; Jamaica Government, 1936, 1938). The Royal Commission of Enquiry (Moyne Commission) set up to investigate causes of the rebellion in 1938, made education a focal point. It asked S. A. Hammond, a former Director of Education, to evaluate the educational system and to suggest how it could assist in solving the problems that had caused the 1938 unrest. Hammond, in his report, recommended that secondary education be curtailed as it exacerbated middle class unemployment, and that elementary education, adult literacy and vocational education should be emphasized (Hammond, 1941, p. 116). The recommendations mirrored the views of the ruling elite and had the support of the colonial administrators (Jamaica Government, 1938), but did little to ameliorate the dissatisfaction of masses of the people.

The unrest in the latter part of the 1930s had however, resulted in significant political changes. A new constitution was put in place enabling adults to vote.

Blacks, with political power shifting in their direction, demanded greater access to education. This forced the government to assess the adequacy of the current education system to meet future demands. The system in 1943 was actually two operating parallel to each other, for separate segments of the society, and directed by separate administrations.

1. The Department of Education supervised the elementary school/teachers colleges that catered to the main groups in the society - Blacks and Indians. Tuition was mostly free and the curriculum emphasized literacy, numeracy, and vocational skills.

2. The Jamaica Schools Commission controlled the preparatory school/high school system that provided education to those of a lighter shade--Whites, Browns, Jews, Syrians, Lebanese and Chinese, for a fee.

The dissatisfactory state of operations and achievements of the island's secondary schools continued, prompting the government to enlist outside expertise to launch another inquiry into secondary education.

The Kandel Report

In 1943, Professor Isaac Leon Kandel of Teachers' College, Columbia University, was invited to chair a Commission to investigate secondary education, curriculum, staffing, the integration of secondary education with elementary and tertiary education, and employment opportunities for secondary graduates in Jamaica. Professor Kandel had a distinguished career in education. He was educated in England through elementary and secondary schools and graduated from the University of Manchester with an MA degree. He taught in England and in Ireland before going to Columbia University for postgraduate study. Later, he taught at Teachers College of Columbia University and became a specialist on the staff of the Carnegie Foundation in New York. He became a professor at the University in 1913.

Kandel joined local educators such as B. H. Easter, the Director of Education who served as deputy chairman of the Commission, the staff of the Education Department, and representatives of the Board of Education and the Schools Commission. Although the Committee was appointed to enquire into secondary education, it considered all stages of the system from primary to higher. The resulting *Report of the*

Committee Appointed to Enquire into the System of Secondary Education in Jamaica, 1943, commonly referred to as The *Kandel Report*, accomplished three things. It examined the existing idea of the purpose and aim of education, laid a pattern for the future, and indicated the proper relationship between education and society, outlining policies with suggestions on how they might be achieved (Jamaica Government, 1946).

Kandel identified and discussed several issues that needed to be reformed:

1. Compartmentalization of administration

Elementary education was controlled by a Board of Education, secondary education by the Secondary Schools Commission, technical education by an Advisory Committee, and agricultural education divided between several departments (Paragraphs. 8, 9, 28, 29, 32, 49, 61, 62). Kandel believed unitary administration would reduce the divisiveness present in the educational system. "for only in this way can the compartmentalisation and segregation of the different levels and types of education can be avoided and the necessary articulation between them be promoted" (Paragraph 9).

2. No proper articulation between elementary and secondary education

The primary and secondary systems were distinctly separate:

> There is no proper articulation between elementary and secondary education. Pupils may enter secondary schools from private schools, preparatory schools, or public elementary schools at varying ages, or they may receive their pre-secondary education in the junior forms of secondary schools. From a point of view of policy, therefore, there is no semblance of a systematic integration of schools at different levels. (*Kandel Report*, Paragraph 36)

3. Elementary school children viewed unfavorably

Some in the society disapproved of efforts to integrate the elementary and secondary systems, as they deemed elementary students "unfit to profit by secondary education" (Paragraph 26). They based their disapproval on their belief that the quality of education in that segment was poor, and that students entering the secondary schools were too old to be placed in classes with younger children (Paragraph 26). Kandel said the complaints pointed to the "importance of establishing a close integration between the elementary and secondary education on the one hand, and to the necessity of examining what is meant by the statement

that pupils are unfit for secondary education "(Paragraph 60).

4. Secondary education for status and class

Jamaica's secondary educational system, like others worldwide, had developed for a privileged group. However, Kandel asserted, "in the current thought on secondary education … absence of any suggestion that the privileges of secondary education should be limited to a selected class or group" (Paragraph 107).

5. Increasing the number of preparatory schools

To meet the demand for secondary education by the masses, some critics of articulation of elementary and secondary education proposed more preparatory schools. Kandel rejected this notion on the grounds that this would exclude those unable to pay fees, and lead to further class distinction. He was of the opinion that "as already proved in many other countries . . . such a solution would deprive the country of the opportunity of discovering abilities and talents which are not confined to any one social group" (Paragraph 26).

6. Parents' ability to pay should not be the determining factor for receiving secondary education

The State should provide secondary education that caters to varying capabilities of adolescents, and not parents' economic standing (Paragraph 100).

7. Integration of Post-primary schools

Although there was one technical school, one agricultural school and several trade training centers offering vocational education, secondary education was largely academic. Kandel advocated integration of these branches (Paragraph 63, 118, 127, 128).

8. Irrelevance of the curriculum

The University of Cambridge Examinations syllabus was the curriculum of the secondary school, but the content was largely unrelated to the students' experiences (Paragraphs 81, 91, 92). He cited the fear of many in the society that adapting the curriculum to the island's culture would make the former too narrow:

> This fear is not only unwarranted but arises out of a failure to understand that education, if it is to have meaning in the lives of pupils, must start in the environment in which they live and expand in ever-widening circles - the family, the community, the nation, the world. (Paragraph 93)

9. External examinations accorded too much importance

The examinations also tested a curriculum that was alien to the experiences of the pupils (Paragraph 81).

10. Prevailing aims of secondary education in Jamaica were no longer appropriate for the growing diverse school population.

A wider definition of secondary education was needed, rather than it being "associated with a somewhat rather narrow range of subjects" (Paragraph 101). Worldwide, several factors had impacted the nature of secondary education: increasing enrollment of students of diverse backgrounds, interests and abilities; the realization that education should be adapted to cultural conditions; and the focus of modern psychology on individual differences and principles of learning (Paragraph 100). The report raised the following questions:

1. Does secondary education succeed in turning out young men and women intelligent and informed about the social, economic, and political tasks for which they all have some responsibility in a democracy?
2. Has secondary education produced men and women who have an understanding and an appreciation of the form of government under which they live?
3. Have schools succeeded not only in developing recognized standards of achievement but also in cultivating interests which will be pursued in after-school life?

4. Have schools equipped their pupils with high moral standards and a sense of social duty?
5. Are the products of secondary education not only more intelligent, but healthier, happier, and better equipped for life? (Paragraph 101)

11. Reform of the system of grant-in-aid

The practice of having different rates of pay for teachers in Grade I and II schools was unjustified and unfair. Such classification, based on the number of pupils in attendance, worked to the advantage of larger schools (Paragraph 72).

12. Secondary school teachers

In Kandel's view, the secondary school system in 1943 was too small to warrant the establishment of a special institution for teacher preparation. Kandel suggested (a) continuation of the practice of hiring teachers from England, and (b) sending local teachers abroad to earn degrees and professional training (Paragraph 168, p. 20). He recommended that the remuneration of teachers be increased. "The work of teachers, . . . transcends the traditional idea of imparting knowledge; it is concerned with the development of human beings for the world in which they are to live and which they are to serve" (Paragraph 169). In order to advance their status and achieve better

working conditions, Kandel recommended that teachers work through their professional organizations to improve educational development (Paragraphs 169, 170).

The report made 31 recommendations, one directed to the Colonial Office Commission, and 30 to the Jamaica Government. Some of the main recommendations were:

1. There should be one controlling body for education.
2. In order to facilitate smooth transition from the primary to the secondary school there should be a common entrance examination, taken at about age 11.
3. The secondary school curriculum should be more concerned with the needs of the society.
4. All private schools should be registered and made subject to inspection by the Department.
5. There should be improved education and preparation of teachers.
6. In the interest of more appropriate training, Mico and Shortwood colleges should be amalgamated and rurally located, preferably near an institution of agricultural education.
7. There should be a scholarship scheme for intending secondary school teachers.
8. Provision should be made for the continuing education of teachers in-service.
9. The improved remuneration of teachers should be seriously considered.
10. Teachers' associations should direct their attention to the formulation of plans for educational development, and to enlightening the public of these plans. (Paragraph 188)

It is apparent that Kandel, in making his recommend-ations was influenced by the models of secondary education

operating in both the United States and the United Kingdom, especially the Junior Secondary model of Scotland (Kandel Report, paragraphs 65, 102, 103, 105, 106). Thus, he remarked:

> Primary education should normally be completed by pupils between the ages of eleven and twelve, when they would be advised to enter that type of school most appropriate to their interests and abilities as revealed up to that time. Since no scheme of examinations or objective tests has yet been devised which can determine these interests and abilities accurately at this early age, opportunity must be provided for transfer from one type of post-primary school to another. This is what is meant by Sir Graham Balfour's statement that it is the function of administration to provide "the right education for the right pupil under the right teacher", or by it's American equivalent that the function of administration is "to discover what a pupil can do and help him do it." This is the plan of Educational Reconstruction proposed in the White Paper of the English Board of Education; this was the tendency in France and other countries before the war; this is the practice in the United States. (Paragraph 65)

He continued to define secondary education:

> an important change which is taking place is the gradual abandonment of the notion that secondary education is selective and the acceptance of the ideal of secondary education as the continuation of elementary, or better, primary education. This is what is implied in the movement for secondary for all, but just as soon as this idea as recognised, it was found necessary to revise the concept of secondary education and to define it as that education which is appropriate to the needs, interests and abilities of adolescents. This concept was well expressed in the statement by Sir Graham Balfour, quoted earlier, that the function of educational administration is to provide the right education for the right pupil under the right teacher. The problem of secondary education is thus no longer concerned with selection but with

> the distribution of education. In turn this means that academic education is only one type of secondary education and that other types must be developed of a more practical nature without being vocational. (Paragraph 102)

Kandel referred to several reports recently published on the aims of secondary education and quoted from The Scottish Schools Proposals for Reconstruction issued by the Educational Institute of Scotland (1943):

> Too often in the past the object of the school has been mainly to achieve for the pupils a social status higher than that of his parents, . . . the school has been too academic in outlook and technical education has been neglected. The Junior Secondary School has not had the status of the school offering the academic course, and as a consequence, the cultural life, as well as the industrial life, of the community has been impoverished. In the future we must realise that children come to school not merely to acquire knowledge but to be taught how to live, and we must face the fact that only through a more practical education and a greater use of co-operative activities will the great majority of our pupil be enabled to find their true selves and to play their parts later as workers and citizens. (Paragraph 103)

Although Kandel did not refer to the *Cardinal Principles* Report by name, elements of this document were evident in his report on secondary education in Jamaica. He clearly supported the progressive ideas presented in the 1918 Report, and the idea of educational opportunity and unity through diversity that could be achieved in the comprehensive high school. Thus, he pointed out that the change in the school population, the increasing diversity,

called for a wider definition of secondary education (Kandel Report, Paragraph 100). Education needed to be more meaningful and related to students' experiences. "Education, if it is to have meaning in the lives of the pupils, must start with the environment in which they live and expend in ever-widening circles--the family, the community, the nation, the world" (Paragraph 93).

He stressed that all classes of students should have the privilege of secondary education (Paragraphs 107, 114), and inability to pay should not exclude some children (Paragraph 26). He pointed out that skills and talents were found in all social groups, and excluding some from school would deprive the country of the opportunity of discovering these talents (Paragraph 26). Secondary education was the continuation of primary education, and that in addition to academic education, other types must be developed of a more practical nature without being actually vocational (Paragraph 102). While Kandel suggested that there be different types of post-primary schools for different abilities and levels of achievement, he nevertheless stressed that the programs in the early grades (ages 12-15) be similar in all the schools, with specialization in the latter grades (Paragraphs 107, 120). Further, he advocated that transfer from one type of school to another be

possible according to emerging capabilities and performance of the students (Paragraph 120).

Finally, it is clear that Kandel had in mind the *Cardinal Principles'* seven main objectives of education from the defining questions asked about secondary education (p. 13). Questions 1 and 2 that queried whether (a) secondary education produced men and women "intelligent and informed about the social, economic, and political tasks for which they all have some responsibility in a democracy", and (b) "who have an appreciation of the form of government under which they live", obviously were influenced by the "Citizenship" objective of the Cardinal Principles. The objectives of 'Command of fundamental processes" and "Vocation" were reflected in Question 3, and "Ethical character" in question 4, while question 5 sought "Health" and "Worthy use of leisure." Therefore, although Kandel did not explicitly advocate the comprehensive high school as a solution to the problems facing secondary education in Jamaica, his recommendations indicated he favored the model.

Miller (1990) summarized the broad policy directions for secondary education indicated by the recommendations of the Kandel Report:

1. A unitary system of secondary educational administration. All levels and types of education should be brought under a single policymaking and administrative machinery.

2. Secondary education would be conceived as education for adolescence, a stage of human development and not for a social class.

3. All children would receive a common program of primary education, whether in public elementary or private preparatory schools, and this would terminate at age 11 or 12 years.

4. Primary education would terminate with all children being assessed through tests of English, mathematics, general knowledge and general intelligence which would determine the particular type of post-primary school they would attend.

5. There would be different types of post-primary schools catering to different abilities and levels of achievement. The programmes in the early grades covering ages 12-15 would be similar in the different schools. Specialization would take place in the latter grades. Transfer from one type of school to another would be possible, as dictated by the emerging capabilities and performance of the students in the programmes in which they had been actually placed.

6. There would be a program and system of career guidance.

7. The curriculum of the school would be related to Jamaican life and examined on a school basis. External examinations would be abolished.

8. Post-primary education would be based on the abilities of students and their aptitudes, and not on their parents' abilities to pay fees.

9. Educational provisions at the post-primary level would be expanded to provide greater opportunities (Miller, 1980, pp. 144-145).

The *Kandel Report* was a departure from the Jamaica School Commission and Hammond Reports in that policy to be implemented would affect children from the upper and lower

classes equally: elementary school children would have access to secondary schools, and children of the upper classes could be assigned to vocational schools. Admission to secondary school would now be based on ability and aptitude, not on social class or financial status. Although the system was still selective, it was a move forward.

The report was generally well received by the local press. According to Day (1989), "*The Times* hailed it as marking the beginning of a new chapter in the history of local education, and *The Daily Gleaner* terming it a monumental and masterly document which should be read by every thinking person in the island" (p. 7C). Educators wholly endorsed the report. Day (1989) himself considered it "a timely and forward-looking report which was destined to provide expert guidance in the future development of education" (p. 7C). Fowler, (1950) commented, "The Kandel report remains the finest and fullest statement on the type of education we need." During 1943 and 1944, educators and interested groups such as PTAs, and the Jewish Literary Society held seminars to discuss the *Kandel Report* on Secondary Education. In spite of this interest, seven years later, in 1950, only one recommendation, the question of providing university education, had been implemented.

Nevertheless, the report provided the basis of the reforms introduced in 1957.

The Easter Committee Report

In 1944, a change in the Constitution gave the country Representative Government, replacing the Crown Colony status that dated from the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865. A new Minister of Education was appointed, but the new administration made no attempt to adopt the reforms proposed by Professor Kandel. Instead, the Governor appointed a committee chaired by the Director of Education, B. H. Easter, to re-examine the recommendations, suggest modifications, and devise plans to bring about the reforms). The committee's report, *A Plan for Post-Primary Education in Jamaica* (Jamaica Government, 1946), covered the following areas: administrative reform, reorganization of the school system, entry to post-primary schools, curriculum reorganization, bases for grant-in-aid and grants, and recommendations for teachers' salaries. The Easter Committee accepted most of Kandel's suggestions as policy, but disagreed with the abolition of external examinations, the merging of Mico and Shortwood colleges into a co-education institution relocated in a rural area, and the opinions regarding Religious and Moral Education.

The Kandel and the Easter Post-Primary Plans differed on several points:

1. The common entrance examination that was recommended at the end of primary education to determine the kind of post-primary school a child attend would be used as a selection test for entry into high school. There were a limited number of spaces, so only those who performed exceptionally well would gain entrance.
2. The traditional high school education would be expanded. However, for most of the children, those living in rural Jamaica, secondary education would be offered in pre-vocational schools with academic streams, in keeping with Hammond's recommendations. The aptitudes and abilities of these children would not be determining factors of the kind of secondary education they received. They would not have the option of attending a traditional high school.

The pre-vocational schools, the Senior and Central schools, would be modeled after the Senior Modern Schools of England and the Junior Secondary Schools of Scotland. The Senior Modern School model had basically a vocational curriculum, with a few academic subjects added. The colonial administrators were perhaps following Hammond's (1941) recommendations to focus on elementary education and on technical and vocational training aspects of secondary education. Academic secondary education would be reserved for a few students who received high scores on the common entrance examination. In contrast, Kandel had recommended that secondary education be post-primary: available to all adolescents and catering to all aptitudes, with a common

examination that would be taken at the end of primary education to determine placement into a post-primary facility (*Kandel Report*, 1943). Under the Easter *Plan for Post-Primary Education*, the education of the British working class was to be imposed on the working class of Jamaica, just as the Jamaica Schools Commission had imposed the grammar school education of the British middle class on the local middle class. The introduction of the Senior Modern School continued the very practice Kandel had strongly criticized--that of borrowing educational ideas from Britain and applying them, with no modification, to the local situation (*Kandel Report*, 1943).

In the late 1940s, Jamaica's educational system remained unresponsive to the needs of the majority of its citizens, ill-preparing them for success in the increasingly technological post-war economy. Only 2% of children from the lower classes were entering secondary schools (Miller, 1990, p. 271), and only 8% of all students were receiving education at this level.

Woolcock (1984) argued that those in power and those with vested interests understood the connection between control over education and the control and organization of the society, and used it to their advantage (pp. 55-56). In a study of reforms of high schools during the period 1940-

1962, he concluded that by controlling access to education, power in the society would remain the domain of a few, and the old hierarchical social order would be maintained. He theorized that while acknowledging the need for more educated workers, the ruling classes believed that those in the lower strata of society, those attending the elementary schools, should be directed to agriculture and the trades, not to academic education.

Woolcock's conclusions supported the theory put forward by Spring (1993) that, "Schools can be used to control others by distributing knowledge that builds allegiance to ruling elites and convince individuals to accept their subordinate positions" (p. 26). Thus, it is not surprising that the model of secondary education offered to the lower classes in *A Plan for Post-Primary Education, 1946* was the Senior Modern (post-elementary) school, introduced over a decade earlier in England for children of the working class.

Changing Conditions in the Society

During and after World War II, expansion in the global manufacturing sector brought about economic growth and an increase in the standard of living in developed countries. As Beckford & Witter (1982) further explained:

> War stimulates a capitalist economy, so long as its principal trading links remain intact, and so long as the war is fought in another country . . . War dictates military expenditures which create demand for the necessary goods--especially weapons, food, transport, medicine. In this sense, war is good for capitalism, especially when it's faced with a crisis of stagnation or recession because of insufficient demand for the output of the economy. (p. 56)

The booming wartime economy, not surprisingly, raised the general social and economic aspirations of many of the masses. As a result, the post-war era was characterized by a sharp increase in the demand for secondary education. In 1945, the educational systems in the developed countries were highly differentiated and selective. Almost all practiced school segregation based on social class, reserving the best educational opportunities for children of the upper and middle classes. With the end of the war, however, most of these countries had begun to replace their highly differentiated, selective secondary educational system with more comprehensive or democratic and accessible ones, as discussed in the previous chapter (Fowler, 1995). The post-war boom had brought about an increase in the standard of living and a subsequent demand for more education. At the same time, there was an increased awareness of the need for equity in education.

In the less developed countries such as Jamaica, the end of World War II also brought industrial diversification

and manufacturing (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1956, p. 717; Jefferson, 1972). There was an inflow of American and Canadian capital to mine bauxite and expand tourism (Beckford & Witter, 1982, p. 66). Bauxite, the ore used to produce aluminum, was found on the island in 1868, but commercial extraction did not begin until the early 1940s (Black, 1999). Later, the Korean War and the space exploration program further stimulated the demand for aluminum.

During this period, the inflows of foreign capital into Jamaica brought American banks to join the British and Canadian ones, the establishment of "modern" manufacturing plants, and tremendous growth in the tourism industry (Beckford & Witter, p. 66). The period was also characterized by a push for full independence from Britain and the general scaling down of colonial structures. Many of the British expatriates in the Civil Service, schools, banks, and other institutions left the island, leaving their posts to the filled by the locals. The "socially White" (Jews, Lebanese) and Brown middle classes who had the necessary educational credentials moved into these administrative and management positions, leaving the lower level clerical, service, and menial jobs to the Blacks (p.

68). New urban working class groups and social strata resulted.

The post-war era in Jamaica was further characterized by sharp declines in peasant-based agricultural production. Such production, largely carried out on small holdings, declined dramatically for several reasons: decreasing availability of land, migration of peasants to the cities, and the low status accorded to working on the land for meager returns. The growth of the bauxite and tourism industries increased the displacement of peasants from the land. Those who had land sold it and migrated, mostly to Britain, but the land-less moved into the towns and major cities such as Kingston, swelling the ranks of the unemployed and forming urban slums. Migration, in sum, returned as a solution to unemployment, as it had been in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Although the 1950s were years of economic boom in Jamaica, the wealth created did not benefit the majority of the society. The upper strata of the society shared the resulting profits, while the masses of the people continued to face high unemployment, low wages, and dwindling land. The growth in the manufacturing and tourism sectors demanded a workforce more versed in practical and vocational skills. However, schools were not exposing

pupils to such skills. Moreover, most Jamaicans in the post-war era did not seek training in these areas. Instead, they sought academic education, which in Jamaican society remained the key to economic and social power.

Summary

Social, political, and economic forces in the society have shaped Jamaica's educational system. Turner (1975), aptly described the early system:

> The educational system in Jamaica was established by the ruling class and supported by the influential higher classes and the church, in the hope of attaining a few simple objectives--the development of a society based on Christian ethics, the production of a people respectful of private property and of the structures of the empire in which they lived and the accepting of their ascribed role in a hierarchical social system, and the cultivating of the rudimentary skills of literacy and numeracy in sufficient quantities to man the junior positions in civil service and commerce. (p. 416)

In 1944, during World War II, Britain set in motion the transfer of power from the Crown to the people of Jamaica. Nevertheless, the various educational reforms introduced in the post-war, post-colonial era continued to reflect the patterns of the mother country, and while the educational system expanded, inequality of access to the secondary level persisted. The *Kandel Report* of 1943 was a significant departure from this trend as it recommended equal access to secondary schools for all classes. While

the *Kandel Report* did not specifically mention or endorse the comprehensive model, elements mirror the themes found in the *Cardinal Principles* Report. Although, initially only one recommendation was carried out (university education in 1948), the introduction of the Common Entrance Examination 1957 was to have significant impact on the educational system in Jamaica.

CHAPTER 4

EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN JAMAICA SINCE WORLD WAR II

This chapter provides an overview of the educational policies formulated and implemented by the Government of Jamaica from the post-Colonial years to the present. The policies are examined in the light of the government's response to the changes taking place in the local arena and the world. As discussed previously, in the period after World War II, during the late 1940s and 1950s, Jamaica experienced significant economic growth similar to that which occurred in developed nations. However, this growth did not bring economic relief to the masses of the people as it had done in Europe. Stakeholders in the society, cognizant of the fact that the newly created jobs required a more educated labor force, put forward their solutions to the problems facing secondary education (Allen, 1950; Carrington, 1950; Durrant, 1950; Houghton, 1950; Hughes, 1950; King, 1950; Livingstone, 1950; Marson, 1950; Parkin, 1961). One of the most vocal was Edwin Allen, politician and educator, who championed the comprehensive high school for all secondary education. (Allen's contribution is treated in detail in Chapter 5.) In spite of these efforts,

no major secondary or post-primary developments took place until 1957).

Reform in the Post-Colonial Period

The introduction of Crown Colony government in 1865 had transferred power from the white minority in the island to the Crown. In 1944, during World War II, Britain set in motion the transfer of power that eventually took place in 1962, from the White-Brown Crown to the predominantly Black population. Jamaica was granted representative government with a constitution that provided for universal adult suffrage and an elected majority in the legislature, although the Colonial Office still had the final word. Two political parties emerged during this period: the People's National Party (PNP) and The Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). A ministerial system of government with a Chief Minister was introduced in 1953. Elections held in 1954 resulted in a change of government. In 1958, the island gained full internal self-governing status and in 1962 became an independent sovereign nation. During this transition period, as nationalistic fervor grew and the political parties developed, education rose high on the agenda. Several reforms were attempted, beginning with *A Ten-Year Development Plan for Jamaica, 1947-1957*, but the one that

had the greatest impact on the educational system was the Common Entrance Examination.

A Ten-Year Plan of Development for Jamaica, 1947-1957

After World War II, the post-Colonial government incorporated some of the ideas contained in *A Plan for Post-Primary Education, 1946* into its *Ten-Year Plan of Development for Jamaica, 1947-1957* (Jamaica Government, 1947). The main thrust of the latter was to place as many children as possible in post-primary schools. Some, through a system of selection would be given the opportunity to attend high schools, but the majority would receive vocational training in other post-primary schools. The Plan also recommended grants and grants-in-aid for secondary schools, loans for expansion of secondary schools, and the establishment of central schools.

Many of the proposed reforms were not actually carried out, but in 1950 the Government did implement Kandel's recommendation that there should be one controlling body for education (Jamaica Government, 1943, p. 3). *A Ten-Year Plan of Development for Jamaica* united the Board of Education that controlled primary education and the Secondary Schools Commission into the Central Education Authority, headed by a Supervising Officer. The Director of Education became the Vice-Chairman, and the Minister of

Education the Chairman of the new Education Authority. The 24 members of the Authority represented individuals from all levels of the educational system: the Department of Education, the Government, the Jamaica Union of Teachers, the University (College) of the West Indies, elementary and secondary schools, teachers' colleges, churches, and the public (Miller, 1990 p. 152). The *Ten-Year Plan of Development for Jamaica* drafted by the Authority contained provisions for interest-free loans to secondary schools, grants-in-aid for secondary schools, and the building of secondary schools. However, few of the reforms were implemented and the problems remained in the educational system. During this period, the educator and politician, Edwin Allen, in speeches and in weekly articles in *The Sunday Gleaner* repeatedly stated the case for the comprehensive high school. He viewed the institution as the ideal form of post-primary school for providing young people with secondary education, and preparing them to take their place in the changing society. (Allen's contribution is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.)

