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**Theories of social reproduction and student resistance
in Jamaica, West Indies**

Rhone, Angela Eleanor, Ed.D.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1987

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THEORIES OF SOCIAL REPRODUCTION
AND STUDENT RESISTANCE IN
JAMAICA, WEST INDIES

by

Angela E. Rhone

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Greensboro
1987

Approved by

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APPROVAL PAGE

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RHONE, ANGELA ELEANOR, Ed.D. Theories of Social Reproduction and Student Resistance in Jamaica, West Indies. (1987) Directed by Dr. Svi Shapiro. pp. 193.

The main purpose of this study is to examine the theories of social reproduction and student resistance in education. Additionally, the study will investigate the extent to which these theories, developed in capitalist countries, have implications for the newly developing country of Jamaica, West Indies. The themes considered important to these theories are the influence of the school on the social division of the society, the relationship between the school and the workplace, cultural capital in educational institutions, hegemony and the state, and student resistance.

The mode of research used in this study was participation, observation, interviews, and document analysis. The investigation was conducted by observing and interviewing students and teachers in a New Secondary School in Jamaica. Several neighbors of the school's community were also interviewed. Although only one school was observed, the research yields important information about the distribution of education in Jamaica.

Conclusions drawn from the study are summarized as follows: a) schools are the main agencies in capitalist societies for keeping social classes intact; b) schools are cultural institutions whose main purpose is to distribute the kind of knowledge that benefits the dominant culture;

c) schools help prepare individuals to fit into their place in society (reproduction theory); d) educational institutions in Jamaica help to reproduce and maintain the existing reproduction theory; and f) in order to avoid "destructive resistance," a school's curriculum should focus on liberation for the individuals in a society.

Recommendations for change include the following: a) a comprehensive educational system should be created to provide equal educational opportunities for all citizens in Jamaica; b) teacher education should include studies grounded in the philosophy, history, and sociology of education; and c) a new curriculum should be grounded in the cultural history of Jamaica.

DEDICATION

"When one strives to achieve a just society, one doesn't do it in order to be successful, but it is what one must do" (Alan Paton, South Africa).

Fear not; for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by name; thou art mine.

When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee, when thou walkest through the fire, thou shall not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee. (Isaiah 43:1-2)

To my mother and father, sister and brothers, uncles and aunts, and to the people of Jamaica whose cry for "CHANGE" I can now understand.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my deepest appreciation to:

The Staff in Residence Life and other members of the University community who provided me with endless opportunities to work in order to finance my stay in the program;

David Purpel, Chairman of my doctoral program, who had more faith in me than I had in myself;

Paul Luebke, for introducing me to a discipline that has provided me with a framework of how societies are set up;

Fritz Mengert for providing me with the theoretical knowledge that has helped me to examine my concept of man in society, and gave me insight as to how individuals should be educated to create a more just society;

Svi Shapiro, my dissertation adviser, for his patience and his kindness through my periods of "Resistance." Most importantly, I thank him for his concern towards my theoretical growth in the program;

Lois Edinger, for introducing me to the global and historical perspectives in education;

The principal, teachers and students of Jama New Secondary (name has been changed) for their participation in the study;

Mr. and Mrs. Petty for their kindness and spiritual guidance; Gail Ezell, my friend and typist; and to all my friends, whose names are too many to write.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Autobiographical Statement

I was born in Kingston, Jamaica in the West Indies. As a child in Jamaica, I was surrounded by my family and those whose values reflected those of my parents. In the community where I lived, the husbands had regular 9-to-5 jobs; wives remained at home to look after the house and family. Visits to the neighbors were made during the holiday season. Most of our neighbors attended the Anglican church. For the children in our neighborhood, life from birth to age 10 was spent in preparation for the "11⁺" examination, while from 11 to 16 we prepared for the General Certificate Examinations.

Any contact with people who lived outside our neighborhood came from their coming to my parents' home to work as day helpers. However, we did not really mix with them. They came; they worked; they left for their homes in the evening. It was unacceptable to visit their homes. Their children never attended the same schools we did, nor did they attend the same church. In my ignorance I assumed they were different because they lived in the "bad areas" and their children went to "bad schools." On the other

hand, I attended a "good school" and lived in the "good area." Whatever information I received concerning politics, education, religion, and the poor came from those who were in my immediate circle. Hence, any conscious awareness of the differences or needs of the other groups in the society was dulled by the fact that their concerns were rarely discussed.

In this environment, although I was not pressed to do well in school, certain inherent signals both in the home and in the school helped me along. The schools I attended emphasized values which would not threaten, in any way, the values taught at home. I knew I had two goals in life--to do well on the 11⁺, and to do well on the General Certificate Examinations. With threats of doom and what would happen to me if I did not achieve these goals, I studied very hard. Inherent in these threats was the fear that I would be like "the others" and I would end up living in the "bad areas." As a child then, I readily assumed that success in education was connected with how hard I worked in school.

I attended a primary school called St. Georges where I was one of 600 girls in starched uniforms and "jippy" hats. Our parents could well afford to satisfy our needs. Usually they were active members of the Anglican church and satisfied with the school. Nearly all the girls were from two-parent homes.

Looking back, I remember that classes in my primary school were a preparation for the 11⁺ examination which permitted entrance into grammar school. In English classes, there were rules on grammar, comprehension, paragraph structure, and "how to write a composition." Proper English-- "the Queen's English" as it was called--was emphasized. Anyone who spoke the native patois was ridiculed and ostracized from the group by both teachers and students. Patois entered from the outside world. The primary school environment with its ordered world and relative absence of poverty among the school body gave me the impression that this was the world. Moreover, it also informed me that anyone who did not fit in this world was not "O.K."

In addition to the school's values, more subtle forms of indoctrination came from the church. The Anglican church has been and continues to be the dominant church in Jamaica. It was never the church of the poor. In reality then, the messages I received from my Anglican primary school were confirmed by the messages from the church.

Grammar school was an extension of the primary school attended by roughly 50% of my primary school class. Literature classes were spent in studying Shakespeare, Keats, Wordsworth, and other English writers, where we often read out loud and played the characters in these works. Proper

English again was stressed as we read. Examination grades centered around how well one could quote the lines of Macbeth's soliloquy, or place commas and semicolons correctly. In grammar, one studied the purposes of the parts of speech and the pitfalls of the dangling participle. After five years of such study, I would be able to do well in the General Certificate Examinations imported from England. The final grade depended on how well I could recite precisely what the books said.

The history curriculum dwelt on England. I learned about the royal lines in England and Oliver Cromwell's exploits, but nothing about Jamaican history was taught. I learned nothing about Jamaican heroes or Jamaica's struggle under English rule and its efforts to form its own government. I was not taught oppression and injustice, or about social class differences, or that quality education was given to only the select few in Jamaica, or indeed, that there was any other world beside the one I grew up in.

Within this middle-class English model, I was given a double message: first, that by attending the grammar school I was better, and, second, that this education was superior because it was foreign. These assumptions were echoed by the larger world outside. The educational system legitimized this ideology. Those who did not attend the

grammar school were ultimately inferior because they were not getting a foreign education. Still, I grew up with the assumption that Jamaica was free of class differences. I also believed that everyone was happy within the Jamaican society. In my world all the children achieved the 11⁺ scholarship. For that other world, the saying was that they did not do well enough to attend grammar school because of their "home environment." It was whispered by the adults in my circle that "those people" had too many children so no one could expect them to do well. The other group, of course, did nothing to contradict these assumptions, or if they did, they were charged with inciting a riot. On their part, their rationale for their children not doing well on the 11⁺ examination was that "him or her no study." Blame was placed on the child, not the system.

Through the adult population, I was told, and I accepted, that the system was just. I perceived that the government--especially if the party in power were my family's political party--was doing right for the people. The system provided each individual, regardless of class and color, the opportunity to take the 11⁺ examination. Additionally, the grammar schools were there. If children did their best, they would eventually attend those schools. This seemed rational to me. My world was an ordered world without confusion.

I left Jamaica to attend Brooklyn College in New York where my life was as detached from the poor and their concerns as it was in Jamaica. I did not see the drug scene, the crime, the decaying neighborhoods, the poverty. Life in New York was an extension of my life in Jamaica. My family and friends were again those who had the same values. Life consisted of going to school, working, and being with friends and relatives of the same West Indian culture. I received a B.A. in English Education from Brooklyn College. All my friends were going to New York University to work for a master's degree, so I went along with them. It was expected of us.

At the end of the master's program, I returned to Jamaica and taught at the Teachers' College in Mandeville for two years. Mandeville is the home of the major bauxite plants in Jamaica. Unlike Kingston, the city is fairly crime free and its daily temperature ranges between 60° and 70° even during the summer months. Because of these attributes, many expatriates have come to Mandeville either to make Jamaica their home or to work at one of the bauxite plants there. In addition to two grammar schools, Mandeville also has a school which is attended only by students whose parents hold top-level positions at one of the bauxite plants. Students attend this school on the pre-primary and secondary levels.

A number of expatriates from the United Kingdom were teaching at the Teachers' College. Other lecturers were educated in England or in Canada or the United States. Entrance to the college was rigorous. Out of 800 applicants, only 100 would be admitted to work for a teacher education diploma at the college.

It was during my two years at the Teachers' College, however, that I began to learn about Jamaican culture. As I went out to different schools to observe student teachers, I not only came to know the beauty of my country, but I also began to be aware of the different social classes. When I went to the schools of the middle and upper classes, the teachers had smaller classes to teach and a tremendous amount of material to work with; the teachers had high expectations for students and there was order in the schools. I observed also, that the student teachers who were sent to these schools came from the same environment as their students, had good command of the English Language, and were among those who were destined for success in universities abroad.