The ministerial system of government began in 1953 and elected representatives of the government were appointed. Ministers were given full portfolios. In the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, the Supervising Officer, who

had replaced the Director of Education, became the Permanent Secretary (PS) or executive head (Goulbourne, 1988, p. 46). The new Minister of Education, Edwin Allen, introduced no significant reforms in his short tenure, for elections held in the following year resulted in a change of government.

A National Plan for Jamaica, 1957-1967

In 1955, the new PNP government launched a program of education reforms, called *A National Plan for Jamaica, 1957-1967*. The plans for secondary education reform more resembled *A Plan for Post-Primary Education* formulated by the Easter Commission, than the recommendations of the *Kandel Report*, as it included many elements such as large post-primary schools (Senior and Central schools) for 11-15 year olds (Jamaica Government, 1957). The following paragraph clearly demonstrated this:

> There will be three main types of post-primary schools and as far as possible they will be made available to children in accordance with their abilities and aptitudes. These are as follows:
>
> (a) Secondary schools of the ordinary type;
>
> (b) Other post-primary schools and departments attached or specially related to elementary schools;
>
> (c) Secondary Technical Schools, Practical Training Centers and the Jamaica School of Agriculture. (Jamaica Government, 1957)

The plan recognized the need for democratizing secondary education, and the need to prepare for the expansion of facilities for secondary education. Thus, it stated:

1. Educational opportunities provided by the Government should be open and available to all on a basis of genuine equality.
2. Every child between the ages of 7 and 11 should obtain a primary education.
3. Educational opportunities should be provided, to the fullest extent of finances, to children who possess special abilities in order to meet, from the resources of the country, the needs of the community for trained people in industry, agriculture and farming, trade, commerce and the professions (p. 38).

The secondary and post-primary educational reform included:

1. The expansion of secondary education by enlarging existing facilities, building new ones, and offering grant-in-aid to other existing secondary schools.
2. Introduction of a common entrance examination to select students for the secondary schools.
3. The award of 2,000 free places annually, based on the results of the Common Entrance Examinations.
4. The establishment of Post-Primary departments in All-Age schools.
5. The building of large Post-Primary schools for children in the 11-15 age group.
6. The expansion of secondary technical schools and practical training centers.
7. The recruitment of graduate teachers from abroad to meet the immediate demands of the expanded high schools.
8. The award of 50 scholarships annually to the University of the West Indies to persons willing to teach, to obtain degrees and, possibly, post-graduate diplomas (pp. 39-40).

The fundamental principle of the 1957 Plan was to provide equal education for all. The thinking was that provision of universal primary education would drive the demand for secondary education. However, the Plan, as formulated, would prove unable to provide secondary education for all. A single type of secondary school, offering several specializations and fostering individual abilities, would have achieved this goal. Instead, the reforms proposed in the 1957 Plan called for different types of post-primary schools catering to different social classes: academic, grammar high schools for a few, and technical schools and practical training centers for the majority (Jamaica Government, 1957).

The Common Entrance Examination

Prior to the 1957, each secondary school held its own entrance examination. With the introduction of the Common Entrance Examination, each child between the ages of 11 and 12 years was now expected to take a common examination for entry to a secondary school (Jamaica Government, 1958). This was similar to the 11+ examinations in England. It provided 2,000 free spaces, financial assistance to some parents, and opened the doors of secondary schools to children of the poorer classes. However, the number of free

places was not equitably distributed, as awards were granted on the basis of the highest 2,000 scores, without regard for the large percentage of students attending the elementary schools. The middle class preparatory students were at an advantage, since the Common Entrance Examination was a test of first year high school (7th grade) knowledge and not of what the child had learned in the elementary years.

Though the Common Entrance Examination seemed to be fair, as it was based solely on merit, it did not, in fact, significantly benefit poor children from the elementary schools as thought, as it ignored unequal educational opportunities prior to secondary school. According to Nunes (1976), a close look at the 1961 Common Entrance Examinations awards revealed that only 978 (46%) free places were awarded to the 84,000 candidates from primary schools, while 1,155 (54%) were granted to 4,000 entrants from preparatory schools. Analysis of the results in subsequent years yielded similar results (p. 187).

Politically, however, the CEE was a great propaganda tool for the government. Government supporters from the poorer classes were convinced the ruling party was working to provide them with more equal educational opportunities,

while, in fact, the Common Entrance system was perpetuating the inequality in access to education. This inequality in access to secondary education was due to the limited number of places at the secondary levels and the allocation of these places to the different social classes. Nunes (1976) argued:

> Can social justice be substantially increased merely by sharing more equitably what little there is? It seems to us that the critical issue is not only who gets what, but that there is enough for everyone. Unless there are sufficient schools to accommodate all pupils there can be no prospect of social justice in education. Whereas in 1961, only 17,000 of a possible 250,000 enter high school, whatever their social origins, we perpetuate a viciously stratified society by constantly creating a tiny educated elite. An elite ceases to exist when the distinction it enjoys becomes common property throughout the society; the need then is to increase the number of school places at all levels. This requires nothing less than a complete transformation of the entire educational system both in structure and operation. (p. 208)

Overall, the middle class and a small percentage of the lower class gained entrance to the traditional high schools; the urban poor and rural children continued to receive, at best, a narrow post-primary education.

The next 10 years saw curricular changes in some of the grammar secondary schools, as technical, agriculture, and business education courses were added. Following the trend, the Government expanded Kingston Technical School, built in 1896, and upgraded the practical training centers

at Holmwood, Dinthill, and Vere to technical high schools. Two new schools were built: St.Andrew Technical and St. Elizabeth Technical High (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1959, p. 113; Miller, 1990, p. 155). Technical education became an established part of the high school curriculum, making it less academic and more diverse. It is of note however, that the students encouraged to take these subjects were the less academically able.

Reform in the Post-Independence Period

In 1962, Jamaica gained independence from Great Britain and general elections resulted in a change of Government from the PNP to the JLP. The educational policies of the previous government were continued in the *Five-Year Independence Plan, 1963-1968*. The Plan's main provision was satisfying the accommodation and learning needs of pupils in the 7-15 age group (Jamaica Government, 1963). One of the most pressing issues facing the Ministry of Education was the allocation of free places to children who were successful in the Common Entrance Examinations. It had become evident that students who attended the private preparatory schools had a greater chance of gaining a place in a high school than students from the public elementary schools. The new Minister of Education, Edwin Allen,

introduced legislation to make the allotment of the CEE grants more equitable.

The 70/30 System

The government decreed that 70 per cent of the spaces in the secondary schools should be assigned to children of the government primary schools and 30% to those of the private primary or preparatory schools. The decision sparked intense debate among members of the public and educators. Some parents viewed the new system not as an attempt to "level the playing field" but as an attack on their middle class status (Nunes, 1976, pp. 199, 204-205) and a threat to their children's schooling (Day, 1989). Many middle class parents circumvented the 70-30 system by switching their children from private preparatory schools to public primary ones a few months before the examinations (E. Miller, personal communication, January 12, 1999; Miller, 1990, p. 157).

Several scholars have studied the 70-30 system and the access to high school it gave children from different social backgrounds. Their conclusions have been varied. Nunes (1976) believed that from a social aspect, the initiative was successful in redressing the inequality in access. He stated "the government without increasing the

number of scholarships, reallocated them in order that more poor children would benefit from the scholarship system" (p. 211).

Leo-Rhynie (1987) argued that while the government initiative increased access for poorer students, it simultaneously made it more difficult for girls to do so:

> Birth and poverty were not to be barriers but gender and home location could be. Girls had a handicap of 10, and pupils in the Corporate Area had a handicap of 20. Thus, a girl in the urban area had to score 10 points more than a boy in the urban area to get a free place, this girl having to score 30 points more than a boy in a rural area who also got a free place. (p. 6)

Gordon (1991) found that although the CEE initially slowed the inequality, the effect was temporary, and the middle class regained its advantage (p. 205). This reflected that group’s strategy of switching their children to primary schools. Hamilton's (1979) investigation of the link between social status and success in the CEE revealed that even after the 70-30 system, significantly more students from the higher socio-economic groups were gaining CEE scholarships, as against those from the working class groups.

Miller (1990) took a different tack in his assessment. He argued that the 70-30 policy was an attempt by the Minister to maintain his stance as champion of the

poor and dispossessed, rather than a demonstration of genuine concern for increased educational opportunity for the poor (p. 157). He believed the 70-30 proportion could have been achieved naturally if the selection had been based on the results of each parish, rather than nation-wide, given that most of the high schools were concentrated in Kingston (E. Miller, personal communication, January 12, 1999). In 1974, during Miller's tenure as Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, the Government discontinued the 70-30 allocation, when it was shown that entrants from the primary school were securing more than 70% of the places on merit (Leo-Rhynie, 1987; E. Miller, personal communication, January 12, 1999). Nunes (1976) argued that a thorough analysis of the facts would have revealed that the main winners of the free places were children from elite primary schools that enrolled a significant number of well-off children (p. 211).

Although the 70-30 allocation was discontinued, the government continued to give preferential treatment to boys and rural students. Leo-Rhynie (1987) pointed out "Adjustments continued, however, to ensure that boys received approximately equal numbers of places to girls and that rural schools got adequate allocations, despite the poorer performance of children in these areas" (p. 6).

Hamilton & Leo-Rhynie (1984), in exploring the role of gender in secondary education, found:

> The charge that many low-performing boys are given places at the expense of higher-performing girls has been denied by the Ministry of Education (*Daily Gleaner*, 16 March, 1982), but no data have been given to support this denial. (p. 125)

Miller (1986) defended the preferential treatment and suggested that equal numbers of scholarships should be given to boys and girls on the grounds that various pressures in the society were forcing boys to accept their position on the margins of society (p. 5). Although scholars had different views about gender bias in the CEE selection, they agreed that while the percentage of the poor and working class in the high schools had increased, the middle class had benefited the most (Gordon, 1991, p. 205; Woolcock, 1984, p. 91).

Other priorities of the *Five-Year Independence Plan, 1963-1968* included teacher education, secondary, and technical education. Comprehensive schools were proposed on an experimental basis during this period. The government argued that if the experiment with the latter were successful, it would gradually convert existing Senior Schools to Comprehensive or they would build new ones (Jamaica Government, 1963).

The New Deal in Education

Some of the most significant reforms undertaken in education during the Post-Independence era were outlined in *The New Deal in Education for Independent Jamaica* (Jamaica Government, 1966b). It introduced changes in the lending policy of the World Bank that resulted in the largest expansion of the secondary school system in the form of the Junior Secondary school. The thinking among policymakers and lending bodies at that time was that education was a social service and unconnected to economic development. Governments considered borrowing or lending funds for educational purposes unsound policy, and improvements in education were constrained by local budgets. In 1964, this policy was changed when the Educational Planning Mission of UNESCO visited, at the invitation of the Jamaican government. The mission was a precondition for any assistance, and its report became the foundation of a reform initiative, the *New Deal in Education*.

The main thrust of the *New Deal*, outlined in Ministry Paper No. 73, was to provide, by 1980, a school place for every child between the ages of 6 and 15. The lending policy of the World Bank at that time focused on junior secondary education, and the model was the junior secondary school in the United States of America. Fifty Junior

Secondary schools were built, and 16 Senior or All-Age Schools were converted to Junior Secondary schools. Capital funds of the Government of Jamaica (£4.6m) were used to match the funds provided (£3.4m) for the World Bank project.

Academic and technical schools were ignored, but the Junior Secondary schools were to offer a large number of underprivileged children their first taste of secondary education. Junior secondary education for ages 12-15, in grades 7-9 was considered first cycle secondary education that would automatically lead to the second cycle in grades 10-12. It was not meant to be terminal, but ended up being so as no provision had been made for expansion of places in the second cycle schools. Up to that time, this was the largest single school expansion program undertaken in the island. Ironically, although this expanded the opportunity for secondary education, the reform was not seen in this light by the electorate in the 1972 elections, as the measure did not focus on the traditional secondary (grammar) education so highly valued and demanded by the society (Miller, 1990, p. 161). The JLP was swept out of power.

Other Educational Reforms to 1983

Successive administrations introduced reforms that claimed as their goal equity in the secondary education system. Mohammed (1991) contended that the formulation of educational policies in the Caribbean was often not guided by sound educational philosophy (p. 153). According to Stone (1986) this was the case because as competitive parties sought to court support from the electorate, they often based their decisions on political expediency rather than intrinsically educational goals. Earlier, Nunes (1976) had pointed out that in Jamaica, the climate of political competition resulted in policies formulated according to what is politically correct. "Policies are designed in order to mobilize support for the party and not the country" (p. 210). It is therefore not surprising that few have been completely successful or acceptable, although the last three measures enjoyed significantly high levels of success. These attempts are discussed in the following sections.

The Free Education Policy of 1973

This policy was embodied in the PNP’s *Educational Thrust of the Seventies, 1972-77* and granted tuition-free education to the tertiary level (Jamaica Government, 1973). This was idealistic and impractical for a poor country. It

could not be called "policy", as the government had not formulated a plan. The Prime Minister felt his Budget Speech to Parliament lacked luster, and so or impact made his announcement. His Cabinet was as surprised as the rest of the nation (L. Lindsay, personal communication, February 10, 1999). The Opposition representative for Education, Edwin Allen, was so overwhelmed with joy, he crossed the floor to shake the Prime Minister's hand (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1973, p. 94).

New Secondary Schools

The addition of grades 10 and 11 to existing Junior Secondary schools by the PNP in 1973, created New Secondary schools (Ministry of Education, 1973). Theoretically, the number of secondary school places was increased, and the term "secondary", suggested that high school places had increased. This was misleading, as the quality of education offered in these schools was questionable. Brown (1995) in a tracer study of graduates of Jamaica's secondary schools reported that employers found graduates of New Secondary schools and vocational schools to be the least prepared for the world of work. The public did not embrace the concept of the New Secondary schools. Their strong vocational bias meant they were seen as catering largely to the working class. Parents resented sending their children to these

institutions, which they viewed as elementary schools masquerading as secondary.

Other critics thought it a political ploy of the government so it could claim it had expanded secondary education. Certificates from these institutions had low social currency, as neither the general public nor employers valued them (Miller, 1990; Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993; UNESCO Report, 1983). Nevertheless, the government increased the number of New Secondary schools during the 1970s and early 1980s. The number of traditional Secondary High Schools did not increase and the technical, comprehensive and vocational schools remained at six, two and five, respectively, during the same period.

Integration of Programs

Special schools for the disabled, the community colleges, and adult literacy programs were integrated into the formal education system.

Curriculum Reform

Much-needed curriculum reform was implemented in the form of the Curriculum Development Thrust (CDT). The major aim was to reform the curriculum content of all subjects, and introduce the methodology for teaching an integrated curriculum, but several shortcomings hindered effective implementation.

Teacher Training

An in-service training program for teachers was established, and a three-year program was reintroduced in the teachers' colleges in 1981-1982 to replace the two-year certificate course.

The Five-Year Education Plan, 1978-1983

The Five-Year Education Plan provided for the assimilation of the extension schools into the traditional high schools (Ministry of Education, 1978). In an attempt to satisfy the ever-growing demand for secondary school places, the traditional high schools had started operating second shifts. All of these students did not enter through the Common Entrance system, but were nevertheless given free education when the second shift was assimilated. As a result of these initiatives, the number of students in high schools increased dramatically. However, this free system did not last long. The worldwide downturn in economic growth, which had started in the 1970s, coupled with the implementation of an IMF structural adjustment program designed to reduce the budget deficit, led to a decline in funding for the educational system. Fees were reintroduced, teacher-training programs terminated, some elementary schools closed, and the education budget severely slashed, almost to 1950s levels. In the 1950's public expenditure on

education as a percentage of Gross national Product hovered around 1.8%, and peaked at 7.7% in 1977-1978. Between 1986 and 1997/1998 it fluctuated between 3.3% and 7% (Planning Institute of Jamaica and Statistical Institute of Jamaica, Various Years).

In 1982, approximately 65% of the population had completed primary school, 17.5% secondary school, and 1.3% tertiary level (Statistical Institute of Jamaica, 1989). Despite the many reforms initiated after decolonization, the educational system remained elitist and only a small percentage of children who were eligible received secondary education. The government identified a number of key critical issues in secondary schooling in Jamaica (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993):

1. Equity--uneven distribution of resources, multiplicity of examinations (due to multiplicity of kinds of secondary schools).
2. Access--only a small percentage of students are able to access secondary education.
3. Quality--a lack of a common curriculum and instructional material for grades 7-9 and a lack of an adequate number of trained teachers.
4. Productivity (Relevance)—only a small number of graduates leave school with the technical competencies needed as basis for the world of work. The level of achievement of students in terminal examinations is low, especially in Language, Mathematics, Science and Technology. Graduates are unprepared for life and the world of work as demonstrated in the poor work ethic, negative

> attitude toward self, others and the country. (pp. 1-2)

These concerns clearly signaled the need for reform. In this vein, in 1983, the Jamaican government and UNESCO carried out a comprehensive study of Jamaica's educational system. The main findings of the survey re secondary education were as follows (UNESCO Survey, 1983):

1. Systematic weaknesses in the primary system
2. Harmful results of having two selection procedures at 11+ (CEE and free flow)
3. Five types of first cycle secondary schools offering a variety of programs, but with little differentiation and limited achievements
4. Disparities in provision per capita among the different types of schools
5. Large number of terminal examinations
6. Graduates not prepared for the world of work
7. Absence of a common curriculum

Some of the shortcomings identified in the UNESCO study included the wide range of programs, entry methods, final examinations and school types that have been in operation in Jamaica (Table 5; Appendices A, C). The secondary system was further confused by the variety of ways in which students moved through the schools:

1. Free flow in Grades 7-11 schools (High, Comprehensive and New Secondary). After selection through the CEE or free flow entry from feeder schools, students move without interruption from Grade 7 to Grade 11 without being required to

qualify to move on, for example from Grade 9 to Grade 10

2. Free flow in Grades 8-11 schools (Technical High Schools). After selection through the Technical High School Common Entrance Examination at the end of Grade 7 or transfer from another school, students go through the Technical Schools uninterrupted.

3. Selection through the Grade 9 Achievement Test. This places students in a Technical high School or a High School at Grade 9 level and they continue through to Grade 11.

4. Selection through the Junior High School Certificate Examination. This has been introduced under ROSE and will replace the Grade 9 Achievement Test. Students move from Junior High Schools or Departments into Grade 10 at other secondary institutions.

Table 5

Range of Upper Secondary Programs, 1995

Program	Entry method	Final exam	Secondary school
General	Through	Primarily CXC	Comprehensive
Academic	CEE	General Prof.& GCE subjects	Traditional, and Technical High
Technical	Through CEE of Technical High Schools	CXC Technical Proficiency & British Tech. Examinations	Technical High Schools
Vocational	Free flow	SSC, JSC & overseas examinations	Comprehensive Vocational, New Secondary

These shortcomings ultimately resulted in the policy changes recently adopted by the government under the

auspices of the Reform of Secondary Education program (ROSE). Central to the ROSE Project are the following objectives:

1. To provide equal access to quality education
2. To enable Jamaican students to become productive citizens
3. To achieve greater equity in the secondary school system to the grade 9 level
4. To improve the quality of education (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993)

Summary

Jamaica gained independence from Britain in 1962. However, the structure of the educational system continued to represent the traditional British system even in 1983. Decolonization, which began in 1944, brought about more than political changes. It created economic changes that made demands on the educational system. The high schools grew in number and the Common Entrance Examination increased the percentage of poorer children in the traditional academic high schools. The number of available spaces in the traditional high schools limited the number of awards, and many qualified students were "failed." The government initially offered post-primary education for the lower classes in senior modern schools, but later administrations created junior secondary and new secondary

schools for those students. Certificates from these schools had low social currency, graduates had difficulty finding jobs and limited opportunities to pursue tertiary education. Essentially, although secondary school places had been expanded, the educational system in 1982 remained dual-track and class-based. Recognizing the shortcomings in the system, the Jamaican government, in 1982, commissioned UNESCO to carry out a study. Its report formed the basis of the initiative to reform secondary education (ROSE).

CHAPTER 5

THE COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOL IN JAMAICA TO 1983

The comprehensive high school model was first introduced into the secondary education system of Jamaica in 1963. The model was initially implemented in 2 schools, but never gained popularity; after 20 years, it was practiced in only 6 schools. This chapter acknowledges the contribution made by the educator, Edwin Allen, towards the development of secondary education in Jamaica. He was years ahead of his peers in recognizing the comprehensive high school as a solution to the problems facing secondary education in the island. The chapter details the implementation of the model in two institutions and its limited dissemination up to 1983.

Introduction of the Comprehensive High School

Given the traditional elitist nature of secondary schooling in Jamaica, it was not surprising that Edwin Allen had few supporters, even among the group he was championing, when he suggested the comprehensive high school as the model for all secondary schools in Jamaica. He considered the comprehensive high school, catering to the needs of students with varying abilities, aptitudes,

social classes and economic backgrounds, the ideal vehicle for equalizing educational opportunity. He was aware of the connection between control over education and the organization of the society, and recognized that this model of secondary schooling would result in a more equitable distribution of power in the society. Yet, many people at all levels of the society believed that unless secondary education was restricted to a few, it would lose its value.

Edwin Allen

Edwin Allen came from a humble background; he was a product of the elementary school system and never attended secondary school. Thus several of his critics accused him of having ulterior motives for wanting to replace the secondary grammar schools with comprehensive schools (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1970, p. 191). Allen continued his education at Mico Training College and the London Institute of Education where he received his B. A. degree when he was in his forties. He was head teacher at several elementary schools, but served the longest (1931-1950) at Leicesterfield School (Allen, 1979; Jamaica Government Hansard, 1984, pp. 41-43). He was actively involved with the various communities in the parish of Clarendon in projects such as land reform and social welfare programs. He entered the political arena in the 1950s.

In Parliament, "Teacher Allen" was a persistent and consistent advocate of his position on comprehensive high schools, even in Opposition (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1956, p. 764). He was accused of being a "one-man band," by those who reportedly "resented Mr. Allen's attempts to foist his ideas on the subject of education on the country" (Jamaica Government, 1961). His colleagues ridiculed him for "pursuing an unattainable dream, living in utopia" (T. Stewart, personal communication, January 11, 1999.)

Although Allen had obtained trappings that should have made him middle-class, namely a degree, he was considered a "lower class ignoramus," a buffoon to be laughed at, never socially accepted. Allen had "forgotten his place." Lecturers at the University and at teacher training colleges, educated in elitist “hallowed halls” of the traditional high schools, reinforced this stereotype and thus helped to strengthen Allen’s unpopularity in the teaching community (L. Lindsay, personal communication, February 22, 1999). The comments of a Member of Parliament, paying tribute to Allen after his death, paint a vivid picture of the relationship between class, schooling and society in Jamaica:

> Teacher Allen was often portrayed in an unfavorable and almost a comical light by vast segments of this

> society…a sort of middle-class elitism was arrayed against the man particularly in the late 1950s. His BA degree, one of the few-- at some stage it was said the first, one of the few--graduates from the local Teacher College system to have studied on his own and gained a Bachelor's degree. The badge of BA became a badge of humour and dishonour. (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1984, p. 43)

Allen was exposed to the comprehensive model of secondary schooling in the late 1940s, while studying for his degree in Britain, and became an avid advocate. In his thesis he attempted to illustrate how he would organize a comprehensive school if one were built in his hometown of Frankfield, in Clarendon (Allen, 1979). On his return to Jamaica, in 1950, he wrote a series of articles for the leading newspaper, *The Sunday Gleaner*, stating the case for the comprehensive high school as a solution to the problems facing secondary education in Jamaica.

On becoming Minister of Education in 1953, with the introduction of the ministerial system of government, Allen quietly began to put into practice his theories of comprehensive secondary schools. He started a series of experiments in rural schools to create in children a love of agriculture, focussing on the practical, rather than exclusively on classroom theory. The aim was to impress on children of small farmers the idea that farming could be a worthwhile and profitable endeavor, if approached in a

scientific manner and on a sufficiently large scale (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1963, p. 314).

During his tenure as Minister of Education from 1953-1955, Allen experimented with preparing senior students in the senior schools (May Pen All-Age, Mico Practicing, Kinston Senior, Central Branch All-Age and All Saints All-Age) for grammar school examinations (Cambridge School Certificate Examinations). The brighter students were transferred, at tenth grade level, to a traditional high school, Clarendon College and Excelsior College, where they excelled in the Senior Cambridge Examinations and the Higher School Certificate Examinations (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1957, p. 300). The students of the experimental classes out-performed the average secondary school pupil (Allen, 1961). Despite these successes, in 1961, while Allen was a member of the Opposition, the Minister of Education decided to discontinue the experiment at the elementary schools. He claimed that the Common Entrance Examination provided ample opportunity for the children of the lower classes to gain entry to secondary schools (Jamaica Government, 1961). Members of the Opposition derided Allen's efforts to prepare senior elementary students for external grammar school examinations. Although the success rate of the students was high, the experiments

were dubbed "quattie and gill", that is, of little value (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1970, p. 376).

In the election campaign of 1962, education reform was high on the agendas of both political parties (the People’s National Party, PNP and the Jamaica Labour Party, JLP). When his party (JLP) was returned to power in 1962, Allen immediately began to implement his ideas for secondary education. During his second tenure as Minister of Education, between 1962 and 1972, he was involved in two major reforms in secondary education: the establishment of Junior Secondary Schools, and the introduction of Comprehensive High Schools. Allen's concern for the expansion of secondary education resulted in him leading a delegation of Ministry officials to UNESCO in 1962. His passionate advocacy at the general conference influenced the agency to send a Planning Mission to Jamaica in 1964. The UNESCO report submitted to the World Bank in 1965 resulted in the first World Bank loan to build educational facilities in the Third World, and formed the basis of a new policy statement and education reform program for Jamaica, the *New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica, 1966*).

The lending policy of the World Bank at that time focused on junior secondary schools, along the lines of the

model operated in the United States. The main goal of the New Deal was therefore to build these schools, recommended over two decades earlier, in order to provide the masses of the people with secondary education (Hammond, *1941; Kandel Report*, 1943; *A Plan for Post-Primary Education in Jamaica, 1946*). Capital funds of the government were used to match the funds of the World Bank program, and little was left for high school expansion, much less to fund the needs of the two experimental comprehensive schools. Allen's own Cabinet did not provide financial support for his ideas on education since neither the July 1962 Budget nor the November 1962 Supplementary Estimates mentioned the comprehensive schools (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1962). Although he was unable to persuade the various constituents of the merits of the comprehensive model of schooling, Allen set about convincing them by building two such institutions.

The Comprehensive Concept

According to Allen, Trench Town and Frankfield Comprehensive Schools were set up "as prototypes to convince the public that this is the best type of school for Jamaica" (Allen, 1979, p. 6). The Minister's original plan had been to convert every Senior School in Jamaica to a Comprehensive Secondary School. However, lack of funds

forced him to pare the program to two schools, one in Frankfield, Clarendon, and another in Trench Town, Kingston (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1963, p. 73). As Frankfield was located in a rural area, its program would emphasize agriculture, and would encompass the "total education concept". This meant that the Comprehensive school would be integrated with primary schools, and with all aspects of the community, including agriculture. The philosophy behind this was that the students would encourage their parents to accept more scientific techniques and methods in agriculture and to co-operate with all the Extension Services (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1963, p. 314). "Students of the school would work on individual and cooperative projects under the direction of a teacher of agriculture, assisted by an area Agricultural Extension Officer. A Coordinating Officer, seconded from the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Development and Welfare, would oversee this area and also assist in integrating school with church; school with welfare activities, including games; school with home development projects; school with handicraft projects etc." (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1963, p. 315). The details of the plans for the two comprehensive schools were tabled in the House of

Representatives on June 4, 1963 ("Ministry Paper tabled in House," 1963).

The Ministry Paper stated the general objectives and principles of Comprehensive Schools, and listed the advantages of this type of school. No fees were to be charged as most of the students were from poor backgrounds. Frankfield would practice The Total Education concept: the school would foster community development through its links with the 4-H Clubs, the Ministry of Agriculture & Lands, and Ministry of Social Development and Welfare. During the first three years, pupils would have great flexibility in the choice of subjects and activities. The schools would be built in phases over a three-year period.

The Ministry Paper emphasized the specifying function of the comprehensive high school, such as providing "opportunities for many late developers to take courses suitable to their aptitudes and interests," and "a wide variety of courses resulting in more adequate adjustment of education to the children's needs." The Paper's statement about the advantage of the comprehensive school-"Promotes cultural unity and an enhancement of the community's general cultural standing"- is the extent of the discussion on the unifying function of the comprehensive high school ("Ministry Paper," p. 12). However, in speeches delivered

in public, and in letters to the newspapers, the Minister of Education stressed what he had initially expressed in 1950, that certain subjects, common to all the courses, would be "common core" subjects.

> These are subjects whose main value is cultural or social, and are not intended to prepare students for any formal examination. They rather prepare for life. Among these may be mentioned music and singing, art, speech, drama, civics, handicraft, agriculture, physical training, homecraft, agriculture, physical training and games, rural studies, sex education, hygiene, Spanish, and co-operatives. (*Daily Gleaner*, June 25, 1950, p. 6)

These subjects resemble those identified in the *Cardinal Principles* report as providing a unifying function (p. 23). They are also similar to the "Common Learnings Course" in general education, suggested by the *Educational Policies Commission* report of 1944 (pp. 271, 275-283).

The plan for comprehensive high schools in Jamaica did not, however, include an equivalent to the Problems of American Democracy course - outlined in the original comprehensive model - in which students would work together, to find solutions to assigned projects and problems. This omission is, on the one hand, significant since among proponents of the comprehensive high school in the United States, this course of study was considered vital for achieving the unifying function (Committee on the

Reorganization of Secondary Schools, 1918, p. 56; Committee on Social Studies, 1916, p. 52).

On the other hand, the omission may be unimportant, for in practice, most American educators interpreted "comprehensive" to mean offering "a variety of programs in order to house a diverse population under a single roof." As such, they focused on providing students with as wide an array of courses as possible (Wraga, 1994, p. 38). In this respect, the comprehensive model outlined by Allen was no different from that operating in the U.S.

The principal of Trench Town Comprehensive ably detailed the operations of the comprehensive high school in Jamaica (Crawford, 1970). He indicated that in the initial stages of comprehensivization, "feeder" schools (primary, all-age, or junior secondary) supplied the junior secondary department of the Comprehensive School with 12+ students and the senior secondary department with some of its 15+ students. The school did not take on the true neighborhood concept of selection on a geographical basis, in that some students are selected from within and outside the area, based on academics (the results of the Common Entrance Examinations). Thus, concept of mixed entry was used. The Comprehensive School offered three distinct programs:

1. Junior secondary for the 12-15 age group (grades 7-9).
2. Senior secondary for the 15+ age group (grades 10-11).
3. Vocational for the 15+ age group.

During the first three years in the junior secondary department, the students were exposed to a wide range of subjects:

> HUMANITIES: English Language, English Literature, Religious Knowledge, Music, and Spanish.
> SOCIAL STUDIES: History, Geography, and Civics.
> SCIENCE: Mathematics, General Science, Biology, Health Science, Chemistry, and Physics.
> TECHNICAL STUDIES: Art, Crafts, Woodwork, Metalwork, Leather-craft, Technical Drawing, Electrical Installation, Cookery, Home-management, and Dressmaking. (Crawford, 1970, p. 14)

In further outlining the blueprint for the comprehensive school, Crawford explained that at the end of 9th Grade (Third Form), students sat for an examination to determine their entry to the senior level of the school. The Comprehensive school maintained a six-stream entry to the Senior Secondary department. The grades or forms were divided on the basis of the different special interests, or on the basis of academic performance. Students chose subjects to examination level that would help them to continue their studies at a higher level, or subjects that would help them to find employment on leaving school.

The courses for examination were in any of three areas or fields, but students had to take at least five subjects:

> 1. Arts Course: English Language, English Literature, Religious Knowledge, Music, Spanish, History, Geography, and Civics
> 2. Science Course: Mathematics, English Language, General Science, Biology, Health Science, Chemistry, Physics, Geography, and Agricultural Science
> 3. Technical Course: English Language, Mathematics, Art, Crafts, Cookery, Home-management, Dressmaking, Woodwork, Metalwork, Electrical Installation, and Civics
> 4. Vocational courses (each of one-year duration):
>   (a) Commercial Practice: Typewriting, Shorthand and Bookkeeping
>   (b) Industrial Arts: Wood- and Leather-craft, Metalwork, Electrical Installation and Auto-mechanics to be introduced later
>   (c) Home Economics: Dressmaking, Cookery, and Home-management.
>   (d) Art and Crafts. (p. 20)

To take a vocational course, a student had to be over 15 years old, show that he had no ability to benefit from the normal courses offered in the senior secondary department, and show some aptitude in a particular manual skill while in the junior secondary department (p. 20).

The Ministry of Education deemed the Comprehensive schools to be equivalent in status to the technical high schools, and would fund them on the same basis. The following items of expenditure would be included: (a) salaries to teaching, clerical, domestic staff and part-time tutors; and (b) expenses for class materials, library and textbooks, food and canteen, maintenance of buildings,

maintenance of grounds, stationery, office supplies, and special expenditures such as new proposals, insurance, and audit fees. Students would not pay fees, only a small annual rental for books (p. 20).

Edwin Allen introduced the comprehensive high school model of secondary education into two widely different communities in Jamaica. Trench Town was an inner city, lower income area of Kingston, and the comprehensive school began operations in the existing Senior School. Frankfield was a quiet rural community in which children had no access to secondary education. Nevertheless, both institutions experienced similar problems as they were established.

Trench Town Comprehensive School

The children living in Trench Town who passed the Common Entrance Examinations (CEE) were assigned to the Comprehensive School. Their parents protested their placement, preferring that they attend the established, recognized secondary high schools. However, when Trench Town Comprehensive School opened its doors in January 1964, about 1,100 students turned up seeking admission. There was only one feeder school in the catchment area, Trench Town Primary, so the additional students came from outlying zones. "Those getting lower passes in the CEE could not get into the traditional high school" (G. Smith, personal

communication, January 19, 1999). Many were turned away as the administration had prepared for only 900. "Many children who could not find places in the traditional high schools came here and developed (their potential) later" (P. C. Crawford, personal communication, March 1999).

Accomodations for this number were cramped as the school had only 11 classrooms. Hence, the library, auditorium, science laboratory, home economics room, industrial arts room, art and craft room, metal and woodwork room, all were utilized as classrooms. There were 30 teachers, so the teacher/pupil ratio per classroom was high, 1:40 as in the senior schools. The students were at first grouped by chronological age, but were later placed in teaching groups according to the results of attainment tests. Prior to the installation of a public address system, communication between the Principal, teachers and the 22 class groups was difficult as the general assembly for daily devotion and announcements could not be held in the auditorium. This building not only housed four classes, but also was small and hot.

The school offered the following subjects: Mathematics, English Language, English Literature, Religious Knowledge, Music, Spanish, History, Geography, Civics, Biology, General Science, Health Science,

Chemistry, Commercial Subjects, Art/Craft, Woodwork, Metalwork, Home Economics, and Physical Education. Extracurricular activities included: Girl Guides, Cadet Corps, Student Christian Movement, Youth Club, 4-H Club, athletics, table tennis, cricket, soccer, and netball. Grade 7 consisted of six streams, 7-1 to 7-6. Students who had passed the CEE were placed in 7-1 and received for the most part, an academic education, although they had to take at least one vocational subject. The academically weakest were put in 7-6, the remedial class (P. C. Crawford, personal communication, March 3, 1999). "At the end of grade 9, students took the JSC Examinations in addition to an internal one to determine whether they were ready to move to the upper secondary level, on to "O" levels. If they didn't pass, they went on to the vocational part (of the school) or left. At that time, there wasn't a total school, as it were. Vocational areas were seen as for those students who were not able to perform academically" (G. Smith, personal communication, January 19, 1999). The staff had a sufficient number of teachers trained in the practical areas (G. Smith, personal communication, January 19, 1999), but the physical plant and equipment were inadequate (P. Crawford, personal communication, March 3, 1999).

Most of the staff members were graduates of the teacher training colleges. Apart from the Principal, Dr. R.C. Gayle (M.Sc., Ed.D.) and the Deputy Head, Mr. P. C. Crawford (B.Sc.), only four of the teachers had university degrees, but this was in keeping with the requirements of the Ministry of Education. The Minister, in outlining the requirements of the comprehensive school, remarked, "Statistics indicate that a comprehensive schooled staffed by carefully selected primary school teachers, strengthened by a few graduates can successfully undertake the programmes outlined below for Frankfield and Trench Town" ("Ministry Paper," 1963). A letter from the office of the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education documents the "impossibility of recruiting staff. . . Trench Town has acquired three of the required four (graduates), and was confident of the fourth, but advertisements have resulted in only one for Frankfield" (*Ministry of Education File G718/02*, December 4, 1963).

When the school officially opened on July 9, 1964, the Principal and several of the teachers had not been confirmed in their posts. In addition, the Principal and Assistant Principal were not being paid in their scales because the school had been incorrectly designated 'Grade B' instead of 'Grade A'. Schools were classified, A, B, C,

or D according to a number of points awarded; the salaries of the Head Teachers were based on these points and on the number of students per school. To encourage teachers to join the staff of the comprehensive schools, the Permanent Secretary suggested primary school Head teachers "come on board one increment ahead of their former position" (*Ministry of Education File* G718/02, November 5, 1963).

Allen took the proposition a step further in his submission to Cabinet. He advised that primary school head teachers be recruited with retention of status and salaries, payment of a pensionable allowance of £50 per annum, and use of the point system. The appointments should be permanent, and the posts they vacate in the primary schools should be filled. He made known his dissatisfaction with the fixed salary of £1,780 to be paid to the Principals of Comprehensive High Schools (Ministry of Education File G718/02). The Financial Secretary in his reply indicated his Ministry did not support the Minister of Education's proposals. He commented:

1. The Primary Head teachers would not be in charge of the schools, so the designation "Head Teacher" should not be retained.
2. Their duties would be those normally carried out by graduate teachers. The Ministry of Finance did not object to a temporary assignment, but required qualifications for a permanent position.
3. There were four grades of Head teachers, and if some of those teachers retained their grades in the

new position, they would end up getting more pay than others for carrying out the same job. Head Teachers should be regarded as 'seconded', and their pay could then be worked out according to grade.

Table 6

Points System of Grading Schools, 1964

Grade of school	Points	Salary
D	(up to 250)	,£1,600
C	251 - 500	1,800
B	501 - 750	2,000
A	(over 750)	2,200

Points were awarded as follows:

1. 1 point for every child
2. 1 additional point for every boarder (at least 30 needed)
3. 2 points for each child in 6th form ('A' Level, at least 10 students)
4. 25 points for co-ed day school (at least 30 of each sex)
5. 50 points for co-ed boarding (at least 15 boarders to each school)

The financial Secretary continued:

If pay is on the point system, on the basis of school population, then the Principal of Trench Town and Frankfield would get the same salary as the Principal of Wolmer's Girls School or Kingston College. The Comprehensive High /school will not have the complexities of a secondary school (Sixth Form, 'A' Levels). So, the pay of Heads of Comprehensive High Schools should be fixed in relation to the heads of Senior Schools. So, as of April 4, 1964:

1. Head Teacher 'A' (over 600 pupils) 1,200x50-1,500

2. Head Teacher 'B' (under 600 pupils0 940x40- 1,100x50 - 1,400
The salaries would be increased by £100 over the proposed maximum scale, based on the existing school population. The salaries would be:

Trench Town Comprehensive £1,600
Frankfield Comprehensive 1,500
(*Ministry of Education File G718/02*, April 29, 1964)

That the Principal of Trench Town Comprehensive had a graduate degree, and was therefore much more qualified than principals of any of the tradition elite grammar schools such as Wolmer's, was not considered. Ministry bureaucrats had scant regard for the Comprehensive school. Indeed, they did not consider it on par with the traditional high or secondary school. To reinforce the distinction, in May 1964, the Permanent Secretary informed the Boards of Frankfield and Trench Town that the two schools had officially been designated "Frankfield High School (Comprehensive)" and "Trench Town High School (Comprehensive)" (*Ministry of Education File* G718/01, May 18, 1964).

In July 1964, the Principal of the school, the Chair of the provisional Board, and a member of the Provisional Board met with the Senior Chief Education Officer and the Acting Principal Education Officer to discuss their concerns. Chief of these was the fact that the Ministry of Finance had decided on two grades of comprehensive high

schools: Grade A, a school with more than 1000 pupils, and Grade B, one with less than 1000 pupils. The salary of a Principal of a Grade A school would be £2,000, while that of the Grade B Principal would range from £1,300-£1,600.

The Acting P.E.O. relayed details of this meeting in a memo to the Permanent Secretary and Mr. Murray. He acknowledged that other problems beside salary issue beset the school: lack of provisions for technical education, lack of equipment in the science laboratory, bareness of the arts and crafts room, the undersupply of tools in the wood and metalwork shops, and the need for evening classes. He also commented that the Principal of Trench Town Comprehensive had been led to believe that that an extra block of classrooms would have been built. He warned that the enthusiasm of the teachers and community for the school could not be sustained unless these problems were addressed. However, he was of the opinion that several of the problems could not be dealt with effectively until the Ministry of Finance gave approval (*Ministry of Education File* G80/1, July 17, 1964).

Mr. Murray, in his responding memo to the Permanent Secretary, indicated that he considered the uncertainty of the teachers to be a more pressing problem than future buildings. He revealed he had promised the Principal that

teachers' regrading would take place when regrading of all secondary schools was complete. However, he had found out that the Accounts Department did not consider Trench Town and Frankfield "comprehensive" (*Ministry of Education, File G80/1* August 5, 1964). "Urgent PR work is needed as the teachers couldn't be allowed to know what they are considering under confidential cover." He suggested that the PS arrange for Senior Education Officers to placate the teachers. Mr. Murray recommended that the Minister of Finance, Senior Officers for Post-Primary schools, Supervisors, and Administrators of the Ministry, get together and clarify "where we are going with these 2 schools" (*Ministry of Education File* G80/1 August 5, 1964).

The July meeting between School Board members, the Principal, and senior Ministry of Education officials did not alter the Ministry of Finance's decision concerning the classification of the comprehensive schools. A month later, the Minister of Education had to compromise his demands. In his memo to the Ministry of Finance, he stated he had "no strong views about the decision as regards the appointment of Head Teachers in lieu of graduates." He had "foreseen difficulties, but had recommended it out of desperation." However, the fixing of teachers' salaries was "a horse of a different color" (*Ministry of Education File* G718/02 August

4, 1964). Allen suggested that the Finance Ministry's lack of understanding of the concept of the comprehensive school, and what was involved in managing such a complex organization, had led to the fixing of salaries at unacceptable levels. He commented that the Ministry of Finance had previously set the salary at £1,700 and the incumbents had been appointed with that figure in mind. Nevertheless, he would settle for at least the salary paid to principals of Technical High Schools such as Dinthill (*Ministry of Education File* G718/02, August, 4, 1964).

The Permanent Secretary made it clear in his memo to the PAS, that he thought, "both schools are simply another type of post-primary school." Furthermore, the Board had not obtained permission to hire the Deputy Principal. He also wondered whether the £9,000 allocated Trench Town in the current year's budget, could not be used for the needed lab equipment (*Ministry of Education File* G80/1, August 6, 1964). The PAS agreed the Board had been "overactive" in hiring the Deputy Head, but foresaw only a financial problem with this. This memo indicated that the term, "Comprehensive School," was not in the Education Law, Cap 106, so it had not been possible to prepare a management scheme. The new Education Law would correct that. The

£9,000 was for the wood and metal workshops (*Ministry of Education File* G80/1, August 12, 1964).

When the new school year started in September 1964, there were 1,050 students and six more teachers, including a university graduate. Additionally, a new block of four classrooms had been finished in time to house the Music and Commercial Departments (Crawford, 1965). By December 1964, the administration had made the schedule for evening classes commencing in the following January.

It was April 1965 before the Ministry of Education presented the *Development Plan for Trench Town High School (Comprehensive*), and May 1966 before the school board gave its approval. The staff room and additional sanitary conveniences were not built for the start of the school year in September 1965. The Principal again advised the Permanent Secretary of the dire need for staff rooms and restrooms (*Ministry of Education, File G80/1*, September 6, 1965). Sherman, replying for the PS, assured the Principal that his request would be included in the upcoming budget (October 28, 1965). Only a week before, on October 21, a deputation from the Provisional Board of Governors of the school had met with MOE personnel to discuss the same concerns they had since 1964:

1. Staff (a) No letters of appointment; (b) Principal's pay still not settled; (c) Deputy Head still being paid as a graduate teacher, and less than the Ministry had promised; (d) senior graduates had not been appointed, and three had left as there was no scope for promotion.

2. Finances. The Board cannot effect any expenditure as the amounts in the 1965/66 Estimates have been reserved.

4. Status. The Board was still provisional. Autonomy still had not been granted, so letters of appointment had not been sent.

5. Accommodations. The staff room cannot accommodate the 40 teachers on staff. The lavatory facilities are grossly inadequate.

6. Equipment. Still inadequate for the science lab, the metalwork shop, arts and crafts shops as these areas were not provided with initial grants when the school was started.

7. Caretaker. None

8. Additional staff. A social worker/vocational placement officer is needed.

(*Ministry of Education File* G80/1, June 16, 1966).

Months would pass before any action was taken on the outcome of this meeting. In December 1965, the Principal informed the Permanent Secretary that work had started on the 2 workshops (*Ministry of Education Files*, December 1965). The Deputy Head's report and various organizational reports suggest that student enthusiasm was high. This was demonstrated by their efforts to raise funds for a cafeteria in February 1966. They formed a co-op and planned

to purchase shares to provide capital needed for the project. The students had already purchased cement blocks when the Principal asked the Ministry of Education for further assistance (*Ministry of Education File* G80/1, February 28, 1966).

The Provisional Board of the school approved its own plan for the school, on May 26, 1965. *The Development Plan for Trench Town High School (Comprehensive*) sent to the Permanent Secretary (PS) detailed the organization of the courses for the comprehensive school). The memo apparently triggered a response by Mr. Sherman (PAS-Finance), to the Board's visit the previous October. He admitted to Mr. Brissette (CEO), that a decision had been made at the meeting on October 21, 1965, to provide additional classrooms, and advised that the Ministry abide by the decision. He indicated that £17,000 was provided in Capital Estimates 1966/7 to construct 1 Common Room, 1 Science Lecture Room, additional sanitary conveniences, and storage facilities for the Home Economics Room (*Ministry of Education File* G80/1, June 16, 1966). Brissette referred the matter to Rutherford, the PAS for Post-Primary schools, who remarked "perusal of the files make me realize that I need specific advice to determine whether and if so, what

action is necessary" (*Ministry of Education File G80*/1, August 9, 1966).

Files were exchanged between several Ministry officials, and the situation remained unchanged for two years. In the general elections of 1967, the party in power, the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) was successful at the polls. In June 1968, Mr. Crawford, now Principal, alerted Ministry officials to problems concerning the entry of 12+ students to the Junior Secondary Department in the upcoming September 1968:

1. Trench Town Primary had indicated that 360 students would be transferred.
2. The present organization of the Comprehensive school was based on a 6-stream entry of about 240 students.
3. Each classroom could hold no more than 40 students.
4. For the next academic year, the Principal of the Primary school expected to transfer 600 students.

The Principal also asked the Ministry officials to discuss:

1. the possibility of finding space in other Junior Secondary Schools
2. building 3 additional classrooms
3. adding 3 extra teachers
4. temporary remodeling of the auto-engineering workshop to accommodate 2 classes until the additional classrooms were ready.

(*Ministry of Education File* G 80/1, June 15, 1966)

There was again a flurry of memo exchanges, but no action on the requests. In September 1968, the Chief Architect was asked to examine the proposals and submit recommendations with costing, so that they could be

included in the 1969/70 Capital Estimates. The architect's tentative estimate was £22,000. The Ministry also included a sum of £16,000 in the 1969/70 estimates to cover changing rooms for boys and girls, a Bursar's office and extension to classroom, and equipment. Further consideration would be given to the project when final estimates were approved.

The Principal's Report at the school's annual graduation in November 1969 gave his assessment of the situation at the school:

> In spite of the poor physical condition, and the lack of amenities, the school continued to be of great benefit to the community through the evening classes, literacy classes, PTA, and the beautification committee." The evening class catered to those above 15 years. It offered basically the same subjects as the day school, but the courses most popular with the 302 students were English, Mathematics, Health Science, Biology, Civics, Commercial, Home Management, Cookery and Needlework. Individuals in the literacy program were as young as 11 years, since several of the children in the area did not attend school during the day. The library had been reestablished in September 1968, with 1,500 volumes and efforts of several groups had increased that number to 3,800. ("School Needs Repairs", 1969)

He listed some of the requirements of the school that had been on a priority list for a long time:

> We need additional classrooms to accommodate the influx of 12+ students from the primary schools; a larger library with modern furniture and more up-to-date equipment; extension of the administrative block to include more office space; an additional science laboratory; physical education change rooms for staff and students; repairs to a section of the roof on the main building; and raising and strengthening of the

> walls around the school compound. ("School Needs Repairs", *1969*)

No work, however, was started on the project at the school.

A former teacher remembered a rosier picture of the school he joined in 1969. "All aspects of the school were in high gear. It was a tremendous football (soccer) school--Walker Cup, favorites for Manning Cup. The quality of staffing was excellent--many people were graduates. UWI even sent people there for the Diploma in Education, and some came back to teach. Violence in the area was not a problem" (E. Smith, personal communication, January 21, 1999).

The Opposition party won the next general elections in 1972. The new Minister of Education, Florizel Glasspole, visited the school and was made aware of the problems. He urged his civil servants to take speedy action to provide additional workshops, commercial rooms, science laboratories, home economics rooms, and additional classrooms. He indicated that at the previous year's prize-giving ceremony, his predecessor had assured the school that the problems, especially those of security would be taken care of. As he had given his assurance again, he did not "propose to return there and be jeered at." He regarded

the matter as "#1 priority" (Ministry of Education File G 80/1, November 29, 1972).

The project at Trench Town Comprehensive was eventually started, but not fully completed, due to contractor inefficiency and politically motivated crime. Apparently, one block (for Electrical Installation, Machine Shop, and Mechanical Drawing) was completed in 1976, but remained empty for 3 years. Ministry files indicated that in 1979, the new Principal (promoted from Deputy in 1977) requested aid for equipment from the Canadian High Commission (*Ministry of Education File* G80/1, March 22, 1969), and received a grant of US$32,000 to fully equip the Electrical Installation Workshop. In December 1979, MOE officials asked the Principal to prepare appropriate bills to cover the amount and submit them through the MOE. Although the Principal complied with the request, the funds were not disbursed. The Canadian High Commission issued the check in July 1980, but the Ministry did not release the funds to the School Board until October of that year (*Ministry of Education File* G80/1, October 21, 1980).

When the school reopened in September 1980, it had a new Acting Principal (the former librarian) but only about 300 students (G. Smith, personal communication, January 19, 1999). The low enrollment was the result of several

factors: crime had increased in the area, many families had moved away, and a new comprehensive school had been erected nearby. In 1976, the new Minister of Education in the PNP government opened a rival Comprehensive School, Charlie Smith (Jones Town) in his political constituency. The new school was so close it could be seen from the Principal's office at Trench Town. The school had been the center of political controversy from its inception: it was built across the roadway, cutting off direct access to Trench Town Comprehensive, and isolating the community.

Today, both schools compete for the dwindling number of students, and according to the current principal, enrollment at Trench Town now averages only 450. Party politics have caused factions to compete for scarce resources (students) in this depressed neighborhood, resulting in schools that cannot be run efficiently. The Principal, however, thinks it is unlikely that the school will close, as that would be poor political strategy (G. Smith, personal interview, January 19, 1999).

Trench Town still has only one science laboratory that is as poorly equipped as the workshop areas, and the library needs new books and reference materials (Personal visit, Feb. 25, 1999). In spite of the hurdles, the teachers are enthusiastic, and their fund-raising and

solicitation campaigns have resulted in a computer laboratory and materials for the students. Trench Town Comprehensive, in 1995, began participating as a volunteer school in the Reform of Secondary Education (ROSE) Program.

Frankfield Comprehensive School

Frankfield Comprehensive School opened its doors in January 1964 to 30 teachers and 356 students, in a single Workshop Block. Conditions were cramped and noisy, as three or four classes were held in the same room, against the background of building sounds ("History of School," 1989). Twenty-two feeder schools supplied the comprehensive school, but the majority of students came from Kilsyth Primary and Frankfield All-Age. Many of them were 14 or 15 years old, and would have left the primary school July of that year without benefit of secondary education. As one past student explained, "Many of us in that first batch would have been out of school from the July and would not have gone on to any other kind of formal education" (E. McKaine, personal communication, January 29, 1999).

Secondary education was traditionally open only to those awarded CEE places, or to those whose parents could afford the fees, and was generally available at only at schools in the larger towns or in the capital city, Kingston. The new school therefore filled a void in this

rural community. Students were overjoyed at the opportunity to get secondary education and to take subjects associated with education at that level. "Many of us did not have the opportunity to go on to the traditional high. This was open to us. The whole community--everyone was just overjoyed! And they sang praises to the founder!" (E. Lambert, personal communication, January 29, 1999).