On the other hand, the schools that were attended predominantly by the lower-class students lacked materials, had hungry and sleepy children, and tired teachers. Attendance was haphazard for both teachers and students. The

frustration levels of the student teachers who were sent to these schools were very high as they attempted to deal with the high illiteracy rate of the students. What was remarkable was that no one complained about the unequal distribution of wealth among the different schools. It was accepted as the norm.

It was during this time in Jamaica that the social conditions of the country became intolerable for the lower class of people. Attempting to create a socialist government, Michael Manley, the Prime Minister, opened diplomatic ties with Cuba. Close ties with Cuba not only sent the middle and upper classes fleeing to Miami, but also caused our basic food imports from the U.S. to be cut off.

I began to learn that there was another world. Individuals who were close to my family were being beaten and killed. One was not safe anywhere. My aunt was severely beaten and robbed in the community that my family had built. My answer to this was to become angry at what was taking place in Jamaica. We had given so much to the community yet this was happening to us. I was inside a culture that I knew nothing about.

In Kingston crime no longer occurred only in the "bad areas," but also in the "good areas." The people took to the streets; they were hungry, and now they were demanding

their share of the wealth. No one was safe. Even the elite were afraid. Decorative burglar bars began to surround each house in the wealthy neighborhoods. I decided to return to the United States.

I remained in New York for eight months. I knew that English Education was not providing the answers to what was happening in Jamaica. However, I found that the Jamaicans in New York did not seem to care much about what was taking place on their island. They had "made it" and looked at Jamaica only as a place to go for vacations. It was I who had changed. I was less materialistic and more concerned now about poverty and my place in society.

I decided to return to graduate school at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. I simply wanted to know more about my country, to study in search of some answers. At UNCG I began to learn more about the world outside of my own comfortable world. I learned that there was poverty and domination of the poor by those in power. I began to understand that individuals did not become poor or want to remain poor, but that the situation was kept for the benefit of those in power.

According to several social critics, one of the chief agencies which those in power use to maintain domination over the poor is the school (Apple, 1979, 1982; Aronowitz &

Giroux, 1979, 1981, 1982; Anyon, 1981). Maintaining that schools are not neutral, but indeed are political institutions which must be placed in a sociopolitical framework, Apple (1979) and others challenged the basic beliefs of traditional educators. Critics such as Bowles and Gintis (1976) argued that schools are linked to economic institutions and therefore are not as free as I had been led to believe.

A new world opened up for me in the study of sociology. It was this discipline that provided me with the framework of how societies were set up. I learned that it was those in power who decided what was to be taught. I learned also that I was not living in a democratic society where everything was equally distributed. In fact, I learned that I was in a society that placed wealth in the hands of only a few individuals.

Courses in the Philosophy of Education forced me to examine my concept of man in society and gave me insight as to how individuals should be educated to create a more just society. Friere's work (1979) allowed me to look at Jamaica's complex educational problems. I began to link educational knowledge with the distribution of wealth and one's place in the society. If in truth there was a class system, might not those who belong to the upper classes withhold knowledge from those in the lower classes?

It became important to me to investigate several issues:

1. Theories of Social reproduction in capitalist countries
2. The relevance of these theories to the educational system in Jamaica
3. The distribution of educational knowledge in capitalist countries
4. The value of "cultural capital" for the individual in society
5. Schooling and the concept of student resistance
6. The role of the schools in perpetuating the ideologies of those in power in Jamaica
7. The schools in relation to the workplace in Jamaican society
8. The extent to which schools have helped to create an underclass in Jamaican society.

Having read the works of Willis (1979), Cusick (1973), Suransky (1982), and Anyon (1984), I wished to re-examine the theories of social reproduction and student resistance through an ethnographic study of a school in Jamaica. By tying theory to practical work, I hoped for a clearer view of how the schools in Jamaica have helped to perpetuate the class system. Additionally, I hoped to discover new approaches to curriculum for developing countries. For

these reasons, I chose to examine theories concerned with social reproduction and student resistance for this study.

Purpose and Significance of the Study

The primary purpose of the study was to examine the theories of social reproduction and student resistance. According to the reproduction theorists, schools in capitalist countries are a key element in the reproduction of a stratified class society (Shapiro, 1984; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Apple, 1980; Aronowitz, 1976). Anyon (1980) stated that schools reinforce and reproduce the class structure through the teaching of a different curriculum to different groups in the society. By doing this, schools not only fit individuals into the society, but they help the society to replicate the division of labor (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). Apple (1980) stated that one of the dominant features of schools is to transmit specific kinds of knowledge in such a way that legitimacy is conferred on certain groups, thereby maintaining the overall class system. Because schools serve as agents of the dominant views in the society, they not only allocate individuals to their proper place in the society but separate those who do not possess "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1981).

Giroux (1981) maintained, however, that although reproduction theorists have been "invaluable in contributing to

a broader understanding of the political nature of schooling," because they "downplay the importance of human agency and the notion of resistance, they offer little hope for challenging and changing the repressive feature of schooling" (p. 259). Comparing the significance of the resistance theorists to those of the reproduction theorists, Giroux (1981) stated that whereas

domination and passivity are themes within reproduction, the ideas of struggle, contestation, resistance and most importantly, the idea of human agency, are dominant themes among resistance theorists. (p. 259)

Giroux (1981) also stated that

one of the most important assumptions of resistance theory is that working-class students are not merely the by-product of capital, compliantly submitting to the dictates of authoritarian teachers and schools that prepare them for a life of deadening labor. Rather schools represent contested terrains marked by collectively informed student resistance. (p. 259)

Ethnographic studies conducted by Willis (1979), Suransky (1982), Cusick (1973), and Everhart (1983) attest to the fact that, although schools are regarded as institutions of reproduction, there are overt and covert ways in which students reject and resist the dominant codes of the school.

The second purpose of the study was to determine the extent to which these radical theories have implications for the developing country of Jamaica. It is questionable whether these theories, having been developed primarily in capitalist countries, are useful in developing countries.

By assuming ideas for change that come from theories produced in a North American and European context, many newly developing countries remain locked into established ideologies instead of critically examining the systems of other nations. It is important, therefore, that a work of this nature be done. It is hoped that a critical examination of the themes of reproduction and resistance within the educational framework of a developing country will suggest changes that might be recommended for Jamaica.

Theories of social reproduction and student resistance have as their final goal social change, liberation, and social justice. It is thus especially important that these theories be examined within the educational framework of newly developing countries. In the recognition that these countries have struggled over the past two decades with an unequal social system, rising poverty, a high crime rate, and most important, an unequal educational system that places quality education in the hands of only a few, a study of this kind would challenge some of the basic tenets of the dominant groups in these societies.

Much of the work done by reproduction and resistance theorists has centered around the three main groups in industrialized societies, labelled in these studies as the upper class, the middle class, and the lower class.

Reproductive theorists have conducted their research primarily within these three groups. My belief is that there are additional groups that must be recognized and investigated in order to bring about changes within any society. For example, Eldridge Cleaver has argued that within the lower working class, there are those who

have never worked . . . who can't find a job . . . who are unskilled or unfit . . . also the Criminal Element, those who live by their wit . . . those who don't even want a job . . . in short all those who simply have been locked out of the economy and robbed of their social heritage. (cited in Lacey, 1977, p. 34)

These groups have been included with the traditional lower class in various research studies, and thus, their needs and social experiences have not been thoroughly assessed. Unfortunately, over the years, Jamaica has seen the rise of this underclass in the society. Recognizing that the theories of reproduction and resistance have not addressed this group, I hope to examine the school and its relation to the rise of this group in Jamaica.

The mode of research for the study is both theoretical and ethnographic. In order to understand what is taking place in educational settings, theory must become an integral part of practical work. On one hand, by expanding my knowledge of reproduction and resistance theories, I am enabled to make or reject certain assumptions. On the other

hand, by choosing to do an ethnographic study that involves personal contact and observation, I can make concrete references. Moreover, by combining both theory and practice, I hope to further the exploration of the theories of reproduction and resistance.

Background of the Study

The site of the study is Jamaica, West Indies. Jamaica is a relatively small country of only two million people on an island covering 4.4 thousand square miles. Stone (1980) observed that as a plantation society created out of an enslaved African majority and a European minority, Jamaica lacks the strong non-European traditional cultures, religious forms, and language patterns found in most Asian or African cultures. He continued:

At present while faint traces of African culture survivals have been identified, Jamaican society represents primarily a creolized adaptation by Africans to a Europeanized British colonial society.
(p. 2)

The complexity of the Jamaican social strata reflects a country that has been rooted in colonialism and plantation economics. Before emancipation in 1834, the planter class owned the majority of the shares under colonialist rule. It is to be recognized that 23 years after independence from England, the class system that existed during colonialism has changed very little. According to Henriques (1953),

the planter-dominated society prior to emancipation was essentially hierarchical. He stated:

The planters stood at the top, and in their hands were concentrated all the economic and political power in the society. . . . Following in descending order were those born free; the freed coloured--those manumitted; and the free blacks. The base of this was provided by the largest group in the population, that of the black and coloured slaves. (pp. 45-46)

It is out of this multi-racial culture that the complex social structure of Jamaica was formed.

Despite emancipation in 1834 and independence in 1962, the three groups have remained locked in their positions although for the past 15 years, there has been sporadic unrest among certain groups within the black lower class, setting off violent confrontations with the police. Amidst tightening economic control, persistent poverty, and high unemployment the black lower class is clamoring for greater social justice while witnessing destruction and violent suppression of resistance.