The school used a "mixed entry" procedure to admit students. Pupils attending the immediate "feeder' schools, Frankfield Primary and Kilsyth Primary, moved automatically by "free flow" into Grade 7 (Form 1) of the Comprehensive school. Those from the peripheral "feeder' schools, and other schools, who held Common Entrance Examination awards, were also placed in Grade 7. Additionally, those who passed a special entrance examination set by the school were admitted after others had been placed. The students in the latter group had covered, in varying degrees, the course work for Forms 1-3, and many had passed the Second or Third Jamaica Local Examination, and so entered either Form 2 or 3 (Grade 8 or 9). After 2½ years, they sat the JSC Examination. A select few then prepared for the GCE Examination in 9 months. Not many were successful, but they thought the experience was invaluable, and motivated them to seek further education. Those who failed were encouraged

to take evening classes and to retake the examination (E. Lambert & E. McKaine, personal communication, January 29, 1999).

These evening classes were not only for the students as Allen had envisioned a school that would form strong links with the community and provide education for all its members (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1963, p. 76, 77, 314). Thus, parents were encouraged to attend literacy and home economics classes in the evenings and to learn vocational skills on the weekends. Allen described this linkage between the schools and the community as the total education concept.

The Total Education Concept

The focus of the concept at Frankfield was agriculture, as it was a rural community, and Allen was concerned about the contribution of the Ministry of Education to the development of agriculture in Jamaica (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1963, p. 314). He envisioned the 4-H clubs providing the tie-up between the schools and the community (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1963, pp. 76, 77). The comprehensive school would help to educate the farmer in the community:

> And how we propose to assist farmers is roughly in this way. We propose to organize major 4-H clubs-- senior clubs-- at the school at Frankfield. We propose

> to devote a portion of the land belonging to the school to agriculture, where the practising of terracing and other up-to-date agricultural practices suitable for that area will take place. We do not intend that the children should sever their connections which were established in the field of schools from which they came; but the intention is that the local 4-H clubs should be in all those fields of school, so that the student will always return to his village and we expect him to go back to the local club and to take back to their pals a more up-to-date knowledge which they have gained from the comprehensive school.
> (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1963, p. 314)

Allen hoped the student's father would provide a small plot of land on which the student could not only practice the agricultural skills he learnt, but also pass them on to his father:

> the sort of projects I'm most interested in is the project where a boy's father may not have a great deal of land, but may be able to spare about 1/3 square chains of what he has to carry out certain projects under the supervision of the Extension Officer for the area in cooperation with the teacher of agriculture. By doing that we hope that in all, over a very extensive area which feeds the school, there will be these small demonstration plots where the farmer's own son can carry out this project. Maybe, dealing with crops his father is planting in one way and which the boy is now planting in another way.
> I believe the parent will become more interested because his own son is demonstrating something and he knows that the success of that demonstration will go to his son's credit.
> (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1963, p. 314)

According to the Minister, the school would be central in molding the children and improving the community:

> The general aim is to use the school to raise the children in the community, and it is intended to have

> Community Development Projects based upon these schools… With all these social workers and other organizations we are endeavouring to improve the community.
> (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1963, p. 77)

Frankfield School operated under this Total Education concept and various educational, cultural, and social programs were organized and implemented as one throughout the entire community. The programs began in October 1964, and involved several organizations: the Christiana Area Land Authority, the Rio Minho Watershed Commission, the Agricultural Extension Services, the Marketing Corporation, the Cooperatives, the Jamaica Agricultural Society, the Jamaica Library Service, the Social Welfare Development Agency, the UWI Department of Education, the UWI Institute of Education, the North Clarendon School Board, the Jamaica Teachers' Association, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides Association, and the Boys' Brigade, and local churches.

The Total Education Officer (TEO), Mrs. Myrtle Hamilton, was a social worker seconded from the Social Welfare Development Agency of the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare. The Ministry of Education paid her salary, while the Social Development Commission reimbursed travelling expenses. As a member of the staff of Frankfield School, she taught Home Economics and Spanish, but also liaised with the community, the feeder schools, the

Agricultural Extension Officer, and the Education Officer for the area. On Fridays, the TEO met with teachers, including those from the feeder schools, to plan programs for the adult community. Through the PTA, she encouraged parents to attend literacy classes to enable their involvement in the children's education. She also worked with children about to enter the comprehensive school, to identify sources of problems such as irregular attendance, and enlisted help from the Ministry in finding solutions. Some parents initially resisted her initiatives, but these were usually adherents of the opposition political party (PNP).

Industrial Arts teachers enlisted the help of local tradesmen in conducting Saturday classes in woodwork, metalwork, auto mechanics, and welding, while those in the Home Economics Department offered training to housewives in the evenings (E. M. Bailey & N. Ricketts, personal communication, January 20, 1999). The Agricultural Officer worked with farmers in the area, demonstrating new farming techniques, and providing information. The farmers, in turn, came to the school to observe the students doing fieldwork. On field days, students took the knowledge they gained at school back into the community (E. L. Ricketts, personal communication, January 20, 1999). The Agricultural

Officer worked extensively with those students who had not passed the CEE, to enable them to obtain special certificates and jobs in the field.

The Total Education program succeeded in bringing the community together. However, when the opposition political party (PNP) won the general election in 1972, Ministry of Education officials would not authorize payment of the TEO salary, and the programme ended. The literacy classed survived, partly because concerned parents continued to hold classes, and partly because the TEO became a Literacy Development Officer on her return to the SDC (M. Hamilton, personal communication, February 5, 1999).

Community Response

The community's response to the school in the early years was mixed. On one hand, many parents welcomed the opportunity for their children to get secondary education, previously available only to the well off. On the other hand, some responded negatively to the school. Many (mostly adherents of the Opposition political party) believed the Minister's decision to build the school in his constituency was a political ploy (E. L. Ricketts, personal communication, January 20, 1999). Seeing the opportunity to gain political mileage out of the situation, the Opposition Member of Parliament for the constituency promised to

convert the school into a hospital when he won the next election (T. Stewart; S. Ricketts, personal communication, 1999). Some parents did not think highly of Frankfield Comprehensive simply because it was not the traditional secondary high school. Thus, if they could afford the fees, when their children passed the Common Entrance, sent them to Clarendon or Knox College. "As soon as the results of the Common Entrance were out, parents started to seek transfers elsewhere " (E. L. Ricketts, personal communication, January 20, 1999).

In 1966, the Minister of Education reported that only 36% of students receiving free spaces from the Common Entrance Examination were electing to attend the school. One of the problems the school faced--many low-achievers--resulted from the very nature of the Comprehensive school: the 'free flow' of students of varying abilities from the primary schools. While the Minister feared the attitude of the parents would damage the growth and development of the school, he understood their concern "that their children were working in all classes with illiterate, semi-illiterate, backward and retarded children."

To allay these fears, he decided on a policy to be followed at Frankfield:

1. Enroll all children, other than those from Kilsyth and Frankfield Primaries, in classes where they will work at their proper level since they have been admitted by means of selective tests set by the Ministry.
2. Pupils at Kilsyth and Frankfield recommended by Principals of these primary schools should take the same tests as other children from other feeder schools, and those who pass should be classified at the proper level.
3. All children at the Comprehensive School will be subject to internal transfer at any time, based on competence in each subject.
4. In the first year, and any other approved period, every pupil should be exposed at his proper level to all subjects, or as many subjects as possible.
5. A pupil will not necessarily work at the same level in all subjects. On the basis of progress or lack of it, a child may be transferred from one group to another, in the same subject. There will be differences of ability and rate of progress within the same group so that abler students can stimulate weaker ones. Bright students would not be frustrated by grouping with weaker ones

(*Ministry of Education File* G79/9, October 17, 1966).

Staffing

Staffing was a problem from the beginning. It was difficult to get qualified teachers in the early stages, despite the Minister of Education's insistence that, "teachers for the comprehensive school could be pulled readily from the pool of primary teachers ("Comprehensive School Teachers," 1962). A Ministry of Education memo referred to "the impossibility of recruiting staff for both Frankfield and Trench Town, but particularly so for Frankfield. Trench Town has 3 of the required 4 graduates, but advertisements have resulted in only 1 for Frankfield" (*Ministry of Education File* G718/02, December 4, 1963). A

former Chief Education Officer (CEO) for Home Economics pointed out that vocational teachers were scarce, and teachers had to be sent abroad for "crash" training (T. Stewart, personal communication, 1999). The location, the physical structure, the lack of amenities, combined with the low regard the general public had for the comprehensive high school, made the school unattractive to most local teachers. Some teachers, however, warmly embraced the comprehensive concept, smitten with the ideas to which they had been exposed in training college (S. S. Johnson, personal communication, February 9, 1999).

Trench Town Comprehensive School, in spite of its crowded buildings and location in a low-income area of Kingston, was able to attract the number of teachers required from the start. Frankfield School, however, was in a very rural area that had poor infrastructure. Most of the teachers hired were from outside the district, and initially had to live with members of the community. The Ministry of Education provided flats for only 12 teachers, and many had to live with residents of the town (N. Ricketts, personal communication, 1999). Several graduate teachers were hired from Canada, England, Germany and the USA, mainly for Mathematics, Science, Geography and English. By the beginning of the second school year, in

September 1965, these expatriates accounted for about 50% of the staff (S. Johnson, personal communication, February 9, 1999).

A year later, the number of teachers was still below the full complement. Additionally, teachers worked forty 40-minute periods per week without breaks, and no assistant principal had been hired. The Chairman of the Board brought the situation to the attention of the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Education, and recommended that a Canadian volunteer teacher at the school be appointed Assistant Principal (*Ministry of Education File* GS79/1, September 10, 1965). In a memo to the Chief Education Officer (CEO), the Permanent Secretary (PS) noted that an earlier proposal for Heads of Departments (*Ministry of Education File* GS79/51, 1965) would negate the need for a Deputy Head. In his opinion, the teachers were not overworked as the two or three periods of Physical Education, the practical classes, and supervised study periods for students provided sufficient breaks for the teachers. The Acting (SCEO) Senior Chief Education Officer declared, "There will be no investigation of the 40 classes per week problem. Both primary and technical schools operate this way" (*Ministry of Education File* GS79/1, September 21, 1965). This is further evidence that Ministry

officials did not consider the comprehensive school on par with the traditional secondary school. The administration believed teachers in such schools had a much lighter workload. Thus, their request for fewer teaching periods was met with the following response:

> If teachers and administrators adopt the attitude that children are capable of work less than their capacity, we will never be able to develop to any extent the latent abilities of our children, or to inculcate in our young people the desirable attitudes towards work. (*Ministry of Education File* GS79/1, Sept 21, 1965)

The request for an Assistant Head was seen as an indication of the Principal's inability to cope. A senior Ministry official commented, "If the headmaster is unable to handle his school, and needs assistance, he should feel free to enlist said teacher's assistance" (*Ministry of Education, File GS79/1,* September 22, 1965).

Discussions concerning salaries and the organization of the school continued, without resolution. The Principal's illness in June 1966 prompted the Chief Education officer (CEO) of Post-primary education to admit, "over 800 students and the complex nature of the organization requires deputy leadership." He relayed his concern in a memo to the Parliamentary Secretary (PAS) asking that the Ministry advertise the post, but his request was denied *(Ministry of Education File* GS79/1, June 8, 1966; June 13, 1966). Thus, when the school formally opened on June 30, 1966, it did not have an Assistant

Principal or Heads of Departments for the over 800 students.

Growth Problems

The increasing population of the town attracted new businesses, which led to the growth of neighboring villages and thus the school's population. The principal reminded the PS that students from Frankfield and Kilsyth primaries would gain automatic (non-selective) entry to the comprehensive school. He informed the PS of the anticipated enrollment for September 1967:

Table 7

Anticipated enrollment--Frankfield, September 1967

Schools & Population	Boys	Girls	Total
Frankfield Primary	60	58	118
Kilsyth Primary	26	32	58
Peripheral Feeders			300
			476
Present Population			877
Total			1353
Less school leavers			100
Anticipated population			.1253

Ministry of Education, File G8 79/8, May 19, 1967)

The increasing school population highlighted several issues, some of which had been brought to the Ministry's attention as early as 1965, but had remained unresolved:

second cycle and terminal students, staff/pupil ratio, heads of departments, graduate/non-graduate ratio, and senior graduate/graduate ratio.

Students of the "feeder" schools, who had not passed the CEE, could gain entry to Form 1 of the Comprehensive school, on the recommendation of the Principal. Such students were given 3-year programs, and were to be tested at the end of the program to determine their eligibility for the 2nd cycle of the comprehensive program (*Ministry of Education File* G8 79/8, May 19, 1967). Therefore, at the end of Grade 9 (Form 3), those 15+ students (unlike the CEE ones) who failed the examination had to leave school. In 1967, the first year of the placement examination, officials advised the Principal that the Ministry would not undertake any official test, and advised him to devise his own. They suggested that he utilize cumulative records to support his decisions. The Principal was advised to bear in mind the capacity of the school--three Fourth Forms of 35 pupils pursuing GCE "O" Levels in general and technical subjects, and two Fourth Forms of 25 students each pursuing vocationally oriented subjects (*Ministry of Education File* G8 79/8, July 4, 1967). Classes were crowded and no official position had been taken regarding class size. Most of the teachers were graduates of the teacher training

colleges and the few university graduates had no clear career path. No heads of departments had been appointed.

To alter the public's view of the comprehensive school as a place for rejects, and to encourage parents to send their children to the institution, the Principal of Frankfield School resubmitted the following for consideration:

> The percentage of students going on to second cycle should be increased from 40% to 60%. At Frankfield, where second cycle students are accepted from 2 nearby Junior Secondary schools, the number should be 70%.
>
> The Staff/Pupil Ratio in the comprehensive school is 1:25. This is much higher than the ratios found in Technical schools (1:15), Grammar schools (1:18, 1:20 and 1:21). The Comprehensive school therefore has difficulty attracting graduates.
>
> Heads of Departments are necessary in a large Comprehensive school, for leadership, quality, control, and pastoral care.
>
> The Graduate/Non-graduate Ratio is 100% in some Grammar schools. For the Comprehensive school to gain parity of esteem, the ratio should be between 50-66%. Senior Graduates could function as Heads of Departments, and Heads of Houses. The recommended ratio of Senior Graduates in a Comprehensive school should be 1:125.
> (*Ministry of Education File* G718/02, January 7, 1970).

Equipment and buildings

When school reopened in September 1964, three more blocks of buildings had been completed, but these were still insufficient to house all the students, and classrooms were still cramped. Additionally, due to cost

overruns, they had not been properly equipped (*Ministry of Education File* 79/1, October 1964). Some vocational work was possible as the metalwork and woodwork shops had a few tools that had been previously ordered, and the Home Economics Department had 2 sewing machines. At the end of that year, the Canadian Government (CIDA) donated some light industrial equipment.

The lack of adequate facilities meant that all students did not have access to vocational classes. This was most detrimental to the students who did not qualify for the second cycle, and would leave school at the end of Grade 9. Table 8 indicates the enrollment in vocational areas in January 1970. The situation remained the same for many years, even though the overloaded classes made teaching burdensome and ineffective (*Ministry of Education File* G718/02, January 7, 1970). The Board appealed to the Ministry for the following facilities: 1 classroom for Arts and Crafts (equipped), 1 workshop for Welding, 1 workshop for Auto mechanics, and 1 classroom for Housecraft (*Ministry of Education File* G 18/02, January 20, 1970).

Table 8

Requirements for Technical and Vocational Education at Frankfield School 1969/70

Categories	Number of Students
Day Student Enrollment	1363
Evening Class Enrollment	
Welding	20
Auto mechanics	25
Home economics	35
Commercial	26
Saturday Class Enrollment	
Welding	50
Auto mechanics	25
Plumbing	18
Electrical installation	21
Machine shop	25

Trade Training

As the Ministry of Education continued to be unresponsive to the needs of the school, the Minister of Education personally lobbied bauxite-mining companies in the area to support the school's efforts in setting up its vocational program. Allen invited the managing directors of ALCOA, ALPART, ALCAN, and Revere to visit the school to study the technical and vocational programs and their potential for improvement. He suggested the possibility of the school fulfilling the personnel requirements of

industry, business and trade (*Ministry of Education File* GS79/45, January 8, 1969). His lobbying efforts resulted in the promise of 2 volunteers from ALCAN to do part-time evening lectures. The Minister informed his Ministry of this and the fact that 65 young men had enrolled for courses in mechanical, electrical and instrument fields. He proposed that the Ministry:

1. augment this teaching with German and Peace Corps volunteers.
2. revise the timetable to make one day available to supplement Saturday.
3. seek other volunteers from ALPART, etc.
4. get inexpensive equipment - air compressors, facilities for auto mechanics and moving film projectors
5. hold a conference at the Ministry of Education with the 2 volunteers
6. make this form the nucleus of the proposed vocational education at Frankfield.
7. ensure that suitable students be recruited from the school for the courses

(*Ministry of Education File* G5/79/45, January 20, 1969).

On the last Saturday in January, school personnel registered 285 young men for the program, from a long waiting list. Their enthusiasm was dampened by the fact that only 1 teacher was present and no volunteers showed up. The Minister repeated his request for a meeting of Ministry officials and the 2 volunteers and the opportunity to discuss and submit recommendations for courses at the

school (*Ministry of Education File* G5/79/45 February 3, 1969).

Allen recommended that a nine-month Adult Training Program be set up at Frankfield Comprehensive beginning in the 1969/70 school year, and that classes be held each Saturday. He indicated the need to provide consistent opportunities for young men in the Frankfield area to acquire a degree of competence in various trades to enable them to enter fields of industry as advanced apprentices. These trades were Auto mechanics, Plumbing, Welding, Electrical installation, Millwright, and Fitting. He recommended that £5,520 be provided for travelling expenses, tuition, materials and trade testing for 100 students, and that the Ministry waive tuition fees.

On May 25, 1970, the Cabinet accepted the submitted recommendations with the understanding that the expenditure not increase the budget and that the courses would be conducted according to standards laid down by the National Industrial Training (*Ministry of Education File* G5/79/45. One hundred and fifty individuals started the courses, but only 74 sat the examinations. According to the Ministry documents, the high percentage of dropouts was due to the distance of the school, the inability of some students to cope with the level of the courses, and irregularity of

attendance and unpunctuality of the instructors who were often not paid promptly.

Agricultural program

The Agriculture Program at the school had its share of problems. The town of Frankfield was located in a rural area. One of the aims of the comprehensive school was to focus on agriculture in order to upgrade farming in the region. The Total Education Officer and the Agricultural Extension Officer were supposed to forge links with the farming community. Students would take back to their community, 4-H Clubs, and farms the new techniques they learned in school. The school, however, opened with no farming program in place.

In July of that year, the Agricultural Extension Officer involved in the Total Education Program submitted his proposal for the agricultural program to the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education. The outline of the proposal was as follows:

> Agricultural Project
>
> To develop the full interest of the students, work is needed in the following areas:
>
> 1. School's Demonstration and Production Project
> 2. Student's Individual Project
> 3. 4-H Clubs
>
> 1. School's Demonstration and Production Project
>
>   a) Demonstration--small plots of land, small number of animals to demonstrate the effects of

different phases of agricultural practices on a particular crop or animal.

b) Production Phase--use of (a) on crop or animal to obtain maximum production.

c) Projects for (a) and (b) - dairy, pig, rabbit, vegetable, tree crops, afforestation, plant propagation, beautification, and soil conservation.

2. Students' Individual Projects

These would vary.

3. 4-H Clubs

Offer a balance of training in rural living. This is the basic organization through which Agricultural Science and Practice teachers, along with the Social Welfare Officers, work efficiently.

> The Agricultural Science teacher therefore has to be a travelling officer, as individual projects would have to be supervised.
> (*Ministry of Education File* GS79/18, July 29, 1964)

In September 1964, the Principal of the school forwarded an estimate of £132 for the Dairy Project. This was one aspect of the Agricultural Program he believed could help fulfill the concept of total education that the Minister had been encouraging them to launch in the area (*Ministry of Education File* GS79/18, September 28, 1964). Some Ministry officials in memos, indicated ignorance of the School Board's endorsement of an Agricultural Plan for the school from its inception. However, one administrator revealed he was aware of a committee formation, discussions of the Total Education Concept, and plans for the

implementation of the project. He endorsed the scheme as excellent, and deserving of support, but cautioned that it could prove expensive if not approached to minimize travelling from the outset (*Ministry of Education File* GS 79/18 November 19, 1964). The Parliamentary Secretary (PAS) in the Ministry of Education in a memo to the Permanent Secretary of Finance conceded the usefulness of the project and the modesty of the capital outlay. He, however, thought more information was needed on recurrent expenditure such as labor and materials before the project could be approved (*Ministry of Education File* GS 79/18, November 24, 1964).

The Principal's request was denied for two reasons: officials were of the opinion that estimates should be submitted for *all* projects, and negotiations underway for the purchase of land near the school were far from complete (*Ministry of Education File* GS 79/18, November 26, 1964). The delay in approving the school's proposals was most likely due to the fact that a senior Ministry official believed students could learn agriculture without doing practical work. He remarked, "Students do not necessarily need to farm the land to learn agriculture..." and " . . . good farming can be demonstrated" (*Ministry of Education File* GS 718/19, April 12, 1965).

These two plots were not adjacent to each other or the school, and students had to walk 30 minutes to reach them. "This did not endear them to agriculture" (E. L. Ricketts, personal communication, January 20, 1999). The Minister of Education was aware of this and requested the purchase of 2 acres of land (actually 1.5 and 0.5 plots) adjoining the school (*Ministry of Education File* GS 79/18, January 1966). The Senior Education Officer in the Ministry of Agriculture endorsed this suggestion. He suggested that the Ministry also purchase a 5-acre plot of land between the near and outlying plots, for dairy husbandry (*Ministry of Education File* GS 79/18, February 25, 1966). Again, senior Ministry officials waffled. While acknowledging that agricultural teaching was an integral part of the work of the school, one official claimed ignorance of plans for the development of the land, including provisions to acquire it *(Ministry of Education File* 79/18, October 10, 1966).

The Senior Education Officer of the Ministry of Agriculture recommended that in the meantime the programme of development be undertaken for the 8.5 and 3.0 acre plots (*Ministry of Education File* 79/18, November 3, 1966). The Parliamentary Secretary (PAS) in the Ministry of Finance authorized the start of the programme of development on the

11.5 acres, but considered the asking prices for the "sandwiched" plots exorbitant (November 11, 1966).

In his response, the Senior Education Officer revealed that 6 of the 8.5 acres were fully developed, and so practical work by the students would be limited to crop maintenance. Since it was the Minister of Education's wish that Agricultural Science be taught to examination level, he was of the opinion that the Ministry should make the practical aspect possible. He therefore recommended the purchase of the "sandwiched" properties, for although the asking prices were high, the owners were willing to sell (*Ministry of Education File* GS 79/18, April 10, 1967).

The agricultural program was a vibrant one. The school competed with grammar and technical schools and won the Agricultural Competition in the first year. Activities included poultry and pig rearing, and growing crops such as citrus (S. Johnson, personal communication, February 9, 1999).

Frankfield (Edwin Allen) Comprehensive Now

Over the past 35 years, Frankfield Comprehensive High School has expanded from one single-level to four three-storied buildings. The school has a population of 2,368 students and 105 teachers, a third of whom are former students. Two of the teachers who joined the staff in

January 1964, and one who joined in September 1964 continue to give service to the institution (two are vice-principals and the third heads the Business Education department). The Principal of the school started teaching there 34 years ago. Over the years, the school has gained a reputation for academic excellence, and in the last 10 years has also made tremendous strides in sports. The school now offers over 30 academic and technical/vocational subjects.

The school, however, discontinued the agricultural program mainly for lack of student interest. This apathy for agriculture is rooted in classism, status, and economics disinterest. Teachers report that today's students do not want to "soil their hands", doing work associated with the lower classes. They want to "move away from dirty work" (S. Johnson, personal interview, February 9, 1999). The graduates of this school cannot look forward to owning large profitable farms; they would have to work the small plots traditionally owned by peasants. They also do not see a bright future for themselves as farmers struggle to survive amid a shortage of workers, inadequate storage facilities, poor marketing strategies, and competition from imported foodstuff (E. Lambert and E. McKaine, personal interview, January 20, 1999). Frankfield teachers, however, hope students will come to view

agriculture as an important tool in developing the country's economy. To this end, the school now offers a 3-year course starting in Grade 9 that emphasizes production practices in various livestock, poultry, and vegetable crops. Students also learn basic Farm Management Practices, Agricultural Economics, and Farm Mechanics.

Several schools in a radius of 20 miles have been upgraded to Comprehensive status (Claude McKay, Kemps Hill, Spaulding and Allston, but many students prefer to attend Frankfield and some even travel from other parishes. The school cannot accommodate all those who wish to attend, and each year the Principal has to turn away students (E. L. Ricketts, personal communication, January 20, 1999). It is the second largest secondary school in the island, and operates over its capacity. A second shift would ease overcrowding, but an adequate and efficient transport system would be a prerequisite. In 1993, Frankfield chose to participate in the ROSE Program as a voluntary school. It received copies of the Curriculum Guide, but no other formal assistance.

Frankfield Comprehensive High School has achieved significant success in sports and academics. However, as was the case with Trench Town, it was not a catalyst for the spread of the comprehensive model as Allen, the former

Minister of Education, had hoped. The school board and administrators, however, recognized his efforts in introducing the comprehensive high school into Jamaica, and rewarded him by renaming the school after him. "Before his death on February 16, 1984, the decision was made to rename the school in his honour. On March 6, 1984 this first comprehensive high school in Jamaica was renamed 'The Edwin Allen Comprehensive High School'" (History of School, 1989, p. 21). The following section examines some of the political and social factors that hindered the spread of this model of secondary schooling.

Dissemination of the Comprehensive High School

The Opposition People's National Party (PNP) regained control of the House of Representatives after the General Elections in 1972. The new government appointed Dr. P. W. Minott, and another PNP supporter, Dr. E. S. Anderson, as Chairman and member respectively of the Frankfield Comprehensive School Board. Both of these men had voiced their opposition to the Comprehensive school concept (E. S. Ricketts, personal communication, January 20, 1999). The new Administration also removed Frankfield from the list of schools slated for improvement under the Second World Bank Programme. The new Minister of Education, Florizel Glasspole, defended this action on the grounds that the

Government of Jamaica had completed the development of this school (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1973, pp. 420-421)

Allen reminded the Minister that the Industrial Arts block was not complete, and that the technical and practical areas of the school had been slated for expansion under the Second World Bank Programme (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1972, p. 239). The new Administration however, remained adamant that it would not put the school back on the Programme for expansion, but would focus on upgrading Trench Town Comprehensive School, and the newer Tivoli Comprehensive School. Glasspole defended his stance by charging that Frankfield's newly erected technical and vocational block would provide more than adequate training facilities for Auto Mechanics, Electrical Installation, Drafting, and Machine Shop and Welding. Allen disagreed, stating that the school needed the following to function efficiently: a General Science laboratory, a suitable area for Housecraft, specialists' rooms for Geography and Social Studies, an administrative wing, a larger library, and more classrooms to meet the needs of the catchment area of the school. In Glasspole's opinion, these were minor requirements that the Government of Jamaica itself could undertake. He reiterated his opinion that Frankfield Comprehensive was far more adequately supplied than either

Trench Town or Tivoli Gardens Comprehensive Schools both of which needed "quite a bit of work to bring them up to standard" (Jamaica Government Hansard, 1973, p. 421).

When the Minister indicated he would not focus on funding comprehensive schools, as *all* the schools in the island should get fair treatment, Allen queried whether the Minister realized that:

> Comprehensive schools are relatively new to Jamaica, and that being so, there will be a prejudice against them unless those that are, as it were, experimental schools be speedily brought up to a satisfactory standard so that the public of Jamaica who are not accustomed to Comprehensive Schools can see good Comprehensive Schools functioning properly. (p. 421)

In fact, records indicated that very little development took place at Frankfield or Trench Town Comprehensive schools during this PNP administration (1972-1982).

Tivoli, like Trench Town Comprehensive, was located in an economically depressed JLP constituency. The JLP Administration (1962-1972) had converted Tivoli Gardens Junior Secondary School into a Comprehensive School, in September 1970. However, the conversion was not confirmed by Cabinet Decision until March 1972. This delay hampered the expansion of technical and vocational facilities at the school for the next ten years, while the Opposition People's National Party was at the helm. Work did not

commence until 1983 a year after the JLP regained control of the House of Representatives.

The new PNP Administration (1972-1982) basically continued the education plan started by the JLP, that is, it completed the number of Junior Secondary Schools as prescribed under the World Bank Program. However, the new administration did not build the number of Comprehensive schools needed to absorb students leaving the Junior Secondary schools at age 15+, and completed only Charlie Smith Comprehensive (Jones Town) in 1975, and Herbert Morrison Comprehensive in 1976. Instead, education policy makers added two grades, 10th and 11th, to the Junior Secondary schools and renamed them "New Secondary". The quality of education offered at the senior secondary level in these schools was below the standards expected of the established high schools, and this was to have a lasting negative impact on the public's perception of non-traditional (non-grammar) secondary high schools. While the number of "New Secondary" schools increased during this period, the number of comprehensive schools remained at five.

In 1982, the new JLP administration broke with the tradition of abandoning the policies and programs of the previous administration. Since the end of Crown Colony

rule, successive administrations, in proposing policies, had always considered what was politically expedient, rather than what was appropriate for the nation. For example, the PNP administration (1972-1982) completed two comprehensive schools as required under the World Bank program, but built Charlie Smith Comprehensive in its political constituency, Jones Town, but only hundreds of yards from Trench Town Comprehensive in the rival JLP constituency. Neither school has had full enrollment since they draw on students from the same catchment area. Such political activity over the years resulted in a differentiated, stratified secondary system that did not serve the society.

The JLP administration acknowledged inequities in the system and commissioned UNESCO and local organizations to conduct studies on the educational system. The government introduced reform (Reform of Secondary Education) to reduce the variety of types of institutions at the secondary level. One of the early efforts of the reform process was the merging in 1982 of a New Secondary School with a traditional academic high school. Hanover New Secondary School, conceived during the PNP administration, was merged with the 200 year-old Rusea's High School to form a Rusea's School. This school became the 6th comprehensive high

school, though not so labeled. This experiment, if successful, would be adopted throughout the island. The apparent aim was to remove the stigma attached to the New Secondary schools and eliminate defining terms such as "Comprehensive" or "New Secondary". All secondary schools would have similar standards, and offer curricula catering to the varying aptitudes and interests of the students. Although the curricula of most traditional high schools now included vocational offerings such as cooking, needlework, and typing, none had the range of subjects of the New Secondary schools. This experiment was to be the template for the ROSE reform policy, initiated during the JLP administration and continued by the PNP.

Summary

The secondary education system in Jamaica was established to serve the needs of the ruling class, while primary education was reserved for the masses. This duality persisted even after colonialism, despite the recognition that the system was not meeting the needs of the society. Several policies were bandied about, and some attempted, with limited success.

In the 1950s, Edwin Allen actively promoted the comprehensive high school model as a solution, but met with little success. When he became Minister of Education in the

1960s, he set about implementing his policy. The comprehensive high school was foisted on the secondary education system of Jamaica in 1964, without the consensus of key stakeholders. Bureaucrats with Opposition leanings impeded implementation by responding slowly to requests, withholding funds, and not completing projects. The schools did not receive the buildings and equipment necessary for their successful operation. Edwin Allen had introduced the comprehensive concept only in new schools that naturally compared unfavorably with established traditional ones. Thus, the society had a negative perception of the comprehensive model, and never fully grasped its potential to deliver secondary education appropriate for the needs of the society.

A cursory look at the policy arena in the early 1960s when Edwin Allen introduced the comprehensive high school, would indicate success for his reform proposal. Allen had a policy "solution" ready to attach to the "problem" of secondary education and his appointment as Minister of Education provided him with a political "window of opportunity" through which he could push his policy proposal. However, powerful cultural, social, and political factors at work in the society would hinder his efforts.

Almost 20 years later, Allen's party, the JLP, was able to gain more support for its reform proposals. Although the cultural and social forces remained strong, there had been significant change in the political mood of the country, resulting in policies enacted for the good of the people rather than for political gain. The new political climate continued for when the administration changed in 1989, the new PNP government continued to implement educational policies already in place.

CHAPTER 6

THE COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOL IN JAMAICA SINCE 1983: THE ROSE INITIATIVE

The educational system in Jamaica developed from a need for colonizers to provide schooling for their children. Later, the privilege of schooling was extended to the offspring of the slave masters, but not to the slaves. When secondary schools were established, they were accessible only to Whites and Browns in the society. In these schools, the curriculum was exclusively academic, identical to that found in the mother country. Individuals were socialized to believe, accept, and reproduce the values of the colonizers.

At the end of World War II, decolonization created changes in Jamaican society that made new demands on the educational system. Secondary school places were increased, and the curriculum and teaching staff became more local. Several reforms after Independence in 1962 gave almost all children access to post-primary education. However, the educational system remained a dual and elitist one: the upper and middle class students attended the traditional secondary high school while the working class and the poor

were schooled in other post-primary institutions not highly regarded by the society. This contrasted sharply with the comprehensive high school model of secondary education practiced in the United States and several countries of Europe--a model, at least in theory, offered equal education to *all* youth in a given society. The comprehensive model had few supporters in Jamaica, but one of its most eloquent and persistent was the educator and politician, Edwin Allen who, during his tenure as Minister of Education, established two schools to serve as prototypes for his vision of secondary schools. However, various social and political factors hindered the success, acceptance, and spread of the model.

By 1982, the Ministry of Education and Culture recognized the need for reform in the educational system, especially at the secondary level. The first phase of the Reform of Secondary Education (ROSE) Programme was initiated in 1992 in an effort to redress the problems of quality, equality, relevance and access at the secondary level of the system. The core curriculum of the program would ensure equality in education for all students at the secondary level, unifying students of all social classes, while at the same time providing for their specific needs.

This chapter documents the formulation, piloting and implementation of the ROSE Programme, as well as the barriers to its implementation. It also examines how ROSE has benefited the schools, and the role of the program in the development and implementation of the comprehensive school model in Jamaica.

Policy Formulation

As early as 1941, Hammond, the Education Advisor to the Colonial Development and Welfare in the West Indies, had identified one of the major problems of the Jamaican secondary education system: it produced graduates who did not satisfy the requirements of the labor market. He recommended that education reflect the needs of the local economy (Hammond, 1941, paragraphs 112, 116). In more recent years, the weak performance of students in the GCE and CXC examinations, and the reports from business leaders that students were not prepared for the world of work, brought the problem once more to the public's attention. The government was forced to pay attention and thus to place the problem high on its agenda (see Kingdon's Streams Model, pp. 16-22).

In 1982, the JLP Government commissioned UNESCO to carry out a study of the educational system in the country. The report, *Jamaica: Development of Secondary Education,*

1983, identified several weaknesses in the educational system:

1. Secondary Schools

   Clear weaknesses in the standard of secondary level students arising from shortcomings in their preparation at the primary level

   Harmful results from having two selection procedures at the 11+ stage - the Common Entrance Examination and free flow

   Five types of secondary schools offer a nominal variety of programs but there are few real differences and generally disappointing results

   Different types of schools were granted different amounts of financial assistance at different levels, contributing to inequity
   Too large a number of terminal examinations - SSC, CXC, GCE

   Graduates were not prepared for the world of work

   Absence of a common curriculum (UNESCO, 1983)

2. All-Age Schools

   Most teachers trained for the primary level; fifteen percent untrained

   Pupil-teacher ratio at the primary standard of 42:1
   Government grant at the primary rate of J$30 per student per year

   Furniture made for primary age students

   Few books or materials available

   Only the outline of a curriculum existed
   (Ministry of Education, 1993)

To correct these problems, the Government of Jamaica and UNESCO made the following recommendations:

1. Strengthen the primary system (IDB Programme)
2. Retain, but improve the 11+ selection (National Assessment Programme)
3. Rationalize secondary education: reorganize schools; design a common curriculum (World Bank IV Project)
4. Include a pre-vocational course at grades 7-9 (World Bank IV Project)
5. Design a multi-level curriculum to include a foundation course for low achievers (World Bank IV Project/Secondary Schools Textbook Project)
6. Postpone selection until the end of grade 9

(Ministry of Education, 1993)

The UNESCO report and the study, "*Science and Technology Education in Jamaican Schools*" provided a research base for policy reform as they identified the need for a more rationalized and equitable approach to secondary education, and a need for greater emphasis on Science and Technology in schools (Ministry of Education, 1993). The policy, Reform of Secondary Education (ROSE) grew out of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture's awareness of the need for change in the secondary school system in terms of:

Access to a reasonable standard of education by all students

Equity in the distribution of resources among the schools (so they all can offer programs of similar quality and content) and in the examinations used to assess the achievements of the students

Quality of teaching and instructional support

Relevance of programs to the demands of the Jamaican society

In keeping with Kingdon's (1995) Streams Model, three policy streams came together at a critical time: problem, policy, and politics. A problem was recognized, a policy solution was available/proposed, and the political climate made the time right for change (pp. 16-22).

After evaluating the findings contained in the reports, the JLP government decided to embark on a program of reform or rationalization of secondary education that would involve reorganization of schools, the design of a common curriculum for grades 7-9, development of instructional materials, rationalization of examinations, pre-service and in-service training. The initial phase of the program encompassed grades 7-9, while the second phase would involve grades 10-11 (Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture, 1995).

Work in preparation for the reform was carried out under two projects, *The Strengthening of Secondary Education*, funded by UNDP (1985-1988) and the *Education Programme Preparation and Student Loan Project (World Bank IV*), funded by the World Bank (1989-1993). Research and development of the ROSE program took place over a five-year period, beginning in 1987 during the JLP administration and concluded in 1992 during the PNP term in office. Despite the change in government in 1989, there was continuity in

implementation of the policy. It would appear that both parties placed the improvement of education above partisan politics. During this pilot period, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture commissioned other studies: Operations of 16 All-Age Schools, Curriculum Practice in Technical/Vocational Education, Overview of Grade 6/7 Students' Achievement in Reading/Language Arts and Mathematics, Unit Costs Study, School Administration, and School Maintenance.

In developing the curriculum, educators followed the following procedure:

1. Assess needs
2. Clarify goals
3. Consult and inform stakeholders
4. Decide on features to be incorporated
5. Draft and consult
6. Pilot test
7. Review and revise
8. Pre-test students
9. Field test
10. Post-test students
11. Evaluate
12. Review and revise

The development and implementation of a common curriculum for all Grades 7-9 students was the main strategy for attacking and correcting the shortcomings in the secondary system of education. The Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture's (1995) Discussion Paper, *Planning and building together: Options for upper secondary*

education listed the following as major features of the common curriculum:

1. It seeks to satisfy the identified needs of the society. The curriculum seeks to provide the skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary to equip students for the world of work, and to prepare them to be good citizens and parents.
2. It is broad and balanced. The curriculum covers a wide range of subjects and offers the average student a sensible mix of studies.
3. Grades 6 and 9 mark important stages in the education system. At these points, through consolidation, the curricula are designed to ensure that there is a smooth transition from one level to the next, that the objectives of one stage are continued and reinforced at the next.
4. It is multi-level, offering common content but with different activities to suit students at different reading levels.
5. It is socially responsible – paying attention to social concern and to values and attitudes. The curriculum addresses the areas of social concern which now prevent secondary level graduates from contributing meaningfully to society and seeks to build self-confidence in the secondary level student.
6. Students are encouraged to develop the skills of problem solving and creative thinking.
7. Activities, as opposed to mere book learning, form a major part of the teaching and learning methodology.

Teams prepared drafts of the core curriculum (Career Development, Language Arts, Mathematics, Resource & Technology, Science, and Social Studies), and developed instructional materials that were supplied to project schools. The curriculum emphasized the five core subjects on which students spent approximately 63% of their time

each school week. The other six non-core disciplines were allotted 6 to 7%.

Although they focused on secondary education, the strategies used in the reforms have involved the entire education system--pre-primary, primary, and tertiary levels. Both Frankfield and Trench Town Comprehensive High Schools are involved in the project that the Government of Jamaica is undertaking in conjunction with the World Bank. The ROSE program includes the rationalization of existing programs and institutions, as well as the introduction of new concepts and methodologies in the educational process at the secondary level. The main objectives of the program are to upgrade the quality and relevance of secondary level education, increase access to a reasonable standard of education by all students, and achieve a more equitable distribution of resources among the schools.

Pilot Testing

The Joint Board of Teacher Education (JBTE) supervised the field-testing of the pilot project that began in September 1991. It involved the clustering of All-Age Schools in the parish of St. Thomas: Bath (upgraded to Primary and Junior High School), Cedar Valley All Age, Morant Bay All Age, and Port Morant All Age School. One school in the cluster would provide education at Grades 7-

9, to all students in Grades 7-9; the remaining three schools became primary schools. Seven additional schools (3 All-Age, 3 High, and 1 New Secondary), located in the parishes of Kingston and St. Andrew, joined the pilot phase in 1992: Bridgeport Comprehensive, Constant Spring All Age, Mile Gully All Age, Mount Alvernia High, Vauxhall New Secondary, White Marl All Age, and Wolmer's Girls' School.

Drafts of the core curriculum were tested for two years in the pilot schools and field-tested for a further two years in the seven additional schools. The Ministry provided teachers with two weeks initial and then on-going in-service training, and sent 27 Education Officers for training outside the county. Nevertheless, while students, teachers and principals displayed a positive attitude towards the pilot project, feedback indicated problems with the training workshops, facilities/equipment, and curriculum content.

Teachers felt they needed longer workshops and more practice in the use of the Curriculum Guides (Ministry of Education, 1993). They reported that the important stakeholders, parents and the public, had not been involved in the debate about the reform and knew little about the project. However, the National Director for ROSE said great effort had been made to prepare communities for the

rationalization of the schools, and defended the Ministry’s approach, "Education officers would go to the community. The principal would invite parents, et cetera. All concerns the community had about the curriculum and buildings were addressed" (I. Reid, personal communication, November 4, 1999).

The ROSE Education Coordinator admitted that teachers could have been more involved in informing parents of the ROSE objectives, but might have been reluctant as parents often had confrontational attitudes. Additionally, teachers viewed the ROSE project as "for a time", as something to bear temporarily, something that did not merit changing their style of teaching (P. Johnson, personal communication, February 19, 1999).

Teachers also complained about the lack of equipment to effectively teach the subjects, especially Resource and Technology, and that laboratories and workshops were not built as promised. The ROSE Secretariat responded quickly to correct these problems (Facey, 1996).

Project evaluators found teacher response to the curriculum varied with knowledge of content and teaching methods. Teachers with a solid grasp of content adapted more readily to the new curriculum. Social Studies teachers were weak in certain aspects of methodology such as group

work and questioning. They tended to focus on content, in which they were weak, rather than emphasizing their teaching skills. They were therefore visibly uncomfortable teaching unfamiliar subjects.

Teachers of Science had difficulty integrating the disciplines. Evaluators attributed this situation to the need for greater understanding of the philosophy of the science curriculum, more practice in the use of the Guides, and further upgrading of content and methodology.

Resource & Technology required methodologies such as group work that were unfamiliar to some teachers. Those who were subject-centered in their thinking, or were specialist teachers found it difficult to move outside familiar boundaries. "Teachers have been trained to teach in a compartmentalized way" (V. Been, personal communication, January 11, 1999). Some schools therefore did not offer all the subjects in the R & T component of the curriculum (I. Reid, personal communication, December 4, 1999). On the other hand, teachers working in Language Arts readily utilized the Sciences and Social Studies for material. This helped to integrate the curriculum, but evaluators found that important language skills were often not stressed. The evaluators reported that although some Mathematics teachers did not fully grasp the new emphases, they were eager to

work with the new curriculum. The Career Education was to be a thread running through all subjects in the curriculum. Evaluation indicated that teachers did not have sufficient training in this area and that guidance counselors were needed in the schools.

Policy Implementation

According to Nakamura & Smallwood's (1980) Policy Environments Model, the policy process is a changing cycle of elements/environments connected by linkages, across which various actors participate. These linkages are necessary for communication during the different stages of policy making, but are of special importance during implementation. When communication linkages break down, messages are incorrectly received and implementation may be hindered.

The implementation of the ROSE project took place in two phases. The first phase, projected to run from 1993-1998, included the following activities:

1. Rationalization of schools.
   At the end of phase I, in 1998, the distribution of the 150 targeted schools should be:
   - 47 Primary and Junior High Schools (upgraded from All-Age Schools)
   - 3 Junior High Schools (new)
   - 50 Comprehensive High Schools (upgraded from New Secondary Schools
   - 50 High and Technical High Schools (participated as Voluntary Schools)

(Voluntary schools are those that chose to adopt the ROSE programme on their own initiative. They were not selected as participating schools, and initially received no funding.)

2. Implementation of a common curriculum in Grades 7-9. The common curriculum proposes to balance the demand for academic development and preparedness for the world of work. It consists of a core of five subjects--Mathematics, Language Arts, Science, Social Studies, and Resource Technology (Home and Family Management, Resource Management, Product Design and Development, Agriculture and the Environment, and Visual Arts).) The ROSE curriculum aims to develop an effective level of oral and written communication skills, numeracy and problem-solving skills, critical and creative thinking, the ability to work collaboratively in groups, and an appreciation of learning. Through Career Development education, which is infused in all subject areas, students will be prepared to make decisions about careers linked to their skills and interests.

3. Development of curricula for six additional subjects: Music, Art, Drama, PE/Dance, Religious Education, and a foreign Language.

4. Participation of approximately 5,400 teachers in in-service training

5. Development of textbooks for the curriculum at all reading levels

6. Development of a Guidance and Counseling program

7. Rationalization of the examinations system. A new Grade 9 examination to be put in place.

By December 1998, the ROSE curriculum had been introduced in 131 selected and voluntary schools (Ministry of Education, 1999). However, the Ministry expected that by September 1999, all secondary and high schools would be

involved. The common curriculum would be used to attack and correct shortcomings in the secondary system of education.

When the initial phase of the ROSE Project came to an end in 1998/99, most of the objectives of the components had been achieved. The Ministry, utilizing feedback from education officers, teachers, trainers and students, printed revised versions of the curriculum for Language Arts, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, and Resource & Technology.

Six new subjects were piloted or field-tested - Drama, Music, Physical Education/Dance, Religious Education, Spanish, and Visual Arts. The pilot program for Physical Education/Dance started in January 1994 in 2 Traditional High Schools (Immaculate Conception and St. Jago), 2 Comprehensive High Schools (Holy Trinity and Spanish Town) and 1 All-Age (Lyssons). The latter was downgraded to a Primary School and replaced by Morant Bay Primary and Junior High. The Grade 7 Programme became fully operational in September of that year. Pilot testing for Music began in September 1993 in the following schools: Calabar High, St. Jago High, Camperdown High, Holy Trinity Comprehensive, and Paul Bogle Junior High. Program evaluators monitored the responses of teachers and students, made revisions in the material, and printed teachers' guides.

The Joint Board of Teacher Education (JBTE) provided in-service teacher training workshops to approximately 4,000 teachers and administrators in the ROSE Programme, and modified the curriculum in the Teachers' Colleges to reflect the principles of the ROSE program.

A Junior High School Certificate (JHSC) replaced the Grade 9 Achievement Test. After 3 years of pilot testing, revision, and development, approximately 8,000 students sat the first JHSC Examination in May 1996. The Jamaica School Certificate (JSC) was phased out, and the Secondary School Certificate (SSC) was replaced by the HEART/NTA vocational certification. The ROSE Secretariat distributed textbooks and other educational support materials for Mathematics, Science, and Language Arts to 48 project schools (Primary and Junior High Schools) and the remaining texts for Social Studies. They continued to seek additional suitable material for Resource & Technology. The Project also developed a policy document for guidance and Counseling.

Barriers to Implementation

Implementation of the ROSE Program was not smooth for more than one reason. Communication linkages broke down because of "garbled messages from the senders, misinterpretations by the receivers, or system failure in terms of transmission breakdowns, overload, 'noise' and

inadequate follow-through" (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980, pp. 24). (See Chapter 7 for a discussion.) Stakeholders cited shortcomings in several areas that also hindered the process. These included physical facilities, equipment, curriculum, teacher training, and complex examinations.

Physical facilities

The facets of the Rose Project forefront in people's minds are the development of a new curriculum, the designing of teaching materials, and training of teachers in the new curriculum. However, one of the most important components of the Project, and one that impacts the delivery of the curriculum, is Civil Works being carried out by the Technical Service Division of the Ministry of Education. For Phase I of the project, which ran from 1993-1998, Civil Works aimed to construct junior high schools, refurbish small rural and comprehensive high schools, and refurbish and extend primary and junior high schools. Construction however, did not start until early 1996, and the 1998 deadline for completion was not met. The Civil Works component of the Project was allowed to continue until June 2000 to ensure completion (Brown, 1999). Up to October 1999, work on the "refurbish only" schools was complete, but the "refurbish and extend schools" were at various stages of construction. The termination of

contractors slowed progress at several sites (Ministry of education and Culture, 1999).

Lack of adequate space, appropriate facilities, and sufficient equipment were the most frequent complaints of stakeholders of the ROSE Project (Facey, 1996; Stills, 1996). At the Donald Quarrie Comprehensive High School, which operated a double shift, there was no holding area for students arriving for the second shift. The student body, therefore, had limited extracurricular activities. The school, which housed approximately 1550 students, had two Assistant Principals, who shared a small, overcrowded office meant for one (S. Solomon, personal communication, February 4, 1999). The school opened in 1977 as a New Secondary School to house 760 students, dispersed over four streams in Grades 7 through 11. Although new residents moved into the area, the New Secondary school population increased only slightly as many students from the feeder schools, Harbour View, St. Benedicts's and Bull Bay Primary, sought entrance to the more highly regarded traditional high schools, even if this required a two-hour commute each day. When the school became comprehensive in 1993, in accordance with the rationalization of schools aspect of the ROSE initiative, the population increased rapidly as the Ministry of Education automatically assigned

secondary-bound students from these feeder schools. "The former Principal was eager, because of the 'free-flow' from the feeder schools" (S. Solomon, personal communication, February 4, 1999). While many parents also were elated because their children would now get free secondary education, others whose children had gained Common Entrance Examination passes and who had low regard for the comprehensive model, tried furiously to place them elsewhere (S. Solomon, personal communication, February 4, 1999).

The school suddenly expanded to eight streams, two of CEE students and six with ‘free-flow’ students. According to the Assistant Principal, each year approximately 350 and 345 students enter the 7th Grade and 10th Grades respectively. By 1999, the school had approximately 1550 accommodated in 2 shifts – 7:15 a.m. to 12:15 p.m., Grades 10 and 11, 600+ students, and 12:15 p.m. to 5:15 p.m., Grades 7-9, 800+ students. The auditorium/lunchroom, which normally in such situations would double as a holding area for students across shifts, had to be used for classrooms. This led to two problems: students for the second shift who arrived early had to mill around in the schoolyard and all students had limited extracurricular activities.

The school's adoption the ROSE programme in 1994 increased the need for additional facilities. The administration requested 8 new classrooms, but these did not materialize. To house the students, the Administration used plywood to divide existing large classrooms. Ironically, the Ministry of Education had designated agriculture one of the vocational subjects to be taught, and built a greenhouse, in spite of the fact that the school is by the seaside. School personnel altered the greenhouse to create a lecture room, the Guidance office, the Nurse's office, and a sick bay. The laboratories, however, were refurbished and some equipment upgraded, and teachers for Biology/Chemistry and Physics consider the laboratories adequately equipped. More recently, through the efforts of the PTA and a corporate sponsor, the school completed a self-help project – the computer building (M. Ogilvie, personal communication, March 4, 1999).

In contrast, capacity was not an issue at Trench Town Comprehensive High, as enrollment had steadily declined over the years. However, according to the principal, lack of equipment and educational supplies hampered the educational process (G. Smith, personal communication, January 19, 1999; personal observation, March 2, 1999). Although both Frankfield and Trench Town Comprehensive High

Schools were involved in the first phase of the ROSE Project, they had not been targeted for refurbishing and/or extension, despite the fact that overcrowding is the most pressing problem at the school (S. Johnson, personal communication, February 2, 1999).

Other schools had similar complaints. Four years after being upgraded to a ROSE school, Yallahs Comprehensive High was still without promised infrastructure, and operating with one science laboratory. The school, located in a lower middle class area in the parish of St. Thomas, started as a Junior High in the 1970s, offering Art/Crafts, Woodwork, Home Economics, and Childcare, in addition to Mathematics, Science, English and Social Studies. With the addition of 10th and 11th Grades to make the school a New Secondary, the Ministry of Education introduced Metalwork, Carpentry and Joinery, Food and Nutrition, and Office Practice. In 1999, the school had 1250 students in Grades 7 through 11, with each grade divided into six streams. Classes, especially those of the weaker streams, often overflowed with as many as 70 students. No extra classrooms were thus available for remedial work.

The new status of the school brought students into the 7th grade by ‘free-flow’ from neighboring feeder schools, but half to two-thirds of them were functionally illiterate

(H. Moore, personal communication, March 5, 1999). The Principal attributed this to poor primary school attendance. Through a remedial reading program, initially funded by the government of the Netherlands, 6 specially trained teachers worked with the students. Although the program successfully addressed the problem, the Ministry did not continue funding when the pilot program ended after five years.

While all New Secondary Schools such as Donald Quarrie and Yallahs were converted to Comprehensive High Schools as planned, during the ROSE rationalization process, one was treated differently. In 1988, at a time when the public had scant regard for the New Secondary schools, the Ministry of Education changed Mona New Secondary into a traditional high school, Mona High. The Principal believed it was because "students were excelling in the CXC exams, and the school had the infrastructure of a traditional high – separate biology, chemistry and physics laboratories, and a room for home economics" (E. Smith, personal communication, March 3, 1999). The school's location probably contributed to its favored status, as it was situated in a middle class section of metro Kingston/St. Andrew, an area close to the major University, and one already boasting two prestigious

traditional high schools, Jamaica College and Campion College.