Methodology

The qualitative mode of research was selected for this study for two reasons. First, it "leads the investigator in quite different directions than those predicted upon an experimental and quasi-experimental design" (Rist, 1982, p. 197). Second, according to Rist (1982), researchers who use the qualitative method "seek a holistic understanding of

the event/situation/phenomenon . . ." and,

it is this effort to integrate material, portray the unifying characteristics of a setting, and to present as complete an understanding as possible that qualitative work distinguishes itself. (p. 198)

Rist (1982) further argued that in contrast to the quantification method which . . . fractures human behavior

into small atomistic components that are then subjected to intensive scrutiny (as if teacher-pupil interactions and the internal structure of the DNA can both be approached using the same logic of inquiry) . . . the qualitative research focuses on a different way of knowing--one based on experience, empathy and involvement. (p. 197)

An ethnographic mode of research, therefore, would allow me to examine some of the basic assumptions I had received from the church, my family, the society, and, most important, the schools that I attended in Jamaica. With its focus on participant involvement, it would provide me with a different perspective of Jamaican society. By centering myself in the social and political environment of the school, I hoped to get a clearer understanding of how the schools in Jamaica have helped to reproduce the class system and how they act as agencies for social reproduction and student resistance. On the other hand, the quantitative mode of research, with its "language of science," (Shapiro, 1983) and its limited ways of understanding the human condition, would not provide the tools to examine such sensitive issues as oppression, poverty, hegemony, reproduction, resistance,

and the underclass in Jamaica. According to Shapiro (1983), the language of science "speaks only partially and sometimes not at all, to the concerns, the sensibilities of human beings" (p. 131).

Finally, the ethnographic mode of inquiry with its involvement in issues of political control, cultural hegemony, the lives of people, and the defining of social reality (Shapiro, 1983) is the best research method for creating an educational paradigm for Jamaica.

Therefore, this naturalistic study focuses on six students who were attending a New Secondary School in Jamaica, West Indies. During a month of field work at the school, these students were interviewed and observed in different classroom settings. Questions centered around their views of education in Jamaica, the school curriculum, the school environment, and their teachers.

Additionally, formal and informal interviews with the teachers and the principal of the school were held. The questions to the teachers were intended to tap their responses to social class and education in Jamaica, the economic and political nature of schools in Jamaica, the curriculum, and their attitudes toward the students as well as the New Secondary Schools in Jamaica.

Interviews were also held with several persons who lived in the school community, focusing on their perceptions of the New Secondary Schools and of the students who attend these schools.

Overview

Chapter I has presented an autobiographical background, and the purpose and methodology of the study. Chapter II reviews literature dealing with the theories of reproduction and resistance. The relevance of these theories to education in Jamaica was analyzed briefly.

Chapter III focuses on education in Jamaica. It provides a description of Jamaica's educational system in the light of colonialism and the class system which exists on the island today.

Chapter IV presents a brief history of the development and purposes of the New Secondary Schools in Jamaica, and the reasons for choosing the Jama New Secondary School for research. The school community and the adjoining neighborhood are described as well as the school building. Following are reports of interviews with the principal and staff of the school.

Chapter V consists of interviews with and observations of the students along with the reasons that 10⁵ was chosen as the class to be observed. This chapter focuses on

interviews with the students and observations recorded at the school.

Chapter VI summarizes and interprets the interviews and suggests a theory of possibilities for change in Jamaica.

CHAPTER II
THEORIES OF REPRODUCTION AND RESISTANCE

The purpose of Chapter II is to discuss the theories of reproduction and resistance in light of the social theorists in the sociology of education. Additionally, because the purpose of the study is to determine the extent to which these theories have implications for Jamaica, a summary to the chapter will discuss their relevance to Jamaica's educational and social system. A major contributor to the chapter is Henry Giroux. In addition to doing critical research in both theories, Giroux (1983) has also created new paradigms which have called for a connection between critical theory in the reproduction model of schooling and social action.

Reproduction Theory

Giroux (1983) contended that Marx's concept of capitalist reproduction "has been one of the major organizing ideas informing socialist theories of schooling" (p. 257). To the extent that it is the capitalists who own the means of production, it is their ideas which become the ideas of the society. According to Marx, the ideas of the ruling class

are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of the society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. (cited in Marger, 1981, p. 94)

In this view, Marger (1981) continued,

the rules and values of the sociopolitical system are created, disseminated, and enforced by the dominant class and are accepted by the society as a whole. Lacking class consciousness--that is, being unaware of their own class interests--the proleteriat regards the ideas of the ruling class as "natural." The prevailing sociopolitical system is thus seen as working in the interests of all social classes, not simply the capitalists. (p. 94)

Additionally, Marx argued that this mode of production is not only an economic and cultural process, it is also a social and political process which helps to confirm the individual's political position in society. He stated,

the mode of production in material life determines the social, political and life process in general. In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production. (Marx, n.d., pp. 356-357 and 204-228)

"The sum total of these relations," Marx continued,

constitutes the economic structure of society--the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. (Marx, n.d., pp. 356-357 and 204-228)

Theorists in the sociology of education who have favored Marx's ideas on economic reproduction, cultural domination, and the control of the socio-political system

by the ruling class, have attempted to situate the distribution of educational knowledge around Marx's ideas on capitalist reproduction. The implication here is that, instead of supporting the ideas of liberal educators, who claim that "public education offers possibility for individual development, social mobility, political and economic power to the disadvantaged and dispossessed" (Giroux, 1983, p. 257), these theorists argue that schools are not equal, but instead are political institutions that are connected to the "social and cultural matrix of capitalist rationality" (p. 258). To this extent then, schools are not only involved in "sustaining dominant practices" (p. 258), but are also engaged in maintaining and reproducing the major values of the capitalist state. "In effect," according to Giroux (1983), "schools were portrayed as reproductive in three senses" (p. 258). In the first sense, reproduction theorists argue that schools provide different groups in the society with different knowledge skills which they need "to occupy their respective places in a labor force stratified by class, race and gender" (p. 258). In the second sense, reproduction theorists see schools as being culturally oriented. As cultural institutions, they argue, the schools' main purpose is to "distribute the legitimate forms of knowledge, values, language, and modes of style

that constitute the dominant culture and its interests" (p. 258). Finally, according to Giroux (1983), reproduction theorists view schools as "part of a State apparatus that produced and legitimated the ideological imperatives that underlie the State's political power" (p. 258). By focusing on these concerns, reproduction theorists have made these issues the major part of their educational research.

In the following pages, three models which constitute the reproduction model of schooling are discussed. The first model, The Economic Reproduction Model, is based on the work of Bowles and Gintis (1976) and examines the influence of the school on the social organization of the workplace. Second, The Ideological Reproduction Model examines the school's influence in reproducing the ideology of the dominant group. This model is based on the work of Louis Althusser (1971). Third, The Cultural Reproduction Model reflects the arguments of Pierre Bourdieu's work (1977) on cultural domination in educational settings.

Economic Reproduction Model of Schooling

Giroux (1983) maintained that Bowles and Gintis' work (1976) has been a major influence in helping us to understand the relationship between daily classroom encounters

and the structural arrangement of the workplace. He stated:

At the core of the political-economy approach are two fundamentally important questions. The most important of these focuses on the relationship between schooling and the society and asks, How does the educational system function within society? . . . and the second asks, How do schools fundamentally influence the ideologies, personalities and needs of students? (1983, p. 262)

In attempting to answer these questions, Giroux relied on Bowles and Gintis' notion of the correspondence theory and the hidden curriculum in schools.

According to the correspondence theory, under capitalism, "the hierarchically structured patterns of values, norms, and skills that characterize the workforce" (p. 262) are mirrored in the daily classroom encounters. The purpose of school for Bowles and Gintis then is twofold: 1) schools "inculcate students with the attitudes and dispositions necessary to accept the social and economic imperatives of a capitalist economy"; and 2) schools "provide different skills, attitudes, and values to students of different classes, races and genders" (p. 263). "In effect," concluded Giroux (1983), "schools mirror not only the social division of labor but also the wider society's class structure" (p. 263).

Bowles and Gintis (1976) further highlighted this relationship on several levels. The educational system, they held,

does not add to or subtract from the overall degree of inequality and repressive personal development. Rather it is best understood as an institution which serves to perpetuate the social relationships of economic life through which these patterns are set by facilitating a smooth interaction of youth into the labor force. (p. 11)

They maintained that through the "ostensibly meritocratic manner" (p. 11) schools reward and promote students who are then allocated to distinct positions in the occupational hierarchy. Schools, they continued,

create and reinforce patterns of social class, racial and sexual identification among students which allow them to relate "properly" to their eventual standing in the hierarchy of authority and status in the production process. (p. 11)

Additionally, schools

foster types of personal development which are compatible with the relationship of dominance and subordinancy which is to be found in the economic sphere; finally, schools create surpluses of skilled labor sufficiently extensive to render effective the prime weapon of the employer in disciplining labor, the power to hire and fire. (p. 11)

Bowles and Gintis (1976) argued that the hierarchical division of authority, the vertical lines of power, and the fragmented nature of jobs which are reflected in the workplace dominate the environment of the classroom to such an extent that the "intrinsic social benefit of the process of education (learning) is overshadowed to accommodate external rewards and threat of failure" (p. 11). In this way, according to Apple (1979),

for Bowles and Gintis, not only does education allocate individuals to a relatively fixed set of positions in society--an allocation of positions determined by economic and political forces--but the processes of education itself, the formal and hidden curriculum, socializes people to accept as legitimate the limited roles that they ultimately fill in society. (p. 32)

For Giroux (1983), the hidden curriculum refers to classroom social relations that embody specific messages, which "legitimize the particular views of work, authority, social rules, and values that sustain capitalist logic and rationality, particularly as manifested in the workplace" (p. 263). Additionally, these messages help to give value to those things which are considered important or not important:

The hidden curriculum provides ideological and material weight to questions regarding what counts as high versus low status knowledge (intellectual or manual), high versus low status forms of social organization . . . and of course what counts as high versus low status forms of personal interaction (interaction based on individual competitiveness or interaction based on collective sharing). (p. 263)

In his final analysis of the model, Giroux (1983) commented on the theory's contribution to a radical theory of education. He stated that because the theory has focused on the relationship between schools and the workplace, it has "helped to illuminate the essential role that education plays in reproducing the social division of labor" (p. 266). In addition to that, the theory has made visible the

"structural silences" in liberal theory regarding how the imperatives of class and power beam down and shape school experience particularly through the hidden curriculum. Furthermore, this model of reproduction has provided important insights into the class and structural basis of inequality. (p. 266)

Giroux (1983) suggested also that because the theory

rejects the "blaming the victim" ideology that informs much of the research on inequality, these accounts have blamed institutions such as schools for inequality and have traced the failure of such institutions to the very nature of capitalist society. (p. 266)

Giroux (1981) maintained, however, that despite the fact that Bowles and Gintis were helpful in pointing to the social relations of the classroom as social processes that link schools to determinant forces in the workplace, they end up with a theory of social reproduction that is "much too simplified and overdetermined" (p. 6).