Equipment

Lack of equipment forced some principals and teachers in the ROSE schools had to draw on the resources of parents and other persons in the community. At Clonmel Primary and Junior High School, the Principal asked the HEART Trust NTA to provide equipment for the Food Preparation component of the Resource & Technology course. When a teacher with farming background volunteered to teach Agriculture, he got assistance from the Rural Agricultural Development Agency (RADA) as well as from parents, some of whom were farmers ("Striving for Excellence", 1998).

Curriculum

According to administrators, several factors proved to be barriers to implementation of the curriculum: students' non-participation in the textbook rental scheme, the lack of depth of knowledge of teachers, and teachers' reluctant attitude to change. Many of the teachers had been trained to teach the primary levels so did not have deep knowledge of secondary subjects, especially Science and Mathematics. Ministry officials encouraged school administrators to draw on planning and teaching techniques to solve this (I. Reid, personal communication, November 4, 1999).

Some teachers were apprehensive about the new curriculum, as it required them to adopt new methods of teaching, or, as in the case of Research & Technology, to teach concepts outside their areas of expertise (G. Smith, personal communication, January 19, 1999). They also had to shift from being repositories of knowledge to being facilitators, and to appreciate the fact that they could learn from their students. "It was a different way of teaching for some teachers, and it took time for them to get used to it. Even now, some are not very comfortable with the idea of students asking questions, or being critical" (I. Reid, personal communication, November 4, 1999).

Other classroom teachers argued that the ROSE curriculum itself was inadequate, as the content of each subject matter was not deep enough or challenging enough for advanced students. The teacher of Agriculture and the Environment (a component of Resource & Technology) at a comprehensive school thought the Programme put the more academic students at a disadvantage because it lacked the depth of content needed for subjects at the upper secondary level. Thus, he commented:

> I find it a disadvantage somewhat. The content is limited. What we are trying to do is strike a balance between academic and non-academic students. And with

> examinations, they say you should set an exam to suit everybody, but even so, the academically inclined are at an advantage. Then, by Grade 9, when they are supposed to know certain things to go on to the CXC syllabus, they are at a disadvantage. The work becomes harder for the (Grade 10 CXC) teacher.
> (O. Jackson, personal communication, January 29, 1999)

At a comprehensive high school that had 12 streams for Grade 9 (9/1–9/12), administrators and teachers found a way to provide students on the academic track the advanced concepts needed for the CXC examinations:

> Right now we are told to focus on the academically inclined and teach them the CXC syllabus, but we integrate the teaching with the other students. So, we teach this at the 9th grade. At the end of 9th grade, they do a ROSE examination. This is a disaster! 9/10, 9/11, and 9/12 do the straight ROSE syllabus; 9/1 to 9/9 begin the CXC syllabus. But, at the same time, we are told to integrate, incorporate the ROSE Program with their syllabus! (O. Jackson, personal communication, January 29, 1999)

The R & T teacher, like many others, also mourned the fact that he could no longer teach his subjects in isolation. "Content is limited. In former days, would do agriculture for the whole term" (O. Jackson, personal communication, January 29, 1999). He admitted that over the three-year course the student could get all the content they need, but defended his position by saying most teachers skimmed the subject, rather than building on content each year. "But, it’s not being built up. The students in 9/10 will probably graduate from 11/10. If they

were exposed to the content, they could perhaps attempt CXC." The Assistant Principal at Donald Quarrie Comprehensive expressed the opinion that junior high students would be adequately prepared for higher levels if teachers carefully planned their work (M. Ogilvie, personal communication, March 4, 1999). The ROSE Education Coordinator concurred, "Teachers should see the curriculum as a framework that they 'flesh out'. If the ROSE curriculum were used in the manner set out, there would be enough knowledge and appropriate skills to take students to the next level" (P. Johnson, personal communication, February 19, 1999).

Resource & Technology seemed to have been the most challenging subject in the core curriculum. The subject consists of five elements, but some schools offer only three or four. The elements, Agriculture and the Environment, Visual Art, Resource Management, Home and Family Management, and Product Design, represent five discrete subjects that were formerly offered in technical and vocational programs. According to the ROSE Document, the new approach is "one which attempts to integrate these areas to show how the concept of technology is utilized and how the principles are commonly applied across these subject areas." ROSE trainers and evaluators reported that,

at first, many teachers and students were uncomfortable with the subject, but once they understood the methodology eagerly embraced the concept.

During the Mid-Term Review of the ROSE Curriculum, in March 1996, the World Bank team visited several schools in Jamaica and conducted an assessment. They observed teachers were competent and doing an effective job, students were motivated, and Principals were excited about the Programme. The team reported:

> There is widespread acceptance and recognition among principals, teachers and students of the new subject area of R & T. Its practical aspects and its potential to transfer to transfer to job skills make it attractive to both students and teachers. The way R & T is being implemented through five different modules taught by different teachers (although not all schools have yet succeeded in implementing all of them), has encouraged team teaching through a common theme and has also reduced the number of students per group, making it more manageable for the teacher. These experiences can certainly provide the seed for more team teaching to fertilize across subjects in the ROSE Curriculum. (Facey, 1996)

Another positive outcome of the new course was the reduction in gender bias in subjects such as Home Economics and Industrial Arts. At one school, a teacher noted:

> Both sexes are now gravitating toward doing all subjects. Subjects like Metal Work, Wood Work and Electrical Installation, normally dominated by boys are being taken over by the girls and the same can be said for the subjects like Home and Family Management, Clothing and Textiles, and Food and Nutrition, which used to be more female centered. (Turner, 1999)

Students at the Primary and Junior High Schools more readily embraced R & T. Most of these schools were formerly All-Age without the facilities to offer such subjects as the other types of secondary schools did. Students were enthusiastic about group work, field trips and practical work.

In December 1998, six new subjects (Drama, Music, Physical Education/Dance, Religious Education, Spanish, and Visual Arts) had been pilot-tested, and curricula and Teachers' Guides were being developed. Initially, the Movement Education/Gymnastics/Dance component of the Physical Education Program did not go well in some schools, as teachers were unable to teach the skills, and some schools did not have adequate space (Burke, 1996).

Teacher Training

The Professional Development Unit (PDU) of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Joint Board of Teacher Education (JTBE) worked with the ROSE Secretariat to train education personnel for the effective implementation of the ROSE Programme. The student-centered nature of the curriculum calls for creative ways of motivating students to learn. To ensure that this approach was used, both organizations conducted workshops, seminars, and training sessions. The JBTE, responsible for training

teachers to implement the ROSE curriculum, modified the course of study in the Teacher Training Colleges to include the ROSE approach.

The PDU conducted in-service training of teachers through workshops, school visits, and a distance education program. The unit contracted 25 teacher trainers, located at five training colleges, to conduct a 45-hour (two-week) training course that included various teaching strategies, assessment, and career education (I. Reid, personal communication, November 4, 1999). The trainers visited schools, advised teachers on techniques, and held demonstration classes. Regional workshops were held if teachers in a number of schools in an area were experiencing the same problems. The JTBE also started preparation of teaching modules for pre- and in-service teachers. According to the Coordinator of the teacher-training component of the ROSE Project, between 1993 and 1998, the JBTE conducted in-service training for 3,417 teachers of the targeted 5,148 ("Analyzing your teaching technique," 1999).

Most of the teachers responded favorably to the training provided, and only a few expressed dissatisfaction. They expressed the opinion that some trainers would have been more effective if they had had a

better grasp of the concepts they were teaching. "The trainers' lack of experience in use of the methodology was evident" (G. Smith, personal communication, January 19, 1999). The Principal of a comprehensive School thought the new curriculum should have been field tested in a large comprehensive school where over a dozen teachers are often involved in teaching a single subject, instead of in the small, one- and two-stream schools. He believed curriculum developers would then have grasped the difficulty involved in scheduling planning sessions involving several teachers in large schools (E. L. Ricketts, personal communication, January 20, 1999). The Professional Development Unit also trained administrators, principals, board chairpersons, education officers, regional office staff, bursars, college lecturers, and heads of departments. The unit addressed identified needs in the areas of administration, curriculum, and financial management. The PDU carried out a number of other activities including needs assessment of schools participating in the Project, and monitoring and evaluation of the program.

In addition to holding training workshops for education personnel, PDU officers were also responsible for 'sensitizing' sessions for parents and others in the community. They obtained feedback from parents, and

responded to queries about the curriculum and building program. General information about the ROSE Project was also spread through the various media. The consensus, however, was that more needed to be done to educate the public about the reform. According to one Principal, "ROSE needs to be sold a little more." She elaborated, "A little more intense Public Relations needs to be implemented, as there are still persons within the education circles who knew little abut the programme" (Kennedy as cited in Turner, 1999). While acknowledging that the project was initially marketed to teachers and principals, the President of the Jamaica Teachers' Association (JTA) supported the view that the public relations had not been done with sufficient intensity and had not targeted all stakeholders. "I believe … there are still pockets of resistance. I refer to the basic need for the stakeholder to 'buy into' the idea of reform. … This need is still present, and as ROSE extends into the grades 10 and 11, more resistance to change will be inevitable. … And not only are teachers stakeholders, but so are students, parents, guardians, and the community. The involvement of employers is also necessary, so they know what the 'product' of the education system can do, and be willing to employ the graduates" (Stills, 1996, p. 9).

Some members of the public, including some educators, did not welcome the reform. They had done well under the old system of education and saw no reason for change. This attitude was identical to that held by opponents of Allen's proposals in the 1950s and 1960s. They perceived the changing of New Secondary Schools to Comprehensive High Schools to be a change "in name only", as in some cases no substantial modifications had been made to plant, equipment, or staff. They accused the government of trying to hoodwink the public into believing that students would actually receive a high school education. Carrington (1978) considered such practice of self-deception undesirable as it “fosters the notion that comprehensive secondary education is inferior to academic education and increases the lower valuation of the newer comprehensive programmes in the eyes of the public, the teachers and the students” (pp. 39-40).

Examination Complexity and Multiplicity

Previous to the ROSE Project, the movement of students through the secondary system of education was not equitable. Whereas students who entered Grade 7 with CEE passes moved unhindered through to Grade 11, others had to pass a qualifying examination at Grade 9. The rationalization component of ROSE aimed to redress this

problem. The new Grade Six Achievement Test (GSAT) replaced the Common Entrance Examination (CEE) as the primary instrument for placing students into Lower Secondary Schools. With the new process, students indicate their choice, and the Ministry of Education assigns them to schools based on their GSAT scores, availability of spaces, and the proximity of primary/secondary school clusters. After three years of following the common curriculum, all students in Grade 9 will be assessed through the curriculum-based Junior High School Certificate (JHSC) examination. This will be the basis for placement of students in Grade 10, and for determining the type of program to be followed in upper secondary school (Liberal Arts and Sciences or Technical). At the end of Grade 11, students will take the regional Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC). The National Training Agency administers the National Vocational Qualifications for vocational subjects.

The first sitting of the JHSC examination was in May 1996, after three years of pilot testing and revisions. Approximately 8,000 students from 43 participating schools sat for the examination. Three years later, in May 1999, there were 22,000 students from 133 schools. Successful students gained promotion to Upper Secondary grades.

Several educators argued that the GSAT did not provide equity of access to secondary education since it functions as a selective device in placing students in secondary schools (E. Miller, personal communication, January 12, 1999). Some students will be thought of as having ‘failed’ the examination, because only those with higher scores on the GSAT will be awarded the limited number of places. According to the Director of the Planning unit at the Ministry, the government aimed to eventually provide a place for every child at Grade 7, thus the GSAT will cease to be a selective instrument (V. Been, personal communication, January 11, 1999). Miller strongly opposed open entry to Grade 7, and preferred that the GSAT be used to determine the students who are not ready for Grade 7 and who require remedial work. He advocated keeping some All-Age schools open so these students could be brought up to grade 7 level. However, Ministry of Education officials viewed this as a perpetuation of the inequity in access to secondary education (V. Been, 1999).

At existing Comprehensive High Schools, students from feeder schools in the catchment areas entered Grade 7 by “free flow” and did not have to take the CEE or the new GSAT examination. Teachers at Edwin Allen Comprehensive, for example, complained that many of the incoming students

could not read, and had to be placed in remedial streams (N. Ricketts, personal communication). Such students continued to move through the secondary system, up to Grade 11, in these remedial streams. At the end of Grade 9, students of average and above ability sat for the same examination (the previous GNAT) as the remedial groups. One teacher remarked, “The examination is not challenging! Most of the upper level 9s, 9-1, 9-2, 9-3, et cetera, get in the upper 90s, while the 9-10, 9-11, 9-12, cannot get 20! …They -should just continue with the subjects they were doing. Teachers would then do the evaluations” (O. Jackson, personal communication, January 29, 1999).

An assistant principal at Frankfield Comprehensive High reported some success with students who were placed in remedial classes, but admitted there were difficulties. Donald Quarrie Comprehensive Assistant Principal remarked, "Two-thirds of the incoming 7th grade class needs remedial work. Most of the students did not pass the CEE. Some students can’t handle the academics or practicals" (M. Ogilvie, personal communication, February 4, 1999). The Principal of Yallahs Comprehensive faced the same problem. "There is no specialized (reading) teacher, though half to two-thirds of the students coming in fall in this category” (H. Moore, personal communication, March 5, 1999).

These reports supported Miller's stance that the emphasis should be on improving the quality of education at the primary level, before undertaking improvements at the secondary level. In his opinion, the government was sacrificing quality education for quantity. Policy makers however, expressed the intent to simultaneously improve both levels of education, and extended the reform to the upper secondary grades.

<u>Second Phase of the ROSE Implementation</u>

The second phase of the program, scheduled for 1998-2003, will focus on:

1. extending the Junior High Curriculum to all schools with Grades 7-9.
2. upgrading Grades 10 and 11--rationalizing the three types of programmes, the five different types of secondary level institutions, and the numerous examinations (Table 5). This will involve the use of a core curriculum of 5 subjects: Language, Mathematics, a Science subject, a Social Science/Humanities subject, and a Technology subject.
3. streamlining the movement of students through the Secondary Level of the system.
4. offering in-service training to 5,000 teachers.
5. providing text materials for about 150,000 students.

The first two areas of focus are significant and warrant a detailed examination. Since students entering the senior secondary education system have uneven achievement levels, the upper secondary reform proposes two tracks:

1. Route I (a two-year track) that will be attended by those who will have no difficulty with CXC examinations at the end of Grades 10 and II
2. Route II (a three-year track) that prepares students who will need an additional year to complete these two grades.

All students will pursue a core curriculum of 5 subjects: English Language, Mathematics, a Social Science subject, a Natural Science subject, and a Technology subject. It is proposed to develop a Resource and Technology (R & T) II that would integrate various technological concepts and principles. The proposed course would emphasize Draughting (Manual and Computer-aided; Entrepreneurial Education (including Business Education) and Information Technology.

Route I students will be allowed to choose 2-4 additional subjects, while Route II students will be allowed a choice of 1-2. These students will be able to transfer to the two-year track if their performance improves. Students in both tracks will take part in an expanded school experience program that includes membership

in a school group or club, community service, and guidance and counseling programs. The programs in the Technical High Schools will be aligned with the reform and will provide specialized technical training at the upper secondary level. All students will be required to develop portfolios of their experiences over the two or three years. Possible individual program choices include:

Liberal Arts	English Language, Mathematics, Integrated Science, Resource & Technology II, **+** 3 or 4 subjects from: History, Geography, Social Studies, Home Economics, English Literature, French or Spanish
Science	English Language, Mathematics, R & T II, Social Studies, **+** 3 or 4 subjects from: Biology, Chemistry, Physics, French or Spanish
Technical	English Language, Mathematics, Social Studies, Integrated Science, **+** 3 or 4 subjects from: Business Education, Home Economics, Building Technology, Agriculture, Art and Craft, French or Spanish

Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture, 1995, p. 17).

As the Government of Jamaica continued its attempts to expand the secondary system, one of the major problems it faced was the shortage of spaces at the upper level. In 1995, 85% of students could find spaces in Grades 7-9, but there were places at the upper secondary level for only about 50% of the students leaving Grade 9. Most of the pupils leaving Grade 9 of the All-Age schools do not

qualify academically for entry to Grade 10 of the upper level secondary system. One solution was to provide skills training and remedial education programs at HEART/NTA. Another, more practical, solution was to make more efficient use of existing capacity. The Ministry of Education therefore decided on a strategy for restructuring the secondary level schools so that the limited spaces would be distributed more fairly and efficiently. The main thrust of the restructuring, in both Phase I and II of ROSE, was the conversion of New Secondary Schools to Comprehensive High Schools (Appendix E), and the upgrading of Grades 7-9 of All-Age Schools to Junior High Departments. This restructuring, as described earlier in the chapter, involved mainly refurbishing existing buildings. However, in some communities, some Junior and Senior High Schools were constructed.

The Upper Secondary Pilot Project started in September 1999 in 6 schools: Vere Technical, St. Thomas Technical, Norman Manley Comprehensive, Spaldings Comprehensive, Meadowbrook, and Excelsior High Schools. Teacher training was improved so as to deliver the new curriculum. In September 1997, representatives from the school attended a workshop that focussed primarily on the needs of the students who would spend three years completing the Upper

Secondary Program (Track II). They worked on a draft curriculum for the first year of the Pilot, and developing timetabling skills. Some of these teachers, under the direction of the Student Assessment and Evaluation Unit and the ROSE Secretariat, developed diagnostic tests of foundation skills and knowledge that students should have at the end of Grade 9. Areas of weakness will be targeted in the first year of the Track II program, and teachers will use the information gained from the diagnostic tests to aid instruction.

The overall effect of these reforms in secondary education should result in improvements in the quality of teaching and secondary school graduates who should have more relevant skills, knowledge, and attitudes. Ultimately, this should lead to a more productive labor force and workers who can compete in the global marketplace.

Summary

The Reform of Secondary Education (ROSE) Initiative was an attempt by the Ministry of Education and Culture to redress the problems of quality, equality, relevance, and access in the secondary school system in Jamaica. The various models of secondary schools -- New Secondary, Technical, High, Comprehensive, Junior Secondary, and the upper levels of All-Age Schools -- catered to different

segments of the society and served to reinforce class distinctions. ROSE program formulators envisioned the core curriculum as a common "thread" or "glue" uniting and equalizing the quality of education received by all students at the secondary level. The upper classes of All-Age schools were upgraded to Junior High schools, New Secondary schools were converted to Comprehensive, and a few new schools were built. However, the Ministry of Education made no effort to change the structure of the traditional High, Technical, or Comprehensive schools. Instead, Grades 7-9 in all types of secondary institutions were designated Junior High departments offering the same "core" curriculum. Instead of initiating the comprehensive concept in new schools as Allen had done, the past two Administrations introduced it via the ROSE "core" curriculum, in all types of existing secondary institutions.

These factors, plus changes in the political mood of the country have enabled the comprehensive model to gain a foothold in Jamaica. They are discussed in the following chapter, which also compares the ROSE initiative with earlier efforts to make the comprehensive high school the model of organization of secondary education.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY, ANALYSES, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

After WWII, as developed countries sought to expand their secondary systems of education, many selected the comprehensive high school model as the vehicle for change. This was due in part to the fact that the egalitarian principles underlying the model were in tandem with the increasingly democratic leanings of these countries. Developing countries also embraced democracy, but in expanding their secondary school system most elected to retain the bi-or tripartite elitist systems that existed in the home countries of their former colonizers. While all levels of the society in these countries held academic learning in high esteem, only those of the upper class were granted access. As these countries gained independence from their colonizers, some began experimenting with the comprehensive model of secondary education.

Whereas a great deal has been written about the adoption of the model in developed countries, little has been documented on the process in developing countries. This study attempted to document the efforts of Jamaica, a

developing country and ex-colony, to move away from an elitist secondary education system inherited from its past and towards the egalitarian comprehensive high school model more oriented to the present and future needs of the country. The study sought to: determine the factors that led to the recognition of the comprehensive high school model as appropriate for Jamaica; identify sources of support for and sources of opposition to the model; examine the influence of social and political forces in policy implementation; assess the extent of implementation of the model in Jamaica; and explore future possibilities for implementing the comprehensive model in Jamaica. The researcher hoped that the findings in these areas would proffer an explanation as to why the model is not more widespread worldwide.

This chapter first summarizes the history of education and educational reforms in Jamaica. The findings of the study are then applied to address each of the research questions posed in Chapter 1. The latest education reform (ROSE) policy is analyzed and compared and contrasted with earlier attempts to introduce the comprehensive model into the Jamaican educational system. Jamaica's adaptation of the comprehensive high school model is then compared to those practiced in other countries. The conclusions reached

from the analysis of the findings of the study form the basis of an explanation as to why the comprehensive high school model is not more widespread. The chapter offers recommendations that could enhance the success of future education policy initiatives. Finally, the chapter suggests implication for future research, policy formation, and implementation of the model in nations with similar backgrounds.

Summary of the History of Education and Educational Reform in Jamaica

In the colonies of the Caribbean, secular schools were first established for the White plantation rulers who could not afford to send their children to the "home" country to be educated. The slaves received no education until the arrival of the missionaries (Anglican, Baptist, Methodists, and Moravians) in the early nineteenth century. The main objective of the early missionaries, who often worked covertly, was to "civilize" the "natives" and convert them to Christianity (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998, p. 203). They were able to operate openly when estate owners realized their teachings also promoted obedience to the slave masters, and therefore served as a method of controlling the slaves and maintaining the *status quo* (Bacchus, 1990, pp. 129, 140, 148).

With the Negro Education Grant of 1835, the British Government for the first time made provisions for the education of non-whites in the islands. Elementary education, at first only available to the children of the newly freed, was later extended to the black children, and for many years was the only level of education available for the black masses.

When secondary education was introduced it was for the few Whites and light-skinned "coloreds" who could not afford to send their children to England. The graduates filled clerical and administrative positions in the Civil Service, while graduates of the elementary system worked at menial jobs or, at best, became elementary school teachers. The secondary system was designed to mirror and perpetuate the attitudes and values of upper class English society and reinforce the class divisions that existed since slavery.

Before and during WWII, the British set the decolonization process in motion. Decolonization resulted in the need for locals to replace the Whites who manned most of the professional and administrative positions. The post-war boom in manufacturing also demanded a skilled and more educated labor force (Beckford & Witter, 1982; Jefferson, 1972). Crown Colony Government sought to expand the secondary system, but instead of increasing the number

of traditional high schools, chose to establish trade training centers and work camps for the masses. Secondary education in the post-colonial era would be reserved for the elite (Jamaica Government, 1946).

The *Kandel Report* of 1943 proposed that rather than excluding the vast majority, secondary education should be provided for all. However, Kandel's recommendations were ignored, and the secondary schooling solution for the Black majority was the Secondary Modern School (an extension of the elementary schools with a vocational emphasis). The Common Entrance Examination introduced in 1957 was an attempt to increase access to the academic secondary high school. It partially incorporated one of Kandel’s recommendations, but instead of being used to place all students in appropriate secondary institutions as he had suggested, it served to select and place only high-scoring pupils in the traditional academic secondary schools. On the surface, the Common Entrance Examination seemed to open the doors of the traditional high schools to the lower classes, but it in fact benefited the upper and middle classes. It did, however, give lower class children the first opportunity to receive secondary education.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, as the debate about secondary education raged, one of the solutions proposed

was the comprehensive high school model. Edwin Allen, educator and Parliamentarian, was very vocal in his support of this model of secondary schooling. When he became Minister of Education in 1962, the year the island gained its independence, he seized the opportunity to establish two comprehensive schools, Trench Town Comprehensive and Frankfield Comprehensive. Both schools were successful to a degree, but stakeholders in the society--Ministry of Education bureaucrats, members of the Cabinet, educators, and parents—had not been persuaded of the merits of this model as a suitable solution for the problems facing secondary education in Jamaica. Thus, up to the mid-1980s, only 6 of the 56 secondary high schools in the island were classified as comprehensive (See Chapter 5).

Subsequent administrations continued to expand the secondary system by creating first Junior Secondary and later New Secondary schools, but in reality these were simply extensions of the elementary system. The educational system continued to be dual, divided along class lines, with the middle and upper class students leaving grade 6 of the preparatory schools for the academic high schools, while the majority from the primary schools completed their education in All-Age, Junior Secondary or New Secondary schools.

There was mounting awareness of the need for changes in the system, and in 1992, the Ministry of Education initiated the Reform of Secondary Education (ROSE) in the schools. The mainstay of the ROSE program was the core curriculum and the vehicle for delivering this would be the comprehensive high school.

Analysis of Research Findings

The findings of the study provided answers to the six research questions posed in Chapter 1.

What Factors Led to the Recognition of the Comprehensive High School Model as Appropriate to Jamaica?

For years it had been evident that the system of secondary education that existed in Jamaica was deficient in terms of equity, quality, access and relevance. The business community had reported that the poor basic literacy and numeracy of new labor force entrants made training of technical skills difficult, and that school graduates lacked proper work attitudes. Unemployment was high, but many of the secondary graduates entering the labor market did not have the skills required for technical jobs. Employers also reported that traditional high and technical school graduates were somewhat better prepared and therefore they were more likely to hire them over graduates from New Secondary schools. The latter, built

during the PNP administration (1972-1982), provided education for the majority of secondary age students, but often lacked equipment and had less qualified teachers. The schools' low social currency negatively impacted the students' chances of employment.

Several studies of the school system, including UNESCO's (1983) *Development of secondary education in Jamaica*, indicated the need for equity in the quality of secondary schools, and for a curriculum that would address the needs of the society. The feedback from the business community and the results of the studies prompted the JLP Government to undertake a reform initiative funded by the World Bank. The comprehensive high school offering a curriculum of academic and vocational subjects, and with underlying democratic principles, seemed the answer. The fact that lending agencies generally persuade governments to follow specific policies indicated that the World Bank favored the model.

Other factors were also at work. After Independence in 1962, party politics became highly competitive and successive Administrations used policies, especially education, to gain favor with the electorate. The PNP administration (1972-1973) with its democratic socialist

platform must have been aware of the inequities in the secondary school system that could have been righted using the comprehensive high school model. The Party preached "egalitarianism", a term the Party's critics equated with "communism." However, for the administration to support comprehensive schools that promoted "equity" in education would have meant political suicide.

The end of the Cold War in 1990 lessened confrontation between the two main political parties in the island. Normalization of relations between Russia and the United States had reduced the pressure from the United States government and media (L. Lindsay, personal communication, February 9, 1999). The PNP Government was thus free to embrace a more egalitarian policy. Both parties now approached education policy in a more bi-partisan way.

What were the Sources of Support for the Comprehensive High School in Jamaica?