For not only does their argument point to a "constant fit" between schools and work place, it does so by ignoring important issues regarding the role of consciousness, ideology, and resistance in the schooling process. (p. 6)

Because of this "lack of emphasis on consciousness and ideology in their theory," Bowles and Gintis

grossly ignore what is taught in schools as well as how classroom knowledge is either mediated through the schools' culture or given meaning by the teachers and students under study. (Giroux, 1981, p. 7)

What we are left with, according to Giroux (1981),

is a theoretical posture that reinforces the notion that there is little that educators can do to change their circumstances or plight. In short, not only do

contradictions and tension disappear in this account but the promise of critical pedagogy and social change disappear too. (p. 7)

Ideological Reproduction Model

The second of the reproduction models of schooling is based on Louis Althusser's notion of ideological reproduction in educational institutions.

According to Giroux (1983), Althusser argued that "schools represent an essential and important social site for reproducing capitalist relations of production" (p. 263). As Althusser (1971) stated, "One ideological state apparatus certainly has the dominant role although hardly anyone lends an ear to its music, it is so silent. This is the school" (p. 155).

Like Bowles and Gintis, Giroux (1983) argued, Althusser maintained that schools carry out "two fundamental forms of reproduction: the reproduction of the skills and rules of labor power and the reproduction of the relations of production" (p. 263). Althusser (1971) defined the rules of labor power as "know-how" students need in order

to read, to write, and to add . . . children also learn the rules of good behavior, i.e., the attitude that should be observed by every agent in the division of labor, according to the job he is "destined" for; rules of morality, civic and professional conscience, which actually means rules of respect for the socio-technical divisions of labor and ultimately the rules of the order established by class domination. (p. 263)

Althusser (1977) explained how these experiences are lived out:

the school teaches "know how" but in forms which ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its practice. It takes children from every class at infant-school-age, and then for years, the years in which the child is most "vulnerable," squeezed between the family State apparatus and the educational State apparatus, it drums into them, whether it uses new or old methods, a certain amount of "know-how" wrapped into the ruling ideology in its pure state (ethics, civic instruction, philosophy). (pp. 155-156)

In the second meaning of Althusser's notion of ideology,

ideology is completely removed from any notion of intentionality, producing neither consciousness nor willing compliance. Instead, it is defined as those systems of meanings, representations, and values embedded in concrete practices that structure the unconsciousness of students. (Giroux, 1983, p. 264)

Althusser explained:

Ideology is indeed a system of representations, but in the majority of cases these representatives have nothing to do with "consciousness": they are usually images and occasionally concepts, but it is above all structures that they impose on the vast majority of men, not via their "consciousness." They are perceived-accepted-suffered cultural objects and they act functionally on one in a process that escapes them. (cited in Giroux, 1983, p. 264)

Giroux's critical comments on Althusser's theory are reflected in his stand on the importance of ideology to social reproduction. "What we end up with," stated Giroux (1983), "is a notion of ideology that exists without the benefit of human agents" (p. 265):

Domination appears to be helplessly reduced to the prison house of the ideological state apparatus, and as a result the conditions or even possibility of transcendence get lost in a grimly mechanistic notion of social reproduction. (p. 404)

In summarizing the work of both Althuser (1977) and Bowles and Gintis (1976), Giroux (1981) commented on the fact that although both theories provide a theoretical base from which to understand the complexity of education in a capitalist society, they both "fail to provide a framework for developing a viable mode of radical pedagogy" (p. 7). In fact, Giroux (1981) became very critical of their ideas on "domination," and the "constant fit." He argued that

both views relegate human agency to a passive model of socialization and overemphasize domination at the expense of those contradictions and forms of resistance that also characterize social sites such as schools and the workplace. (p. 7)

Maintaining that domination is never complete and total, as the reproduction theorists would imply, Giroux (1981) stated that these theorists have failed to see schools "as social sites that produce and reproduce ideologies and cultural forms that stand in opposition to dominant values and practices" (p. 7).

Cultural Reproduction Model

The third model on the reproduction model of schooling is based on Pierre Bourdieu's work on cultural reproduction

in educational settings. According to Giroux (1983), "the notions of culture and culture capital are central to Bourdieu's analysis of how the mechanisms of cultural reproduction function within schools" (p. 268)

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) saw the schools not only sanctioning "the distinction of the educated classes," but as a product which imparts a culture that "separates those receiving from the rest of society by a whole series of systematic differences" (p. 7). Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) further explained:

Those whose "culture" . . . is the academic culture conveyed by the school have a system of categories of perceptions, language, thought and appreciation that sets them apart from those whose only training has been through their work and through their social contacts with people of their own kind. (p. 111)

According to Giroux (1983), instead of linking schools to "the power of an economic elite," Bourdieu and Passeron saw schools

as part of larger universe of symbolic institutions that do not overtly impose docility and oppression but reproduce existing power relations more subtly through the production and distribution of a dominant culture that tacitly confirms what it means to be educated. . . . Education, for Bourdieu, is seen as an important social and political force in the process of class reproduction. By appearing to be an impartial and neutral "transmitter" of the benefits of a valued culture, schools are able to promote inequality in the name of fairness and objectivity. (p. 267)

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) used the notion of the pedagogic work to explain his theory of the cultural

reproduction of education. They implied that the strength of the pedagogic work lies in its

function of keeping order, i.e., of reproducing the structure of the power relation between the groups or classes, inasmuch as, by inclusion or exclusion, it tends to impose recognition of the legitimacy of the dominant culture on the members of the dominated groups or classes, and to make them internalize, to a variable extent disciplines and censorship which best serve the material and symbolic interest of the dominant groups or classes when they take the form of self-discipline and self-censorship. (p. 40)

Most important, Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) believed that the educational system, because of its power, is able to set up the dominant pedagogic work as the work of schooling

without either those who exercise it or those who undergo it ever ceasing to mis-recognize its dependence on the power relations making up the social formation in which it is carried. (p. 67)

In explaining how cultural reproduction functions within the school, Bourdieu added the notions of culture and cultural capital to his theory. Cultural capital refers to

the different sets of linguistic and cultural competencies that individuals inherit by way of the class location of their family. A child inherits from his or her family those sets of meanings, qualities of style, modes of thinking, and types of disposition that are assigned a certain social value and status accordance with what the dominant class(es) label as the most valued cultural capital . . . and students whose families have only a tenuous connection to the dominant cultural capital are at a decided disadvantage. (Giroux, 1983, p. 268)

In his analysis of Bourdieu's work, Giroux (1983) stated that the significance of the model lies in the fact that it provides a theoretical model for understanding aspects of schooling and social control that have been virtually ignored in conservative and liberal accounts. (p. 270)

In addition to that,

Its politicization of school knowledge, culture and linguistic practices formulates a new discourse for examining ideologies embedded in the formal school curriculum. (p. 270)

Giroux (1981), however, stated:

In spite of the value of much of Bourdieu's work, ultimately it reduces its author to a prophet of gloom. This may not be too surprising since there is little room in his work for historical analyses or a theory of consciousness, both of which are necessary elements in developing a theory of human agency and social reconstruction. (p. 10)

Hegemony and the State

It is important to note, however, that although reproduction theory has contributed much to the knowledge concerning the relationship between education and the capitalist economy, its theorists have situated the school in a neo-marxist framework, that the school appears to be a "black box" in which students are manipulated to the economy's will. Apple (1979), for example, has stated that this explanation is too "deterministic . . . and unfortunately . . . too mechanistic" (p. 4). For it forgets that

there is in fact a dialectical relationship between culture and economics. It also presupposes an idea of conscious manipulation of schooling by a very small number of people with power. While this was and is sometimes the case . . . the problem is more complex than that. . . . One of the keys to understanding this is the concept of hegemony. (p. 4)

Gramsci, the Italian Marxist,

came to view hegemony as the most important face of power, the "normal" form of control in any post-feudal society, and in particular, the strength of bourgeois rule in advanced capitalist society, where material force is resorted to on a large scale only in periods of exceptional crisis. (Femia, n.d., p. 32)

What is interesting, however, about Gramsci's notion of the term is that in addition to the control of the dominant group, Gramsci

characterizes hegemony as the spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group, consent "historically" caused by the prestige (and therefore by trust) accruing to the dominant group because of its position and function in the world of production. . . . Those who are consenting must somehow be truly convinced that the interests of the dominant group are those of society at large; then the hegemonic group stands for a proper social order in which all men are justly looked after; the fact of hegemony undoubtedly presupposes that account be taken of the interests . . . of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised . . . that the leading group make sacrifices of an economic-corporate kind. (Femia, n.d., p. 32)

More explicitly,

hegemony involves the successful attempt of a dominant class to utilize its control over the resources of state and civil society, particularly the mass media and the educational system, to establish its view of the world as all inclusive and universal. Through the

dual use of force and consent . . . the dominant class uses its political, moral, and intellectual leadership to shape and incorporate the "taken for granted" views, needs, and concerns of subordinate groups. (Giroux, 1983, p. 275)

According to Apple, many of the educators involved in understanding hegemony and questions of ideological stability such as "How is this inequality made legitimate?" and "How is this hegemony maintained?" are questions which are important in understanding the process of reproduction and control in capitalist countries.

Giroux (1983) attempted to answer these questions. He maintained that one of the ways in which inequality is made legitimate is through the actions of the state's intervention in the educational process. Accordingly, schools and universities play a major role in furthering the economic interests of the dominant classes. One of the ways this is done, Giroux (1983) argued, is through

state-established certification requirement.
Educational systems are heavily weighted towards a highly technocratic rationality that relies upon a logic drawn primarily from the natural sciences.
(p. 279)

The effects of this can be seen in the distinction schools at all levels make between high-status knowledge--subjects in the humanities.

Another function of the state has to do with the legitimating of intellectuals who serve as

experts in the production and conception of school knowledge, and who ultimately function to separate knowledge from both manual work and popular consumption. (p. 280)

A third way in which the state intervenes in schools is to formulate policies "outside of the control of teachers and parents." For example, the state will fund extensive remedial projects for teachers and children whom they define as deviant (slow learners, remedial problems, discipline problems, etc.). However, while these projects seem "neutral, helpful, and may seem aimed at increasing mobility," their real purpose is to "defuse the debate over the role of schooling in the reproduction of the knowledge and people" required by the society (p. 280).

How this is done is that instead of blaming poverty for the cultural and economic disparities of the society, "the ultimate cause of this deviance will be the child or his or her own culture" (p. 280).

In addition to Giroux', the work of Nicos Poulantzas has added greatly to our understanding of the state's intervention in the educational process. Shapiro (1980) explained that, for Poulantzas, the school as a state apparatus serves to "inculcate in students the ideology of the dominant social interests . . . and to ensure the mental-manual division of labor" (p. 325).

The main role of the capitalist school, Poulantzas stated,

is not to "qualify" manual labour in different ways, but far more to disqualify manual labour (to subjugate it) by only qualifying mental labour. While schools divide students into those fit for mental labour and those suited for manual labour, training for the latter does not really take place. (cited in Shapiro, 1980, p. 329)

The end result of this is that the working class is taught "discipline, respect for authority and the veneration of a mental labour that is always 'somewhere else' in the educational apparatus" (Shapiro, 1980, p. 329).

Shapiro (1980) added that despite criticism of a "typically functionalist view of the school," Poulantzas' work affirms the "authoritarian and class-based nature of society and the important role of schools in maintaining and reproducing the social formation." Added to this,

his work offers important insights for those concerned with the development of a radical critique of education in contemporary society. His work makes clear that in order to understand the relation of education to class structure one must consider political (particularly state) power and ideology, and realize that the relations between those elements are neither frictionless, nor uniform, nor coherent. (p. 331)

Resistance Theory

Several criticisms have been levelled at reproduction theory. Giroux (1983), for example, has stated that although the theory has been

invaluable in contributing to a broader understanding of the political nature of schooling and its relation to the dominant society . . . it must be stressed that the theory has not achieved its promise to provide a comprehensive critical science of schooling. (p. 259)

On the other hand, because the theory views students as passive beings who fit into the theme of domination, "the theory," according to Apple (1981, p. 14), "fails in two critical ways," First, it views students as "passive internalizers of pre-given social messages," and second, the theory presumes that

whatever the institution teaches in either the formal curriculum or the hidden curriculum is taken in and is unmodified by class cultures and class (or race or gender). (p. 14)

Most important, the theory

undertheorizes and hence neglects the fact that capitalist social relations are inherently contradictory in some very important ways--that is, just as in the economic arena where the capital accumulation process and the "need" to expand markets and profits generate contradictions within a society (where, for example, rising profits and inflation create a crisis in legitimacy in both the state and the economy), so too will similar contradictions emerge in other dominant institutions (O'Connor, 1973). The school will not be immune to these contradictions. (Apple, 1981, p. 14)

Giroux (1983) concluded that

whereas reproduction theorists focus almost exclusively on power and how the dominant culture ensures the consent and defeat of subordinate classes and groups, theories of resistance restore a degree of agency and innovation to the cultures of these groups. Resistance in these accounts represents a significant critique of school as an institution whose meanings are ultimately political and cultural. (pp. 260-261)

Giroux (1983) gave two major reasons for this. First, because the theory has

overemphasized the idea of domination in its analyses, it has failed to provide any major insights into how teachers, students and other human agents come together within specific historical and social contexts in order to both make and reproduce the conditions of their existence. (p. 259)

Second, because the theory has

downplayed the importance of human agency and the notion of resistance, it offers little hope for challenging and changing the repressive features of schooling. By ignoring the contradictions and struggles that exist in schools these theories not only dissolve human agency, they unknowingly provide a rationale for not examining teachers and students in concrete school setting. (p. 259)

In addition to the above criticisms, reproduction theory is now being challenged by recent research done on schooling in the United States, Europe and Australia. This new research, according to Giroux (1983), attempts to move beyond reproduction theories. Rather than seeing students as passive and schools as black boxes, resistance theory, as it is labelled, "gives central importance to the notion of struggle, conflict and resistance" (p. 259).

Giroux (1983) argued that this new theory

points not only to the role that students play in challenging the most oppressive aspects of schools but also to the ways in which students actively participate through oppositional behavior in a logic that very often consigns them to a position of class subordination and political defeat. . . . In resistance theory, schools are relatively autonomous

institutions that not only provide spaces for oppositional behavior and teaching but also represent a source of contradictions that sometimes make them dysfunctional to the material and ideological interests of the dominant society. . . . Moreover, instead of being homogeneous institutions operating under the direct control of business groups, schools are characterized by diverse forms of school knowledge, ideologies, organizational styles and classroom social relations. Thus, schools often exist in a contradictory relation to the dominant society, alternately supporting and challenging its basic assumption. (p. 260)

It is at this point, however, that the theory deviates strongly from reproduction theory, for, where reproduction theory views schools only as "economic institutions," resistance theory maintains that schools are also "political, cultural and ideological sites that exist somewhat independently of the capitalist market" (p. 260). By seeing schools not only as economic institutions but also as political and cultural sites for students, Giroux (1983) held that the theory "represents a significant advance over the important, but limited theoretical gains of reproduction models of schooling" (p. 261).

Giroux (1981) added that what is significant about such an approach is that it "successfully undermines [a] version of the correspondence theory that supports a 'constant fit' between the school and the workplace" (p. 13). In the same manner, Giroux (1981) held, resistance theorists dispute the arguments of the reproduction

theorists that culture is determined; and is a "static analysis of the dominant cultural capital--i.e., language, cultural taste, and manners" (p. 13). Rather, culture for the resistance theorists

is a system of practices, a way of life, that constitutes and is constituted by a dialectical interplay between . . . a particular social group and those powerful ideological and structural determinants in the wider society. (p. 13)

The strength of this, Giroux (1981) maintained, is that it is possible to analyze the culture of different groups and see how the dominant culture tends to strip them of their "political possibilities" (p. 13).

Despite the favorable comments, however, Giroux does criticize the theory. One critical comment, according to Giroux (1981, 1983) is the theory's failure to stress the importance of the state in the schools. Because it would appear that individuals avoid the ideological beliefs of the state, the theory "underplays the role of the state in influencing schools" (1981, p. 13). Giroux's second critical comment focussed on how the theory is portrayed in several works. "The concept of resistance and the form it takes are sometimes over-romanticized in these accounts" to such an extent that "the 'dark side' of the theory is not readily acknowledged. . . . Anti-capitalist values do not lead . . . toward socialism" but in most cases toward

the "facism of the Ku Klux Klan or other such movements" (p. 13).

Additionally, while the theory praises those who resist the domination in schools, "these approaches ignore those segments of the working class that accept the logic of domination--those who have . . . internalized the oppression." Thus, the theory has failed "to develop concrete strategies that might help to move countercultural groups from the politics of oppositional style to a political struggle for power" (p. 13). The end result for Giroux is that although the theory was formed "not in passivity, but in part in opposition, the model that emerges still ends up serving the logic of the capitalist state" (p. 13).

Relevance of Theories to Jamaica's Educational System

Despite several criticisms, the reproduction and resistance theories provide the best base from which to explore and understand Jamaica's class structure and the role educational institutions play in perpetuating this hierarchical social formation. A glance at the social structure of Jamaica over 70 years will show that the social composition of the society has not changed to a great extent. In 1919 the Jamaican class structure was described in terms of

three classes: the peasantry and urban poor, the national bourgeoisie, and the planters. In 1969, the divisions were the same (Lacey, 1977, p. 34). Today there are still three classes in Jamaica, described by Stone (1980) as the upper and upper-middle class, the lower-middle class, and the lower class. According to Stone, 1% of the population--of which the capitalists and the administrative classes are a part--belongs to the upper and upper-middle class; 23% makes up the lower-middle class. The remaining 76% belongs to the lower class. Of this 76%, 25% are people who are long-term or indefinitely unemployed (Stone, 1977).

Although Jamaica's social structure has been much examined, not much research has been done to demonstrate the overriding influence of the educational system on the permanent status of the three classes. It is at this point that the theory of reproduction becomes important in providing answers to Jamaica's intact class structure.

One major idea of reproduction theory is that schools help to perpetuate the class structure in capitalist societies. By focusing on educational institutions as the main agencies of social class reproduction, the theory provides insight into what part schools in Jamaica play in helping to maintain the rigid class structure. Additionally, because the theory is concerned with how schools

prepare individuals to fit into the job market, a greater understanding is provided as to why individuals within Jamaican society inevitably seek and accept certain positions.