Few people supported the comprehensive high school model when it was first introduced in Jamaica in 1963. Kandel, Professor of Education at Teachers' College, Columbia University and Allen, local politician and educator, both championed the principles underlying the model as a solution to the problems of secondary education

in Jamaica. Professor Kandel, a well-known and highly respected expert in the history of education and in comparative education, chaired the commission that investigated secondary education, curriculum and staffing, the integration of secondary education with elementary and tertiary education, and employment opportunities for secondary graduates. Kandel, in the 1943 *Report of the committee appointed to enquire into the system of secondary education in Jamaica* (the *Kandel Report*) did not mention the comprehensive high school by name. However, he clearly supported the progressive ideas embodied in the model, and specifically the idea of educational opportunity and unity through diversity that could be achieved in the comprehensive high school. Ironically, he was anti-progressive in the United States. Policy makers did not act immediately on many of his recommendations, but would do so later during the 1990s as they sought solutions to the persistent problems facing secondary education.

Edwin Allen, beginning in the 1950s, waged a one-man battle to introduce the comprehensive high school model to Jamaica. Few shared his vision, but in 1964 during his tenure as Minister of Education in the JLP government (1962-1972), he established two such schools, Frankfield and Trench Town. A third school, Tivoli Gardens

Comprehensive was completed in 1970. Allen did not utilize policy-making procedures, nor did he gain stakeholder support necessary for successful implementation of the policy. These factors, along with his reported less-than-engaging personality, perhaps curtailed the potential of these pioneer schools. The PNP administration (1972-1982) built two comprehensive schools, Charlie Smith and Herbert Morrison, already in the pipeline of a World Bank project. However, following the tradition practiced by every new administration since the 1950s, the administration discarded the JLP reforms and introduced the New Secondary Schools. These, basically extensions of elementary schools, did not gain favor either with a society that had high regard only for academic education.

Acceptance of the comprehensive high school model by various stakeholders in Jamaican society has been greater in the more recent reform efforts (ROSE) for several reasons. The reforms initiated by the JLP during the latter years of its administration (1982-1992) were continued by the PNP. This focus on what was good for the country away from what was politically expedient for the party was perhaps a reflection of what was happening in the world. Events taking place in "political streams" (Kingdon, 1995) in developed countries often have far-reaching effects in

smaller developing states. As tensions lessened in the post-Cold War era, both parties ceased to use education as a tool in gaining the electorate’s favor, and readily embraced the ROSE concept (L. Lindsay, personal communication, February 9, 1999). Consensus building took place in the policy community across party lines.

What were the Sources of Opposition to the Comprehensive High School in Jamaica?

While acknowledging the need for more educated workers, the ruling class of business owners, landowners, educators, and politicians during the mid-twentieth century, was not in favor of high school education for the masses of the people. Surprising opposition came from those in the lower classes who had had the opportunity to benefit from academic education, and who were now entrenched in the middle class. They were quite vocal in their opposition to any plan that would enable the lower class to obtain equal education. This group included many teachers. Some, however, were not so much against the concept of the comprehensive model, as they were against Edwin Allen, its chief proponent. In addition, most of the members of the main teachers’ union, the JTA, supported the Opposition and thus were antagonistic to the Minister and his policies.

By the 1990s, improved relations between the various actors in the policy process (teachers and the Ministry personnel) made implementation of the ROSE policy easier (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). While some in the society were still of the opinion that academic education should be the exclusive right of the elite, this viewpoint was not as prevalent as it had been in the earlier period from. Several educators, while endorsing the comprehensive concept, did not embrace all its aspects. Miller, former Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education and Professor of Education, strongly disagreed with the concept of open entry to Grade 7, one of the basic tenets of the model, and proposed instead that Grade 6 students not academically ready undergo intensive remediation before being promoted.

However, Ministry of Education officials viewed the critics' proposal as a perpetuation of the inequity in access to secondary education (V. Been, personal communication, January 14, 1999). The Ministry of Education defended its decision to have open enrolment at Grade 7. Until the government was able to provide a place in the secondary system for each student, the Grade Six Achievement Test (GSAT) would be used as a selective tool. Students with high scores on the examination would be

"creamed off" to traditional schools (V. Been, personal communication, January 15, 1999). When the ROSE program with its core curriculum was fully operational in *all* secondary schools selectivity would no longer be an issue.

What Influence did the Local Social and Political Forces have on Previous Policy Implementation?

Social and political forces played a significant part in hindering the successful implementation of the comprehensive model in the 1960s and 1970s, but to a lesser extent in the 1990s. In the late 1960s and 1970s, most of the bureaucrats in the Ministries of Education and Finance were members of the Brown class, men who had had the rare privilege of attending the top secondary boarding schools such as Jamaica College, Munro, and Wolmer's. There they had received the classic education typical of the British grammar school and had assumed the values of the ruling elite. High school education, available to few in the society who could pay the fees, had placed them in the upper class, and they did not favor the egalitarian comprehensive model that would provide the lower classes with secondary education and lessen their status.

During the Crown Colony period (1865-1944), the educational system had been structured so that blacks received free elementary education that led to teachers'

colleges or vocational occupations. Browns, Jews, and Whites, who could afford it, attended fee-paying preparatory schools that led to high schools and the promise of professional careers. After 1944, the ruling elite worked to maintain these vestiges of colonialism, and thus their place in society.

They used varying strategies to hinder implementation (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980) of the comprehensive model at Trench Town and Frankfield. The Ministry of Finance did not release funds for several aspects of the project, and career civil servants "dragged their feet" on paperwork. Aspiring lower and middle class parents desired this exclusive education for their children, so they could move up the social ladder. Any curriculum that hinted of "manual training" was a sharp reminder of the indignities their people had suffered in the past. The more "bookish" the education their children received, the higher they could climb the social ladder. These parents joined the influential elites in the society in expressing disapproval of comprehensive high schools.

Political factors also impacted policy implementation. The political climate in the post-Independence era was highly partisan, and hindered policy making in the interest of the country. Thus, Nunes (1976) noted, "Policies are

often designed to mobilize support for the party, not for the country" (p. 211). The strong ideological differences between the two political parties divided the country into two opposing camps.

In 1972, the People's National Party (PNP) under the leadership of Michael Manley adopted a democratic socialist platform, which set it apart from the more conservative Jamaica Labor Party (JLP). Critics of the Party, including the United States, considered the Manley administration communist, especially after it established full diplomatic ties with Cuba, its neighbor 90 miles to the north with whom it had long-standing social and economic ties. The PNP's democratic socialism platform preached "egalitarianism", a term the Party's critics equated with "communism." It would have been political suicide for the administration to support comprehensive schools that promoted "equity" in education.

The end of the Cold War in 1990 brought an easing of confrontation between the two main political parties in the island. Normalization of relations between Russia and the United States had reduced the pressure from the United States government and media (L. Lindsay, personal communication, February 9, 1999). The PNP Government was

thus free to implement a more egalitarian policy. Both parties now approached education policy in a bi-partisan way, and ceased to use education as a vote-getting tool.

To what Extent has the Comprehensive High School Model been implemented in Jamaica?

Although the Jamaican government has shaped the comprehensive model to suit the needs of its people, the basic principles of the product bear a close resemblance to those outlined in the CRSE (1918) *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. Thus, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture (1995) indicated the features of the common curriculum for Grades 7-9 in all secondary schools as:

> It seeks to satisfy the identified needs of the society. The curriculum seeks to provide the skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary to equip students for the world of work, and to prepare them to be good citizens and parents.
>
> It is broad and balanced. The curriculum covers a wide range of subjects and offers the average student a sensible mix of subjects. All students pursue a core of subjects - English Language, Mathematics, Social Studies, Science, and Resource and Technology.
>
> Grades 6 and 9 mark important stages in the education system. At these points, the curricula are designed to ensure that there is a smooth transition from one level to the next, that the objectives of one stage are continued and reinforced on the next.
>
> It is multi-level, offering common content, but with different activities to suit student at different reading levels.

> It is socially responsible-paying attention to social concerns and to values and attitudes.
> The curriculum addresses the areas of social concerns that now prevent secondary level graduates from contributing meaningfully to society and seeks to build self-confidence in the secondary-level student.
>
> Students are encouraged to develop the skills of problem solving and creative thinking.
>
> Activities, as opposed to mere book learning, form a major part of the teaching and learning methodology. (pp. 8-9)

The main goal of the comprehensive high school in Jamaica is education for democracy, to educate individuals capable of contributing to the maintenance of a democracy. The curriculum provides both the unifying and specifying functions associated with a comprehensive high school. While it does not have the extensive offerings found in US comprehensive schools, the broad curriculum provides a range of subjects and activities to meet the specific needs of individual students in a population of varying abilities. At the same time it unifies students of differing backgrounds, aptitudes, and aspirations.

While students are not tracked in the strict sense of the term, that is, grouped at the same level of ability in all subjects from grade to grade, they are placed in ability streams for the core courses. Such practice is frowned upon in developed countries, but policy makers in developing countries such as Jamaica, faced with a high

demand for education and limited resources, often must spend these resources in the most efficient way.

In addition to the core subjects, students are exposed to Music, Dance, Art, and Drama, and Resource & Technology. The latter course is comprised of five elements: Home and Family management, Resource Management, Product Design and Development, Agriculture and the Environment, and Visual Arts (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993, p. 13). The aim of Resource & Technology education is to motivate students and enable them to relate schooling to the world of work. Through a problem-solving approach based on themes, students learn basic business management, home management, drafting, woodwork, metalwork, joinery, electrical work, bricklaying, and plumbing. As they develop and implement projects, students with varying levels of ability learn to work in groups. Drawing upon knowledge and skills from academic and vocational areas of the curriculum, they plan, budget, meet deadlines, manufacture products, market, and sell them (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1992, p. 2). The Resource & Technology (R&T) course along with the core curriculum, thus serves a unifying function in the Jamaican comprehensive high school.

Policy Analysis of the 1963 and ROSE Initiatives Regarding Comprehensivization

Kingdon's (1995) and Nakamura & Smallwood's (1980) models of policy provide excellent frameworks for analysis of the various stages of the policy making process that led to the establishment of the comprehensive high school in Jamaica. These models differentiate the policy environment enabling examination of the factors impacting decision-making.

One of the problems facing post-war Jamaica was a secondary education system that was not meeting the needs of the society. The problem had long been recognized (Kingdon, 1995) and had been the focus of several commissioned reports. The Hammond Report of 1941 concluded that secondary education would compound the problem of middle-class unemployment and recommended that elementary education, vocational education, and adult literacy be given priority instead. The ruling class largely supported this position. *The Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the System of Secondary Education in Jamaica* (1943) indicated that it was a widely accepted belief in Jamaica that secondary education was for a select few, that elementary education was for the masses, and that there should be no connection between the two systems. Indeed,

different education authorities governed the two systems. The notion held by those with influence was that the children of the masses could not appreciate or benefit from secondary education. Thus, despite Kandel's recommendations that the secondary education system be expanded, *A Plan for Post-Primary Education in Jamaica* (1946) and *A Ten Year Development Plan for Jamaica, 1947-1957* promised more spaces in some kind of post primary institution rather than comprehensivization.

Post-war industrialization and diversification, however, led to an economic boom (Beckford & Witter, 1982; Jefferson, 1972) that resulted in the need for a more educated workforce, and thus for increased access to secondary education. Educated workers from the lower class were needed for the developing society, but what form should their training take? Various stakeholders in the society -- colonial administrators, post-colonial Representative Government, educators, the upper class, and the middle class -- promoted their solutions to the problem. These included trade training schools, farm schools, youth camps, senior modern schools, and All-Age schools. The solution implemented by the Government of Jamaica for the masses of children was the Senior Modern School introduced in Britain several years before (Easter

Committee, 1946). This was basically the senior division of a primary school, and did not offer the secondary education needed for a developing nation. This model however, was readily accepted as it was in keeping with the belief of the major stakeholders that secondary education could be appreciated only by a select few in the society.

Another solution to the problem of secondary education floating in the policy stream (Kingdon, 1995) during the 1950s was the comprehensive high school. This organization of secondary schooling had gained popularity in Europe after World War II as the preferred method of educating all children, and had began spreading in the international arena (Fowler, 1995). Edwin Allen had been exposed to this model of secondary education in the late 1940s, and became a passionate advocate of the comprehensive concept. On his return to Jamaica in 1950, he fervently shared what he believed to be the solution to the problems that plagued the secondary education system—access, equity, quality, and relevance.

Allen was a persistent policy entrepreneur in the 1950s, keeping the problem high on the education policy agenda through speeches as JLP Member of Parliament and numerous newspaper articles in the *Daily Gleaner* as he attempted to couple his solution to the problem (Kingdon,

1995) and persuade stakeholders. As Minister of Education during 1953-1955, and as Opposition member from 1955-1962, Allen was unable to persuade significant stakeholders of the values of the comprehensive high school model. Jamaican society was not ready for his ideas, and the main reasons for the rejection were social. He was seen as an upstart from the wrong social class, without the traditional educational background, who dared to challenge the status quo. The ruling class did not favor the mixing of abilities and social classes in the secondary schools, preferred academic subjects, and had disdain for vocational education. Policy communities must be receptive to solutions put forward by policy entrepreneurs for them to be successfully adopted. As Kingdon (1995) noted, “Many good proposals have fallen on deaf ears because they arrived before the general public, the specific publics, or the policy communities were ready to listen” (p. 130). Despite resistance, Allen did not allow the policy issue to die (Scroufe, 1995, p. 81); he demonstrated his commitment to the concept and kept it on the agenda through articles in the newspaper, public speeches, and debates in the House of Representatives.

The PNP's win in the 1955 election created a "policy window" through which the Party was able to push their own

solution (Kingdon, 1995, p. 88). In 1957, they introduced the Common Entrance Examination (CEE) that increased the number of "free" places in the traditional (grammar) schools, enabling many more students from the lower classes to attend grammar schools. This was hailed as a milestone, but in reality, only a small percentage of eligible children gained access to secondary education.

The general election and Allen's subsequent appointment as Minister of Education in 1962 provided the policy entrepreneur his "window of opportunity" through which to advance the proposals he had advocated for years. The country was on the threshold of independence and secondary education rose high on the government's agenda list. The policy, however, was not initiated by bureaucrats, but originated with the Minister himself. According to policy-making theories (Kingdon, 1995), politicians do not usually initiate policy. Allen, however, operated in a hostile environment, in which the police, the military, the civil service, urban workers and teachers, favored the PNP. The PNP was openly supportive of the teachers' association (JTA), and ever critical of the Minister of Education, no doubt in an attempt to capitalize on the differences between the two factions (Goulbourne, 1988). Perhaps, realizing that his idea would not survive

the usual policy process, he instituted "top-down" reform, outlining his intentions in a Ministry Paper. The Minister did not invite a policy motion debate, seek Cabinet approval, or hold discussions with teachers or bureaucrats in the Ministry of Education, to initiate policy formation. He formulated the policy himself.

Skilled politician though he was, Allen failed to build consensus through bargaining in the political stream (Kingdon, 1995). Such consensus building often involves "trading provisions for support, adding elected officials to coalition by giving them concessions that they demand, or compromising from ideal positions that will gain wider acceptance" (Kingdon, 1995, p. 199). Allen was dogmatic and uncompromising in his defense of the model. A more flexible and compromising position perhaps would have cast his solution in a more favorable light. Stakeholders (teachers and Ministry bureaucrats) had not been a part of the policy making process, and thus had not "bought into" the concept.

Allen’s non-traditional approach to establishing the comprehensive high school antagonized those who had to carry out the Minister's directives. Although career civil servants had had no part in formulating the policy, they could, and did influence its implementation. Between 1963 and 1972 during the Minister’s two terms in office, they

"dragged their feet" on issues ranging from teacher salaries, grades and appointments, to funding of buildings and equipment for classrooms. Communication linkages between the arenas were weak or broken due to "garbled" messages from senders (intentional or unintentional), misinterpretation from receivers (intentional or unintentional), and lack of follow-up (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). Many of these bureaucrats with affiliations to the Opposition used their positions to thwart policy implementation. The Minister had not considered that the values of policy implementers often impact their decisions (Sroufe, 1995, p. 85).

The Minister was powerless, as he needed their approval and the Ministry of Finance’s for the release of funds. One can only conclude that the Prime Minister did not share Allen's enthusiasm for comprehensive schools, as he never interceded on his behalf. A former Principal remarked, "The Minister did not get much support from the Ministry. Not enough preliminary work was done. The comprehensive idea should have been sold to Cabinet." Nevertheless, he also believed the Minister pushed the policy solo because he wanted to get as much political mileage as possible out of the situation (P. C. Crawford, personal communication, March 1, 1999). Lack of procedures

for formative evaluation and insufficient feedback from teachers struggling to cope in overcrowded, unfinished, and ill-equipped classrooms, prevented the full development of the comprehensive model.

The lack of support for the comprehensive school continued after the change of Administration in 1972 to the PNP. Thee career civil servants in the Ministry of Education, as well as some of the PNP politicians, sought to protect their own class interest. They were from the upper middle class of the society (the Browns) and had attended the elite (grammar) secondary schools. They, and others of the middle class, believed that a school could not be "secondary" or "high" unless it offered mainly academic subjects, equated secondary education with educational ability, and regarded children attending elementary and all-age schools as not having the ability to cope with secondary education. The success of the comprehensive model, offering secondary education to all, would undermine the prestige of their academic diplomas. On the other hand, those of the lower socio-economic levels who sought secondary education for their children also viewed "secondary" as being synonymous with "academic" or "grammar". Thus, all classes wanted to maintain the status

quo. Public opinion, in short, was not on the side of the comprehensive high school model.

The membership of the leading teachers' union, the JTA, was also predominantly PNP, and had a stormy relationship with Allen. His forthright manner did not endear him to teachers who thought his main objective was to curtail their freedom. This group also did not want the comprehensive school to succeed, as this would cast the former Minister Allen in a favorable light. Perhaps Allen's fervor and passion for the comprehensive school clouded his vision and prevented the realization that he should have applied his knowledge of society and his political skills to "win friends and influence people" in order to achieve his goal.

These negative attitudes of the various stakeholders had serious repercussions for the implementation and dissemination of the model. This is in keeping with Nakamura & Smallwood's (1980) theory that "the attitudes, values, and institutional norms may lead implementers to deliberately ignore messages transmitted by the policy makers" (p. 24). Personal likes and politics took precedence over the interests of the children.

Teachers working in the two pilot comprehensive schools (Trench Town and Frankfield) were dedicated

individuals, but they had to work in cramped conditions and with limited materials. The Cabinet had not set aside funds for the two schools in the Budget and money had to be taken “from here and there." The lack of classrooms, technical rooms and equipment meant the comprehensive model could not be fully implemented, and this reinforced the public's view of the model as a failure.

The PNP administration completed Tivoli Gardens (1970), Charlie Smith (1975), and Herbert Morrison (1976) Comprehensive Schools, as had been planned under the World Bank Project. Although the administration decried the concept of the comprehensive school, partisan politics prompted the decision to build Charlie Smith Comprehensive in the same catchment area as Trench Town. The two schools competed with each other for students, resulting in low enrolment at both institutions. The Jamaican government did not formulate plans for new comprehensive schools. Instead, in keeping with tradition, the PNP put forward its own solution to the main problem facing secondary education. New Secondary schools, formed by adding Grades 10 and 11 to the Junior High schools, would increase the number of places at that level (Ministry of Education, 1973). Thus, there was no significant increase in the number of comprehensive high schools constructed in the decade 1972-

1982. In sum, the comprehensive model of secondary schools never took hold in the country. Yet, the model as a solution had not died. It survived, and reappeared refined, in the late 1980s and early 1990s as the Ministry of Education examined models of secondary schooling for the ROSE Initiative.

The idea of the comprehensive high school survived and was relevant because of "its technical feasibility, its value acceptability within the policy community, and a reasonable chance of receptivity among the elected decision-makers" (Kingdon, 1995, p. 114). Consensus for the idea was built across party lines as the idea spread through the policy community. So, although the preparation for the ROSE Initiative began in 1987 during the JLP administration, it was concluded in 1992 when the PNP was in office. What brought this change in policy? In the past, successive administrations had used education as a political tool, reversing or abandoning programs as they started a new term. The easing of tensions between the two super powers after the end of the Cold War caused a ripple effect throughout the rest of the world, In Jamaica, interactions between opposing political parties became less confrontational. Since there was no significant difference in their basic ideology thus it was relatively easy for

them to work in a non-partisan way towards a common good (L. Lindsay, personal communication, February 9, 1999). This non- or bi-partisanship is easier given that the current Minister of Education, although a member of the PNP, does not represent a constituency, but is a member of the Senate.

In his speech to Parliament, Burchell Whiteman, the Minister of Education in the new administration, demonstrated this non-partisanship of efforts to improve education in Jamaica:

> All of these have been mighty efforts, by many, many people of every and no political persuasion, efforts to provide school places in our school system for all our children. If there is one matter on which there is no political division, not even in style, it is the acceptance of the critical need there was for expansion of the educational system at every level, primary and secondary in the first instance, but also tertiary and pre-primary.
> (Jamaica Government Hansard: *Proceedings of the House of Representatives*, July 11, 1989, p. 349)

He acknowledged the contribution and performance of the past Administration:

> When I speak of the performance of the Ministry of Education for 1988/1989, we pay due respect to the leadership of the Ministry during that time -- and I want it to be clearly understood that we accept the significant part played by the then Minister of Education in leading and directing the affairs of the Ministry during 1988 to 1989.
> (Jamaica Government Hansard: *Proceedings of the House of Representatives*, July 11, 1989, p. 349)

According to the new Minister, the Government was committed to continuing policies, "The Government recognizes as part of its mandate, and part of its whole way of operating, a recognition of continuity in the system and also a change" (p. 349). The political parties ceased to use education as a tool to complete for votes.

In this political climate, it was easier for ROSE personnel to maintain the linkages forged between the policy formation, policy implementation, and policy evaluation arenas. Through workshops, on-site visits, surveys, and the *ROSEGRAM* newsletter efforts were made to establish clear communication (Nakamura & Smallwood, p. 24). Policy implementation, however, was not entirely smooth, and some teachers, for varied reasons, deliberately ignored "messages." Believing themselves pressed for time to cover material needed for terminal examinations, they did not implement the ROSE program with students in the more academic streams. The follow-up mechanisms employed by policy makers such as close monitoring of the program and encouraging feedback, enabled policy makers to address these issues and make adjustments in program delivery. Thus, the policy system is a cyclical one. Actors do not have equal power, but can influence each other across the different arenas. The system is not closed, for policy can

emerge from within or outside the system, and the actors have the ability to participate in different environments (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980, p. 27).

The reform of secondary education (ROSE) program appears to be an example of successful policy making. Analysis of this reform effort to introduce the comprehensive high school as the organizational model of secondary schooling suggests several reasons for its success. These include involvement of key actors at all stages of the process, awareness of the socio-political factors that affect their decision-making, and timing. Events that occurred between 1972 and 1992 had made actors in the arenas (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980) more amenable to the comprehensive high school model.

A Comparison of the Comprehensive High School in Jamaica and Developed Countries

This section compares the comprehensive high school in secondary school systems in Europe, the United States and Jamaica. The section examines comprehensivization (the degree to which a secondary education system adheres to the comprehensive school model) in each country in terms of six factors: administration, curriculum, organization, selection, examinations, and equity/access. Evidence about the extent to which the model has increased equity and

accessibility of secondary education in the developed countries and developing Jamaica is discussed.

Administration

With the passage of the Reform Act of 1988, Britain moved towards more centralized control of education with the establishment of a national curriculum. However, the Act was also designed to encourage market processes in education and limit LEA control of public schooling and a move towards a consumer-dominated education system (Whitty & Power, 1997, p. 221).

As the public became more active participants in policy-making and parents were given some choice as to what school their children could attend, the Local Education Authorities (LEAs) saw their role diminished. Central administration of education however, does not appear to determine the degree of comprehensivization of a school system. Varying degrees of central control exist in Sweden, France and Germany, but in the United States control is localized, as each State fiercely guards the right to administer its schools. In Jamaica, efforts to improve educational administration have been a part of the reform of secondary education (ROSE). To this end, several activities in the school system have been decentralized and are now coordinated in 6 regional areas (Appendix D). There

is now more emphasis on regional cooperation and planning and less focus on directives from the Ministry of Education in Kingston. Each individual school manages its own budget, and now seeks more help from the community and the PTA.

Curriculum

Decentralization of administration generally can result in diverse curricula in educational districts. Such is the case in the United States, where individual States are responsible for education and have resisted repeated cries for a national curriculum. Yet, there is a great deal of similarity between the curricular offerings of the districts. The academic components of the curriculum include science, social studies, reading, mathematics, and language arts courses. Clubs, activity programs, and special interest subjects provide students with the opportunity to explore areas not covered in the curriculum, and to interact and work with students of varying ages.

The senior high school in the United States, on the other hand, follows a subject matter curriculum, treating the psychomotor and affective domains as afterthoughts. Most high schools have separate streams or tracks of curricula – college preparatory, commercial, general, and industrial or vocational, with the college preparatory the most highly regarded (Oliva, 1992, p. 313; O'Neil, 1998, p.

209). Further tracking occurs within subjects as academically weaker students are steered towards survey courses, average students (the majority) towards the general, and high performing students towards accelerated or advanced placement courses.

Centralized administration of the public school systems in Britain, France, Germany, and Sweden is accompanied by a national curriculum in each country (Dahllöf, 1990; David, 1992; Prost, 1990), but despite this uniformity, the degree of comprehensivization varies (Fowler, 1995, p. 95). This is a reflection of the historical origins of the particular school system, the strength of the grammar schools and the country's commitment to the democratization of education.

In Jamaica, despite the move towards decentralization of educational administration, a national curriculum will eventually be used in all secondary schools. At the lower secondary level, or junior high school (grades 7-9), the curriculum, like that of the middle school in the United States, is integrated and interdisciplinary. Students follow a common curriculum including these subjects: Language Arts, Mathematics, Resource and Technology, Social Studies, a foreign language, Music, Art, Drama, Dance/PE, and Religious Education. Students who continue on to the

upper secondary or Senior High School level, through electives, will select Liberal Arts, Science, or Technical tracks, but all will take 5 core subjects: English Language, Mathematics, a Natural Science subject, a Social Science subject, and a Technology subject.

Organization

Delivery of comprehensive education in Britain takes place under one roof in most schools, but there is diversity in styles of operation and comprehensiveness (Hargreaves, 1982; Reynolds et al., 1987). Sweden adheres to the strict definition of a comprehensive school, that is, one that houses all eligible students in a catchment area under one roof. This prevails, in France, only at the lower grades, and upper secondary students are tracked in separate buildings. While some school districts or *Lands* in Germany have successfully adopted the comprehensive model, and offerings are under one roof at the lower secondary, nationwide only 5% of students attend such schools compared with over 90% in Britain, Sweden and the United States (Dahllöf, 1990; Leschinsky & Mayer, 1990). The system in Germany also tracks students in separate buildings at the upper secondary level.