A second major idea of reproduction theory is that schools favor individuals with the cultural capital of the dominant group. To the extent that this is true, the theory provides insight into why individuals in the Jamaican society who lack the cultural capital of the dominant group are not allowed to take part in the business of the society. By favoring only those with cultural capital, the ideologies and beliefs of the dominant groups are legitimated and reproduced over the ideas of the other groups.

The theory is important to Jamaica to the extent that it sharpens our awareness of the relationship between social class and the role of educational institutions in helping to reproduce and keep intact Jamaica's class structure.

However, upon examination of Jamaica's social problems over the years, it is evident that although there seems to be an apparent fit between the schools and the workplace--to such an extent that an ordered society is created--this is not so. One way to dispute this successful fit is to examine the rise of the underclass in Jamaican society.

Stone (1980) observed that 26% of the lower class is made up of petty criminals. Later studies have shown that this group is on the rise in Jamaica. In effect then, there is a group in Jamaica that does not readily belong to the successful-fit theory.

What reproduction theorists have done, however, is to focus on individuals who have accommodated to the theory. In doing this, they have created a theory which fundamentally provides answers only about some groups in a society. One grave criticism of this is that forms of resistance to control by minority groups are completely ignored by the reproduction theorists.

This resistance to control plays heavily in the theories of resistance. These theorists have disputed the successful-fit theory and have maintained that schools and groups have their own culture. Because groups and individuals come with their own culture, they cannot be considered as one entity--being easily reproduced by capitalist domination. Because groups and individuals have their own culture--which they struggle to play out in the arena of the school--each group inevitably resists reproduction of the dominant views. Reproduction is not complete as individuals struggle and fight to control their own autonomy.

The theory assures us that these individuals resist the ideologies of capitalist reproduction. Because they resist, it is hoped they will become empowered and eventually take part in their own liberation. It is this hope which makes the theory socially and politically meaningful for changes in Jamaica.

Both theories provide insights into Jamaica's intact class structure. Not only that, but they do give us a deeper awareness of Jamaica's underclass. Theoretically, they present a framework from which to view class struggles within the Jamaican society. The social problems, however, remain the same, for not much in these theories suggests how to change the existing situation.

At present, because Jamaica is undergoing tremendous economic and social upheavals, theories for change are needed. These theories can be created not only by developing theoretical works, but also by taking part in naturalistic research in institutions where individuals reproduce, yet struggle to create their own autonomy. The main purpose of this would be to see what factors contribute to the reproduction and powerlessness of some groups within a society. It is also hoped that from these observations, more effective pedagogy can be created which will lead individuals to their own liberation. Only by critically

observing what goes on in school can effective changes occur.

A phenomenological research of one school was done in Jamaica. It is hoped that from this field work a theory of change can be developed. However, before this is presented, it is important to examine the educational system in Jamaica. Chapter III provides a social analysis of education and its relationship to class distribution in Jamaica.



CHAPTER III

EDUCATION IN JAMAICA

This chapter presents a social analysis of education in Jamaica from pre-emancipation to the present. The focus is on the hierarchical nature of the Jamaican society and the extent to which educational institutions have contributed to the rigid class system that exists today.

Structure of Jamaican Society

The social structure of present-day Jamaica can be traced to the economic, social, and racial conditions which were created out of the plantation society of the sixteenth through the early eighteenth centuries (Hurwitz, 1971; Eisner, 1961). Beckford (1972) described plantation society as one which was

rigidly stratified by race and color . . . directly correlated with occupational status on the plantation and without any kind of social mobility whatever.
(p. 63)

To facilitate this structure, the society was divided into three groups:

at the top were the whites who enjoyed all the privileges of the ruling-class . . . next came the free coloured . . . third, the slave population (black) who were generally illiterate and . . . not able to accumulate appreciable savings (Beckford, 1972, p. 37)

Despite the fact that slavery was abolished four generations ago, "the basic structure of plantation society in the New World remains very much what it was during slavery" (Beckford, 1972, p. 64). The white planters

monopolized the means of production on the land and were therefore in a position to maintain their dominant position. In addition their lands were reinforced with the arrival of non-agricultural enterprises owned and managed by their kith and kin . . . so the means of production were further concentrated among that group. (p. 64)

As a country created out of plantation economics, Jamaica continues to exhibit traces of the social structure of plantation society (Brown, 1979; Austin, 1984; Phillips, 1973).

If we take an inventory of the present Jamaican population classifying each individual by economic status, by colour, and by any other information we could obtain about these attitudes and pattern of life, we should find that these items of our classification were not distributed at random, but that at one end of the income scale were found people who were poor, propertyless, blacks, in unskilled occupations, distrustful of the police, living in common law unions and attending churches of local origin, while at the other end of the income scale would be people who were rich, white, in managerial or professional jobs, firm supporters of the police, legally married, and adherents of respectable churches. (Lacey, 1977, p. 34)

Indeed, up until the 1960s the Jamaican society

was highly class-conscious, and a rigid system of social stratification persisted. The masses were clearly consigned to social inferiority. The conspicuous consumption, snobbery, isolationism and detached arrogance of the national bourgeoisie ensured its continued unpopularity with the rest of the population. (Lacey, 1977, p. 35)

"Smith (1961) described the Jamaican society as plural with three distinct social sections: white, brown, and black" (cited in Miller, 1976, p. 48). However, at present the contemporary society appears to have four distinct social strata:

there is a minute but powerful Upper Social stratum--white as Smith described it, which is composed mainly of some of the descendants of the plantocracy of colonial fame and by the more recent recruits for Jewish and Syrian community whose forebears enjoyed colossal success as merchants. Second, there is Traditional Middle stratum. While the majority of the stratum are Brown-mulatto, there is now a sizeable Chinese and Black element in this stratum together with small white and Indian minorities. This stratum is the most multiracial in the society. This stratum has been labelled Traditional Middle because a) its history as a stratum goes far back into the nineteenth century and b) behavioral characteristics of this stratum are conventionally described as middle class in Western society. (Miller, 1976, p. 48)

Miller described the third group as the Emerging Middle stratum. "The birth, growth and development of this stratum," he stated,

is recent history--over the last three or four decades. This is the stratum of the truck driver, tractor driver, mechanic, taxi operator, and welder, the electrician, the ex-farm worker, and the Chinese own-account operator of a small establishment. (p. 48)

"Fourth," he continued,

there is the lower stratum--black by Smith's nomenclature. This segment is as Smith describes it . . . mainly rural although many of its members live in urban areas. It practices a material culture that appears to be a product of African ancestry and Caribbean slavery. It is the largest single stratum

in terms of numerical strength--larger than all the others combined. (p. 48)

While in 1969 Miller described Jamaica's social structure as having four groups, Stone (1980) held that the upper and upper middle class, the lower middle class, and the lower class make up the three status groups on the island. Stone further divided the three groups into seven classes, namely: 1) the capitalists, 2) the administrative class, 3) independent property owners, 4) labor aristocracies, 5) own-account workers, 6) working class, and 7) the long-term or indefinitely unemployed. In his analysis of the seven classes, Stone (1980) concluded that they

represent divergent sources of livelihood and income, levels of wealth, and relationship to the means of production . . . however, color and racial differences remain as a residue of the plantation slave history of the society. This is in spite of the fact that black and dark-skinned persons make up a majority of the professional sector of the upper middle class, a growing proportion of the private-sector top management, and a majority among white-collar workers and the state sectors administrative elite. (pp. 21-22)

"In spite of these changes," Stone continued,

race remains correlated with class since the overwhelming majority of the ethnic minorities own property or are located in the upper reaches of the class status hierarchies. This does not diminish by one iota the fact that the social structure is based on a class system of stratification in which race has been assuming a diminishing role as part of the reward system. (p. 22)

From the above description of Jamaica's class structure, it is obvious that the capitalist nature of the Jamaican society continues to dictate the social structure of the country. Clearly, color and economic wealth have continued to play a major part in the reproduction of Jamaica's social system. One great disadvantage to this is that the mass of black Jamaicans continue to remain in an inferior position, despite the fact that many privileged blacks have begun to play a major role in the decision making of the country.

To the extent that these factors have set the pattern for a stratified society, they have also played an important part in how education has been distributed in Jamaica. The works of Miller (1976), Kuper (1976), Jervier (1977), Brown (1979), and Haughton (1979) will be used to examine the problem of social class and education in Jamaica.

Pre-Emancipation Jamaica

One major effect of the distribution of wealth during the plantation era in Jamaica was that each group was educated in a different manner (Brown, 1979; Curtin, 1955; Braithwaite, 1971). The planters sent their children to be educated in England. In 1770 three-fourths of the proprietors' children growing up in Jamaica went overseas for

that purpose numbering more than 300 (Ragataz, 1963, p. 22). At the same time the children of the less affluent (including some free colored) attended schools in Jamaica established with funds left in trust for that purpose by deceased planters (Brown, 1979, p. 81). While the white upper class was educated in England, and the free people of color were provided with limited educational opportunities, the slaves were given minimal education. Beckford (1972) found that "slaves were trained only in skills useful to the plantation --artisan skills which could make a slave a more productive and contented servant" (p. 64). What little schooling they received, was due to the efforts of missionaries and private benefactors (Eisner, 1961, p. 327). Their education was conditioned by two factors: one, that whites regarded them as intellectually inferior and incapable of improvements; and two, that the economic system required subservience and acceptance of heavy work (Clarke, 1975, p. 25).

Thus, the way in which the mass of Jamaicans was educated became the traditional way in which the majority of Jamaicans would be educated in later years.

Emancipation and Education

Emancipation came to Jamaica in 1834. The freeing of the black Africans from slavery brought about radical changes in the social structure of Jamaica.

After 1834, the following social developments occurred:

- a) the emergence and growth of the Jamaican peasantry--black African ex-slaves and their descendants.
- b) the growth of the mulatto middle class or petit bourgeois of professionals, preachers, and small proprietors.
- c) the rise of the merchants who were of minority ethnic origins.
- d) the continued domination of white European owners of the capitalist plantations--while their compatriots directed the colonial civil service and administered the state. (Beckford & Witter, 1980, pp. 44-45)

These four different groups were to form the basis of Jamaica's social structure. In the years to come, despite the fact that blacks would become central contributors to the country's growth, the continued poverty of the Jamaican peasants prevented their participation in the social and political business of the country (Mau, 1968; Lacey, 1977; Nettelford, 1972).

In addition to the emergence of a new class structure, emancipation also brought new educational opportunities for ex-slaves (Clark, 1975; Brown, 1979). In one important act, the British Parliament was forced to vote for a large sum of money for education in the Caribbean. "This annual grant continued for many years while an education system was being established. In 1840 a board of education was authorized" (Jervier, 1977, p. 29).

Despite this commendable act, what education the ex-slaves received was centered mainly around the superiority of the English culture.

In the primary schools the children of the ex-slaves were taught to respect the superiority of the English and white elite because of the latter's culture and color. . . . The values stressed the importance of Christianity, of education, respect of the law, good as opposed to rough or bad behavior . . . all factors which emphasized not only defacto power of Europeans, but the superiority of English culture. (Foner, 1973, p. 40)

However, despite the fact that individuals approached education with zeal, the majority of the population grew up uneducated. This was partly due to the fact that attendance in elementary school depended on one's ability to pay:

and although school fees varied from between three pence and six pence per week, the majority of the population could not afford them, and hence few children were exposed to formal schooling at even the elementary level. A far-reaching repercussion of this was the cleavage that developed between the educated and the uneducated. (Brown, 1979, p. 82)

It was not until 1892 that elementary education became available to all, and by the turn of the century, some unsuccessful attempts were made to introduce compulsory education. "Compulsory education cannot be effective when an adequate number of places cannot be provided in the schools" (Jervier, 1977, p. 30).

The adverse economic conditions that were affecting Jamaica at the start of the century brought the feeble

educational system to a halt. "Government apathy . . . and the estrangement of the populace from educational matters led to a long period of inactivity" (Jervier, 1977, p. 30).

Radical changes, moreover, did not come until 1958 when politics focussed its demands primarily on reforming the dual system of education. Not only was there popular pressure in the political realm,

but leaders of both parties recognized that Jamaica required a literate and well trained work force if industrialization was to have any hope of success. Reforms in the education system . . . were executed against a background of sentiments highly charged with class feelings concerning the relative positions of children in the two types of school. (Austin, 1984, p. 18)

Present Educational System

The first important step toward change in Jamaican education was the establishment of a Common Entrance Examination in 1958 and the award of government scholarships for 60% of the places in secondary schools (Clark, 1975, p. 82). Against this, however,

must be set the knowledge that half the scholarships awarded between 1958 and 1960 were allocated to children from private schools and that the overwhelming majority of their parents could easily have afforded to pay for secondary education. . . . Moreover, although the award of scholarship accelerated the rate of potential acculturation, especially between the lower and median strata, it did not disrupt social stratification. Indeed, the system of awards, like the middle income housing schemes, provided a means of social recruitment and involved virtually no restructuring of society. (Clark, 1975, p. 82)

The relationship between parents' social class and students' performance on the entrance examinations is reflected in Kuper's (1976) two diagrams (Table 1).

Although these figures are not up to date,

recently all places at secondary schools have been made free--that is, virtually all are now awarded on the basis of the Common Entrance Examination, and paid for by government. (Kuper, 1976, p. 74)

Despite this, however, the overall pattern will probably be much the same. In 1970,

22,495 children sat the Common Entrance Examination for entry to grammar schools . . . 85 percent from public primary schools . . . 2,030 free places were awarded, and just the official minimum of 70 percent were to children from public primary schools. However, there is a certain amount of evasion of the regulations . . . children attend private schools, and then join government schools in the final terms, just before the examination, in order to qualify for quota places. (Kuper, 1976, p. 72)

Although there is some social mobility, a child's prospects are best determined by parental social class.

The extreme polarities in Jamaica clearly reflect the gross social divisions and material advantages within the population . . . to the extent that the chances of a small-holder's child getting into an academic secondary school and so perhaps entering a clerical or even professional career are perhaps 3 in 100. This would rise to 7 in 100 for the child of an urban worker, and to virtually 100 percent for the children of the upper-middle class. (Kuper, 1976, p. 74)

Thus,

the two school systems maintained separate modes of internal organization governed by their recruitment of teachers and separately administered financial and

Table 1

The Common Entrance Examination in Jamaica

A. Social differences in the size of entry and success in examination.

Group	Percentage of	
	Entry	Free Places
1. Professional, managerial	5.1	20.5
2. Teachers	4.9	7.3
3. Clerical	21.8	36.3
4. Skilled and semi-skilled	29.4	24.3
5. Unskilled workers	12.5	4.7
6. Farmers	26.3	6.8

B. Percentage of entry from each social class which won free places.

Group	Percentage
1. Elite	66.3
2. Professional, managerial	45.8
3. Teachers	16.4
4. Clerical	18.5
5. Skilled and semi-skilled	9.2
6. Unskilled workers	4.2
7. Farmers	2.8

examination systems. They recruited from and serviced different occupational sectors of the society, clearly demarcating the elite classes from the working mass of Jamaicans. (Austin, 1984, p. 17)

The second major attempt to provide universal education in Jamaica occurred in 1966. The Jamaican Labor Party, then in power, recommended a universal system of public and primary education for all children in Jamaica. It is out of this universal system that the Junior Secondary Schools were created to offer schooling to students who did not pass the 11⁺ examination.

Because of the 11⁺ examination . . . only about 10 percent of students between the ages of 10 to 13 have any opportunity for further formal schooling of any kind. (Jervier, 1977, p. 51)

One inevitable outcome of this is that there is a great wastage among students who do not attend grammar schools in Jamaica. The Junior High School accordingly would help solve the problems of students who were between the ages of 11 and 13. Before the Junior Secondary Schools were created, students who did not pass the 11⁺ examination were sent to all-age schools. Furthermore, because the upper grades were undefined in purpose, they offered no specific programs leading to the next stage in the system. The Junior Secondary curriculum then would close the gap for the next stage in the education system and would, according to the New Deal

in education, become the "nucleus around which education would develop" (Jervier, 1977, p. 51).

Despite these innovative ideas to narrow the gaps and to shore up the educational system, the structured class system remains. The Junior Secondary Schools have never been able to hold the same status as the traditional grammar schools. Kuper (1976) observed that although they are now

entrusted with 40 percent of the students in the public secondary sector . . . most of them are little more than elaborate deceptions practiced upon the unsuspecting mass of poor and uneducated Jamaicans. (p. 71)

In effect, what has happened is that although Jamaica is on her own, having gained her independence from England in 1962, nothing much has changed in terms of providing quality education for all. In reality, educational institutions have continued to reflect the stratified class system that existed prior to emancipation.

The studies done by Miller (1967, 1969) fortify this assertion. In these studies, quantitative data were collected on the color and socioeconomic backgrounds of students in different types of secondary schools. Some of the findings of these studies, which are relevant to this discussion, are shown in Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4.

According to Miller (1967) there are four different groups within the Jamaican society: the upper, the traditional middle, the emerging middle, and the lower. He divides the educational system into four different stages: early childhood, primary, secondary, and higher education. According to preference within each social group, each school is numbered.

As is seen in Table 2, children from the upper stratum attend "posh" preparatory schools, while those from the lower stratum who attend school usually go to a basic government primary school. According to Miller (1967), children from the traditional middle stratum are found chiefly in the posh private schools but there is a significant minority that attends primary school especially in the rural areas. In the case of the emerging middle stratum, the majority of children attend basic and government primary schools although there is a sizeable minority that attend the posh private schools (p. 52).

It is also observed that the posh private schools are attended predominantly by students from the upper and traditional middle strata while the Junior Secondary, all-age, and vocational schools are almost exclusively attended by the emerging middle and lower strata.

Table 2

Social Stratification and the Educational System
in Jamaica, post-1966

Stages of the Educational System	Social Strata			
	Upper	Traditional Middle	Emerging Middle	Lower
Early Childhood	Posh Private Preparatory	1. Posh Private Pre. 2. Govt. Infant	1. Govt. Infant 2. Basic 3. Posh Private Prep.	1. Basic 2. Govt. Infant
Primary	1. Posh Private Prep.	1. Posh Private Prep. 2. Govt. Primary	1. Govt. Primary 2. Posh Private Prep.	Govt. Primary
Secondary	1. Posh Private Prep. 2. Govt. Aided High	1. Govt. aided high 2. Posh Private High 3. Private High 4. Junior Sec. 5. All age	1. Junior Secondary 2. All age 3. Govt. High 4. Private High 5. Vocational	1. All age 2. Junior Sec. 3. Vocational 4. Govt. High 5. Govt. High
Further/ Higher Education	1. College or Univ. abroad 2. U.W.I. Univ. of the West Indies	1. U.W.I. 2. College or Univ. abroad 3. CAST 4. JSA 5. Teacher's College 6. Theological College	1. U.W.I. 2. Cast 3. JSA 4. Teacher's College 5. Theological College 6. Univ. abroad	1. U.W.I. 2. Cast 3. JSA 4. Teacher's College 5. Theological College

At the further stage all strata share university education at the University of the West Indies. However, children from the upper stratum would not be found in the colleges that train people for highly skilled jobs in various service areas (Miller, 1967, p. 52).

Miller also stated that parents' occupation is a good index of the social class of children, especially when it is used in large urban areas. The occupational coding scheme used in the studies was developed by Miller (1967). He employed six socioeconomic categories which were conveniently labelled: 1) higher professional and managerial, 2) lower professional and managerial, 3) highly skilled, 4) skilled, 5) semi-skilled, and 6) unskilled.