In the United States, the term ‘high school’ often refers to the senior school. The school between the

elementary and the high, termed "middle", is housed in a separate building. The middle school began in the 1960s out of reform movements to improve the junior high school. Critics charged that the latter trained adolescents for the senior high school without concern for their developmental needs (Queen, 1999, pp. 186-187). By the mid to late 1980s, the typical US school district had moved from the accepted organizational plan of 6 years of elementary school, 3 years of junior high school, and 3 years of senior high school to a 5-3-4 or 4-4-4 system (Oliva, 1992, p. 339). The middle school, geared to the needs of the emerging adolescent learner (physical, intellectual, socio-emotional, and moral development), replaced the junior high school, and encompasses grades 6-8, or 5-8 (Queen, 1999, p. 183-189).

Grades 9–12 make up the senior high school or comprehensive high school attended by the majority of the age cohort in the United States. It was designed to meet the needs of all youth, but as discussed in Chapter 3, many have doubted its ability to do so. Critics accused it, among other things, of diluting the academic curriculum and of offering students too many choices. Dissatisfaction with the ability of the comprehensive model to meet the needs of all students in the high school led to cries for reform and

alternative schools of choice (Angus & Mirel, 1999; Bestor, 1953, 1985; Chubb & Moe, 1990; Goodlad, 1984; Hannay & Ross, 1997; McQuillan, 1997; Silberman, 1970). This has resulted in specialized schools such as magnet schools of arts and science and schools offering vocation/technical subjects. The comprehensiveness of secondary schools in the United States could potentially be reduced by these efforts to concentrate students by intent, aptitude, and aspirations in a single building, thus diluting the prospect of unifying a diverse student population (Wraga, 1994, pp. 209-210).

In Jamaica, the comprehensive school encompasses both junior (grades 7-9) and senior high (grades 10-13). Grades 7-9 are in: Junior High Schools; Junior High Departments of Primary and Junior High Schools, Comprehensive Schools, High Schools, and Technical Schools. Grades 10-13 will be Senior High Departments of High, Comprehensive, and Technical Schools. In addition, Senior High Schools will be built.

<u>Selection</u>

The comprehensive education systems of France, Germany, and Sweden, place students at an early age in different programs of study. In Germany, the comprehensive school, the *Gesamptschule*, is not the norm in most school

districts in Germany (only 5%), and students receive secondary education in separate institutions (Leschinsky & Mayer, 1990). Students leaving the 5th grade at age 10 transfer either to the vocational *Hauptschule* (35%), the scientific/technical *Realschule,* or the academic *Gymnasium* (55%). The few who attend the *Gesamptschule* are streamed at a later age into scientific/technical, vocational, or academic disciplines.

Educators in both France and Sweden steer students at age 13+ toward specific disciplines (Jonsson, 1990; Prost, 1990). Students in Sweden, during the last three years at the compulsory comprehensive school or *grundskola* (7-16 years), take an academic or vocational track that determines their area of study at the upper secondary level in the *gymnasieskola*. This is reminiscent of Germany's *Realschule*. Unlike Sweden, compulsory schooling in France extends to the upper secondary level, but students are also guided or 'oriented' into separate tracks for the last two years of lower secondary school (*l'ecole unique*). At the upper level, they receive instruction at separate institutions: lycee general et technologique, *lycee d'enseignement*, or *centre de formation d'apprentis.*

In the United States, tracking is prevalent in most senior high schools. Based on past academic performance,

students are directed towards one of several curricular tracks: college preparatory, commercial, general, or industrial/vocational (Oliva, 1992; Raywid, 1985). They pursue some subjects, mainly academic, at 'survey', 'general', or accelerated (advanced placement) levels (O'Neil & Willis, 1998).

Jamaican students taking the Grade Six Achievement Test (GSAT) for entry to the Junior Secondary school, indicate their choice of schools in order of preference. The Ministry of Education, however, assigns them to institutions based on their GSAT scores, availability of spaces, and proximity to primary/secondary school clusters. There is an element of selection here, for those pupils with high scores are sent to the Junior High departments of traditional high schools. All students in Grades 7-9 follow the same curriculum, but the Junior High School Certificate (JHSC) Examination they sit after three years acts as a selection device in determining whether they enter the upper secondary level of the system, or complete their schooling in a vocational institution. Those entering the 10th grade, follow Liberal Arts, Science, or Technical curriculum for 2 or 3 years.

Examinations

In several countries great importance is attached to the terminal examinations students take at the end of upper secondary schooling. The certificates the students obtain have high social currency and are usually required for entry to universities. These examinations include the *Abitur* in Germany, the *Baccalaureate* in France, the General Certificate of Education (GCE) in Britain, and the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) in Jamaica.

In the United States, no terminal national examination exists for graduating seniors, and entry to college is based on a students grade point average (GPA), aptitude tests such as the SAT or ACT, and others factors deemed important by the accepting institution. In recent years, however, the public's cry for higher graduation requirements has led some states to add the passing of a test of basic skills as a prerequisite for a diploma.

As is the case with other ex-colonies, Jamaica's educational system owes much to that of its colonizer, Britain, in terms of organization. Although Britain long ago discarded the 11+ examinations as a selective device for students entering Grade 7, Jamaica clung to its use until 1999, only to replace it with a local equivalent, the Grade Six Achievement Test (GSAT). This test, however, is

not one of aptitude, but based on the curricular content of the elementary grades. Before the Reform of Secondary Education (ROSE) Project, students in the traditional high schools moved by free-flow into the 10th grade. Now all grade 9 students must take Junior High School Certificate (JHSC) Examination to determine placement in the upper secondary system. This compares with the brevet des colleges taken by French students in the college unique to “orient” them to the appropriate lycee, or an apprenticeship program. However, in Jamaica, all students, whether in the Liberal Arts, Science, or Technical track, will pursue a common core of subjects in addition to their electives.

Equity/Access

The comprehensive models of secondary education in Britain, Sweden, and the United States have resulted in more educational opportunity and social equality for all (Gray, 1990; Jonsson, 1990; Tanner, 1982; Wraga, 1994). In contrast, in Germany and France, where the educational systems are less comprehensivized, and where selection occurs at an early age, adoption of the model has not produced significant gains in equity or access (Leschinsky & Mayer, 1990; Prost, 1990). In Jamaica, the introduction of the model at the lower secondary level, in all schools

through the ROSE curriculum, has been successful in increasing the age cohort’s access to equal education. To improve the equity, access, quality, and relevance of education at the senior high level, a second phase of the ROSE Project is being piloted/implemented in several schools in the island.

In their attempt to reform the secondary education system in Jamaica, policy makers have taken great care to avoid mistakes made in the past, that is, the importation of educational reforms from the mother country and their imposition on the local school system. The model of secondary schooling selected as most suitable for providing equality, quality, access, and relevance, was the comprehensive high school. However, the model finally adopted was tailored to the needs of the Jamaican situation. For while it adheres to the principles laid down for the model, the Jamaican model is not a carbon copy of that practiced in any other country. Thus, while administration of education is decentralized, as in the United States, there is a national curriculum as found in the systems of Europe. Further, Jamaican model differs from those in Europe in that selection occurs at a much later stage, at the end of Grade 9, but resembles them in the retention of external examinations. At the heart of the

Jamaican model of the comprehensive high school is the core curriculum. Through it, students have been given access to equal, quality, and relevant education, and the model has been able to carry out both its unifying and specifying functions.

Conclusions

While education reformers in the developed world have expressed dissatisfaction with the comprehensive high school, and have advocated alternative forms of schooling, this study revealed that a developing country has embraced the comprehensive high school concept as a solution to the problems facing its secondary education system.

Traditionally, educational policy-making in Jamaica, as in many former colonies, consisted of importing and implementing unaltered, foreign educational models without consideration for the local context. This policy, which started after Emancipation and continued through Colonial times, was prevalent many years after Independence. Often, when donor agencies made loans for educational development, they stipulated the educational program that should be implemented. None of the imported reforms adequately solved the problem of providing secondary education for all youth in Jamaica. Instead, they left a legacy of a stratified system in which an elite few had access to quality

education. The Jamaican government broke with tradition when it embarked on secondary education reform only *after* a series of studies had been conducted on the education system.

In their reform efforts to ensure equity, access, quality, and relevance in secondary education, policy makers chose the comprehensive school as the organizational model of secondary schooling, and adapted it to the Jamaican context. During the policy process, care was taken to balance academic courses and pre-vocational courses to overcome the cultural and social biases that stakeholders had towards vocational education. The extent to which the model outlined in the *Cardinal Principles* (1918) report has been implemented in Jamaica is discussed earlier in this chapter (pp. 295-298). It is noteworthy that the Jamaican model highlights practices of the *Cardinal Principles* (1918) report that critics of the comprehensive high school cite as lacking in schools today, and that ought to form the bases of restructured secondary schools.

Several factors emerged from this study of the comprehensive high school. Though specific to Jamaica, some of these factors could have worldwide application and may explain why the comprehensive high school model is not more widespread. They are:

1. In the earlier efforts, Government Administrations perceived vocational programs as being more costly than academic ones, and were unwilling to fund these programs. More recently, policy makers recognized the importance of exposing young people to a wider curriculum.
2. In former colonies, comprehensive curricula with their vocational components evoked and continue to evoke, negative images of manual labor. People have been socialized into thinking that only those who are not "good with their heads" should "do with their hands." For many years, those with power in the society relegated the lower classes to elementary education that was mostly vocational, and reserved academic secondary education for the elite few. No politician who wished to be re-elected dared to initiate policy that did not appear to create additional traditional secondary places for the masses. Thus, successive Administrations enacted policies that on the surface increased opportunities for secondary education, but in fact merely extended elementary education. In the current reform effort, the core curriculum is being taught in *all* secondary grant-aided or Government institution, so students from all strata of the society have access to the same knowledge.

3. Parents and employers placed a higher value on academic learning, as academic credentials held the promise of higher pay and prestige. Thus, students showed little interest in pursuing subjects that they do not perceive as leading to these goals. While children of the elite will always be at an advantage in the job market, the common comprehensive curriculum and common school-leaving certificate now go a long way in ensuring equity in the marketplace.
4. Prior Government Administrations were not committed to the democratic ideal in education, that is, equal access by all to quality, relevant education. Social stratification and inequity in the society led to high unemployment and turmoil, and increased demands for change. One of the responses by more recent Administrations is the Reform of Secondary Education that promises the democratic ideal of equal access to relevant quality education.
5. Policy makers in earlier reforms paid insufficient attention during policy making to consensus building in the community. Thus they failed to include all stakeholders, and tried to implement programs without first educating constituents about their agenda. Policy

makers, cognizant of the importance of stakeholders have included them at all stages of the policy process.

6. Low salaries made the teaching profession unattractive. Luring those with vocational expertise was an even greater challenge, since these individuals could earn significantly more outside the classroom.
7. Many schools had an insufficient number of classroom, workrooms, and laboratories. Moreover, equipment was often inadequate to support the wider range of subjects the comprehensive school offered.
8. The Grade Six Achievement Test (GSAT) that replaced the Common Entrance Examination is used as a selection device to place the academically incline students in the traditional secondary schools. This aspect of the reform policy is not true to the original intent of the comprehensive high school model as outlined in the Cardinal Principles (1918) report.

Recommendations and Implications for Further Research

While response to the reform of secondary education (ROSE) program in Jamaica has been mixed, the concept has been gaining acceptance. To ensure increased acceptance, the Ministry of Education must address the issues that plague the educational system: capacity and equipment; teacher quality, supply and salary; the selective nature of

the GNAT and GSAT; consensus building in the community; creation of jobs for comprehensive high school graduates; and equitable remuneration for technically skilled workers.

The Ministry must ensure that all schools have sufficient classrooms, workrooms, and laboratories that are adequately equipped. This is necessary to keep support for the policy, and to silence critics who claim that the converted schools are "comprehensive in name only." Public relations work should continue to increase support for the ROSE policy. Critics insist that standards in the traditional high schools have deteriorated. More evaluation studies should be undertaken in this are and the results used to track performance in both traditional and new schools. Teachers should be encouraged to conduct research in their own classrooms to provide ongoing feedback to policy makers, for the implementation process requires continuous revision.

Quality, quantity, and remuneration of teachers must be addressed. One concern is the large number of untrained teachers at primary level, especially in rural areas. Teacher training facilities and programs must be upgraded in order to provide qualified teachers at all levels. Higher standards are needed for entry to restore status and to attract people to the profession.

Salaries, conditions of service and benefits must be made more attractive to retain teachers in the profession. Teacher training college diplomas can be used to enter higher tertiary institutions, so teaching is often used as a stepping-stone to other careers. Salary scales for primary and secondary school teachers should be on par. That of the former is significantly less, thus it is more prestigious to teach in a secondary institution. The Ministry has begun to address this problem, and training colleges have started offering degree programs in education. This strategy is significant, as more skilled teachers are needed at primary level to ensure that pupils grasp the basic principles required for passing the GSAT and for further study at the junior secondary level.

The turnover of teachers is high at the secondary school level. Only the dedicated and those unable to find more lucrative employment stay in the profession. The government must increase salaries significantly, and offer incentives to attract the best into the profession. Other options for increasing the number of teachers could include using retired teachers on a part-time basis and allowing university students to write off loans in exchange for teaching in the school system.

The entry point for secondary education is between Grades 7 and 9. Students from the primary schools may enter selective secondary programs in Grade 7 only by passing the GSAT examination. Children who attend the All-Age, and Primary & Junior Highs may take the CEE 13+ in Grades 7 and 8, for entry to a technical High School. Additionally, through the GNAT and JHSC examinations, those in Grade 9 gain admission to secondary institutions. After Grade 9, students and out-of-school candidates, may take the JSC examination to qualify for certain training programs and careers. But what about the children who lack the primary foundation and therefore cannot score high on these examinations? They often fall through the cracks at the end of Grade 6, or certainly by Grade 9. Many turn to a life of crime. When the Reform of Secondary Education (ROSE) project is complete, entry to the secondary level will be Grade 7 for the majority of students. Thus, every effort should be made to ensure that students reach basic levels of competency by Grade 6.

The GSAT has been touted as an improvement over the CEE in that it tests knowledge that students learned between Grades 1-6, and not their knowledge of Grade 7 content as was the case with the CEE. However, the examination is still selective and passes are awarded based

on the capacity of schools at the secondary level. The Ministry defends its position as temporary and necessary until the secondary level building phase is complete. Promotion will then be by free-flow. If this situation prevails for too long, the elimination of the CEE would have been a pointless exercise. Some educators advocate shoring up the primary level before implementing the automatic promotion of students from primary to secondary level (E. Miller, personal communication, January 12, 1999). Miller suggests keeping a few All-Age schools operational for a period of time to bring weak students up to grade level. Ministry personnel view this as maintaining the old elitism and contrary to the comprehensive ideal. It is clear, however, that if Government does not address the problems at the primary level and then flood the secondary system with students who need remedial work, there will be a backlash against the comprehensive model. Perhaps this is another situation where policy makers need to take into consideration the local factors and further modify their ideal model to save it. Students at risk for failure in Grade 7 should be included or mainstreamed in the general education process. In extreme cases, this could mean temporary placement in special classes in the same school.

Finally, the Government of Jamaica will need to create opportunities for employment. There is no sense in producing graduates for a jobless market. When jobs are scarce, employers demand additional qualifications from applicants. In addition, to encourage high school graduates to pursue technical careers, efforts must be made to ensure that pay scales in these fields are attractive and comparable to those for careers relying only on academic subjects. If policy makers attend to these concerns then the education system should improve in quality and quantity resulting in a more productive workforce committed to upholding the principles of a democratic society.

The findings of this study have implications for a wider audience. Other developing countries, in particular ex-colonies with a similar history, should find the results of use as they seek to provide secondary education systems that will produce graduates capable of participating in the democratic process. Knowledge of the Jamaican experience will enable these policy makers to avoid pitfalls during the policy process. Finally, the findings of the study should contribute significantly to existing understandings of the adoption of the comprehensive model of schooling in developing nations and to the broader history of the comprehensive model itself.

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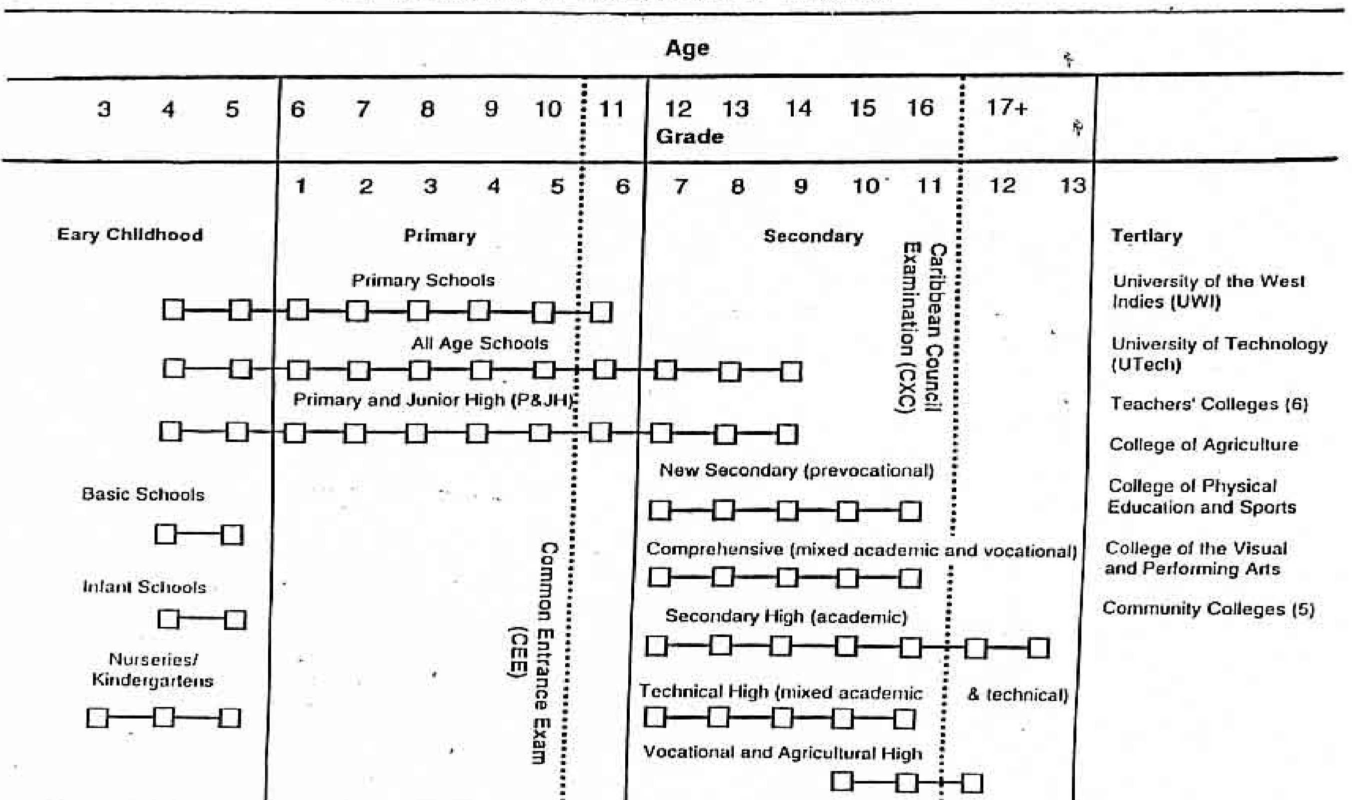
APPEND1X A

THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION IN JAMAICA

THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION IN JAMAICA



SOURCE: GOVERNMENT OF JAMAICA, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEWEES AND BACKGROUNDS

Interviewees and Backgrounds

Name	Position/Background	Location	Date
Bailey, E. M.	Vice-Principal	Frankfield Comp.	01/29/99
Been, V.	Director of Planning	MOE	1/14/99 02/04/99
Crawford, P.	Former Principal	Trench Town Comp.	03/01/99
Dunkley, A.	Former student/ Agriculture Teacher	Frankfield Comp.	02/08/99
Hamilton, M.	Former Total Education Officer	Frankfield Comp.	02/08/99
Jackson, O.	Agriculture Teacher	Frankfield Comp.	01/29/99
Johnson, P.	Education Coordinator	MOE-ROSE	02/16/99
Johnson, S.	Vice-Principal	Frankfield Comp.	02/08/99
Lambert, E.	Business Education Teacher, Former Student	Frankfield Comp.	01/29/99
Lindsay, L.	Lecturer (Govt. & Politics)	UWI	02/09/99

McKaine, E.	Mathematics Teacher, Former student	Frankfield Comp.	01/29/99
Miller, Dr. E.	Professor & Head of Institute of Educ., Chairman of Joint Board of Teacher Educ., Permanent Scty., MOE 1974/75 Pres. JTA 1986/87.	UWI	01/12/99
Moore, H.	Principal	Yallahs Comp.	03/05/99
O'Gilvie, M.	Vice-Principal	Don Quarrie Comp.	03/05/99
Reid, I.	National Director, ROSE, (ACEO) Asst. Chief Education Officer (Curriculum)	MOE-ROSE	11/04/99
Ricketts, C.	Home Economics Teacher	Frankfield Comp.	01/29/99
Ricketts, E.L.	Principal	Frankfield Comp.	01/20/99
Ricketts, N.	Vice-Principal	Frankfield Comp.	01/20/99
Ruddock, L.	Former ACEO-Primary/All-Age, Special advisor to MOE	MOE	01/13/99

Smith, Earl	Principal	Mona High	03/05/99 11/04/99
Smith, Edson	Former Teacher	Trench Town Comp.	01/21/99
Smith, G.	Principal	Trench Town Comp.	01/19/99 03/01/99 11/05/99
Solomon, D.	Vice-Principal	Don Quuarrie Comp.	03/04/99
Stewart, Dr.T.	Former Chief Educ. Officer-Home Econ.	MOE	01/11/99
Taylor, V.	Former Student, Bursar	Frankfield Comp.	01/20/99
Wright, J.	Former student, Librarian	Frankfield Comp.	01/29/99

APPENDIX C

SECONDARY EDUCATION BY SCHOOL TYPE

Secondary Education by School Type

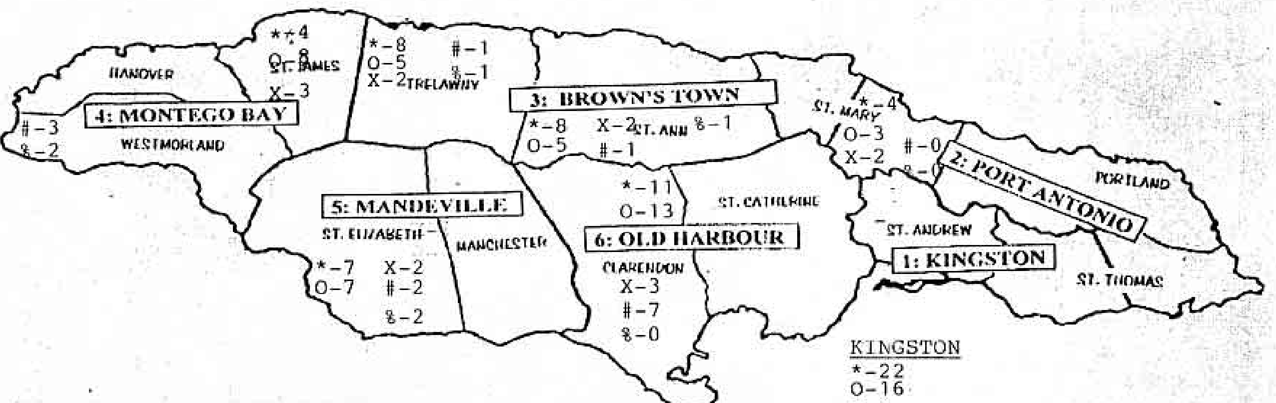
Grades	Existing School Types	# of Schools		Enrollment	Future School
		1988	1997	1996/97	Types
7 to 9	All-Age	430	395	45,323	Primary and
	Primary & Jr. High (formerly All-Age)	-	54	9,485	Junior High
	Junior High	-	1	523	
7 to 11	New Secondary (Prevocational)	64	18	12,878	Comprehensive
	Comprehensive (Academic & Voc.)	6	52	64,782	
7 to 13	Secondary High (Academic)	57	56	65,719	Secondary High
7/8 to 11	Technical High (Academic & Tech.)	11	14	15,041	Technical High
10 to 11/12	Vocational & Agricultural High	6	5	1,085	Vocational/Agric. High
Various	Independent Schools	107	NA	4,500	Independent

SOURCE: GOVERNMENT OF JAMAICA, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

APPENDIX D

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, YOUTH, AND CULTURE: ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS AND LOCATIONS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, YOUTH, AND CULTURE:ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS
AND SECONDARY SCHOOL LOCATIONS



* Traditional high school
O Comprehensive high school
X New Secondary school
\# Technical high school
% Vocational/Agricultural school

SOURCE: MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

APPENDIX E

DISTRIBUTION OF COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS BY REGION AND PARISH, 1996/1997

Distribution of Comprehensive High Schools by Region and Parish, 1996/1997

Region	Parish	School Name	Year
	Kingston		
		Denham Town	1994
		Holy Trinity	1995
		Tivoli	1970
		Vauxhall	1992
Kingston	St. Andrew		
		Charlie Smith	1975
		Clan Carthy	1995
		Donald Quarrie	1993
		Edith Dalton James	1993
		Haile Selassie	1995
		Mavis Bank	1995
		Norman Manley	1996
		Papine	1996
		Pembroke Hall	1995
		Tarrant	1996
		Trench Town	1964
	St. Thomas		
		Yallahs	1995
	St. Thomas	-	
Port Antonio	Portland		
		Port Antonio	1993
		Fair Prospect	1994
		Buff Bay	1994
	St. Mary	-	
	St. Mary		
		Tacky	1993
		Oracabessa	1996
	St. Ann		
Brown's Town		Brown's Town	1994
	Trelawny		
		Muschett	1994
		Cedric Titus	1995

Region	Parish	School	Year
Montego Bay	St. James	Anchovy	
		Maldon	1993
		Cambridge	1994
	Hanover	Rusea's	1983
		Green Island	1993
	Westmoreland	Maud McLeod	1995
		Grange Hill	1996
		Petersfield	
Mandeville	St. Elizabeth	Junction	1993
		Lacovia	1994
		Newell	1995
		Balaclava	1996
	Manchester	Christiana	1993
		Porus	1996
		Bellefield	
		Pratville	
Old Harbour	Clarendon	Edwin Allen	1964
		Garvey Maceo	1993
		Kemps Hill	1994
		Spauldings	1995
		Denbigh	1995
	St. Catherine	Claude McKay	1993
		Bog Walk	1996
		Bridgeport	1992
		Greater Portmore	1995
		McGrath	1994
		Spanish Town	1994
		Tacius Golding	1996
		Waterford	1993