Table 3 shows that the Junior Secondary Schools have 0% of students whose parents come from the higher professional bracket. Likewise, Table 3 reveals that no white student in Jamaica attends a Junior Secondary School; the socioeconomic background of students who attend the Junior Secondary School is predominantly skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled.

The same observation can be made concerning students who attend "posh" private schools, and the high schools. As is shown in Table 3, no student whose parents are in the high professional bracket attends a Junior Secondary School.

Table 3

Comparison of Socioeconomic Background of the Students
in the Junior Secondary and Government High Schools
Kingston, Jamaica

Type of School	Socioeconomic Categories					
	Higher Prof.	Lower Prof.	Highly Skilled	Skilled	Semi Skilled	Unskilled
	1 N%	2 N%	3 N%	4 N%	5 N%	6 N%
High	43 6.6	75 11.6	252 38.9	183 28.3	68 10.5	26 4.1
Junior Secondary	--	1 0.3	40 11.9	142 42.5	90 26.9	61 18.4

Source: Miller (1976) p. 52

The government high school from its inception is the school of the traditional middle stratum. Children of the emerging middle and lower strata predominate in Junior Secondary Schools.

Additionally, while the racial composition of the Junior Secondary is overwhelmingly black, the racial composition of students who attend posh high schools and traditional high schools is white, black, or brown (Table 4).

Schools in Jamaica not only reproduce two different groups of students, but they also reproduce individuals who will fit into two different levels in the society.

The educational system in Jamaica has passed through many stages. The attempt has been made not only to provide educational opportunities for each individual to attend school but also now to train more native Jamaicans for teaching positions. What is more important, West Indian literature and West Indian history have begun to appear in the curriculum.

However, despite the changes, the upper and traditional middle strata have managed to hold intact an educational system that favors them. One such reason for this has been the continuation of the 11⁺ exam. Each child in Jamaica is given an opportunity to take this examination. However, because the nature of the test favors the upper and traditional middle cultures, it forces individuals who have not been culturally trained to fail the examination. Additionally, because the grammar school is recognized as the institution which offers an education superior to that of

Table 4

Comparisons of the Racial Composition of Student Body
in Junior Secondary and Government High Schools in
the Corporate Area of Kingston, Jamaica

Type of School	Race				
	White N%	Brown N%	Black N%	Chinese N%	Indian N%
High	20 6.9	123 41.2	100 33.5	51 17.1	4 1.3
Junior Secondary	---	15 18.1	64 77.1	1 1.2	3 3.6

Source: Miller (1967) p. 54

The government high schools have the most multiracial composition of schools at this level although the brown element is still more or less predominant. The racial composition of this type of school is consistent with that of contemporary traditional middle stratum. Miller also found that approximately 77% of children in the Junior Secondary School were black. (Miller, 1976, p. 54)

the other schools, quality education continues in the hands of only a few individuals. Thus, the 11⁺ exam--a symbol of equality--becomes the means by which the structured class system--inequality--is reproduced.

Color as a variable continues to play a big part in the quality of education an individual acquires in Jamaica. The upper class--because of color--attended the best schools and thereby was able to reproduce a small educated elite; the same pattern continues today, even though the country has achieved independence, the ideas of black consciousness have pervaded the society.

Those with the better education, i.e., those who possess the cultural capital of the dominant elite, get the better jobs. By excluding the lower class from the possession of this cultural capital, the upper class easily acquires the quality jobs in the work environment. Lacking these things, the lower class workers are placed in job environments where they see only the culture of their class. Inevitably, they have no choice but to reproduce this culture.

Education continues to play a big part in deciding what class one belongs to. Moreover, because of the unchanging nature of the social formation of the educational system, class reproduction in the educational system also continues. Because the upper and traditional middle classes have the

power and influence, they have continued to reproduce the rigid class system.

Summary

Reproduction and resistance theories have provided significant research into how and why Jamaica continues to maintain the rigid class structure. By understanding these theories one is able to see how different ideologies and beliefs get played out in the society.

The theories provide a radical theoretical approach with which schools in any society can be examined. By connecting schools to the social and political aspects of a society, the ideas of suppression and oppression and reproduction become clearer.

Chapter III purported that in Jamaica one's social class and economic standing guarantee the type of education one receives despite the fact that Jamaica has given up colonialism and now has its own government. The poor have remained at the bottom of the society because quality educational opportunities have not been presented to them.

Chapters II and III have provided a deeper insight into the relationship between social class and education. However, theoretical works do not provide ways in which to change existing conditions. Therefore, a different kind of

research is needed that calls not only for theory, but also for praxis. Research is needed that requires not only the theoretical findings of schools but also a study of individuals and schools in their natural settings. By taking theoretical works one step further, the factors that create reproduction, hegemony, oppression, and resistance can be examined more fully.

CHAPTER IV
JAMA NEW SECONDARY SCHOOL

Chapters IV and V present an ethnographic account of a study that was done at a New Secondary School in Jamaica, West Indies. The length of time in the school was one month of intensive observation. For four weeks, Monday to Friday, I observed six students from 7:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. During this time the students were interviewed and were observed on several occasions in different classroom settings. In addition to time with the students, I also had interviews with staff members and three individuals who have lived in the school community for over 10 years.

Chapter Overview

Chapter IV is divided into several sections. After a brief history of the development and purposes of the New Secondary Schools in Jamaica, my reasons for choosing Jama New Secondary are presented. Then the school community and the adjoining neighborhood are described. Questions for the neighbors are intended to elicit their opinions about the presence of the New Secondary School in the neighborhood. An overall description of the school and the numerical grading system at the school are then presented followed by interviews with the principal and the seven staff members

who taught the class that I observed. These questions are intended to tap the staff's opinions about social class and education in Jamaica, the economic and political nature of schools in Jamaica, and attitudes towards the students and the New Secondary Schools in Jamaica. In conclusion, several recommendations from the teachers focus on how the educational system can better serve the needs of Jamaica.

New Secondary Schools in Jamaica

Jamaica gained independence from England in 1962. After independence, a document entitled New Deal for Education in Independent Jamaica was published by the government. Recognizing that there was a wastage of students between the ages of 11 and 18, the document proposed reorganization of the structure of the educational system in Jamaica and the promotion of junior high schools for those who had little or no opportunity for obtaining secondary education (Jervier, 1977). The whole purpose of the Junior Secondary Schools was to provide meaningful programs for students who did not pass the 11⁺ examination to go on to the grammar schools.

The aims of the Junior Secondary Schools were to provide the following:

1. Opportunities for all pupils to progress according to attainment, aptitude, and ability. To

accomplish this, work will be provided for the very weak while the promising pupils will be given opportunity for rapid development.

2. A wide range of experiences which emphasize basic subjects and practical skills.
3. Competence in calculation necessary for even unskilled jobs.
4. Opportunities for the proper development of students who will not benefit from second cycle secondary school.
5. Vocational opportunities for those students who will not benefit from second cycle education and will enter the labor market.
6. Facilities for communal activities with special reference to those who wish to continue learning outside the formal system. (Jervier, 1977, p. 51)

Despite these stated aims, however, the Junior Secondary Schools have never been able to fulfill many of their most important objectives.

Jervier (1977) gave several reasons for these failures.

1. The Junior Secondary School was in effect a cumbersome extension of the elementary school.
2. Most teachers in the Junior High Schools were trained for elementary schools and have actually been engaged in such schools for several years.
3. The Junior High School does not enjoy very high prestige in Jamaica. Although educators saw this school as satisfying certain societal needs, prestigious secondary schools were still respected. (p. 64)

Although the Junior Secondary Schools "moved the terminal point in the educational ladder one step upwards . . . and

in the post colonial era heighten the sense of liberation , . . . [their] curriculum does not lead to gainful technical employment" (Jervier, 1977, p. 65).

In 1974, the Junior Secondary Schools were renamed "New Secondary Schools." While the school leaving age at the Junior High School was 15, it became 16 years in the New Secondary School. Two other grades were created in the New Secondary Schools--grades 10 and 11. The central purpose of these grades was to prepare school leavers for employment in the job market. There was a greater emphasis on vocational programs in these two grades (Jervier, 1977).

Additionally, according to the New Deal for Education, students entered the grade 10 program at three levels: pre-functional, functional, and continuing.

1. The Pre-Functional applied to students who were unable to master basic language and computation skills. The functional level applied to students who had mastered these skills, while the Continuing level applied to students whose competence in the basic skills would enable them to be prepared for entry to tertiary institutions. A test in Mathematics and Language taken at the end of the grade 9 course would determine the level at which students entered grade 10.
2. In order to prepare students to meet the needs of a society a Core Curriculum Course and two optional courses were offered. The Core Curriculum Course was offered to all students at their levels of entry and included Language and Communication, Mathematics and Life Skills. Optional courses were offered in Vocational Education and Continuing Education. Students who took the Continuing Education Course also studied a Vocational Education subject.

3. A new feature of the New Secondary Education Program was the inclusion of three weeks work experience for all grade 11 students. Assessment was on the basis of performance during the course and by means of a national exam at the end of the course. Every student who completed the course received a certificate on which was indicated his/her level of competence. (Whyte, 1977, p. 25)

Despite what appears to be successful objectives, several criticisms have been levelled at the New Secondary Schools. The following major criticisms were made in 1977:

1. Many New Secondary Schools have inadequate facilities as all the necessary buildings and equipment have not yet been provided for in these schools.
2. Despite the fact that the Ministry of Education had responsibility for curriculum development, and had active curriculum sub-committees and professional subject officers, the curriculum development for the academic subjects--language, mathematics, social studies and science--was given to individuals outside of the Ministry.
3. The sudden expansion of secondary education also had negative effects on the quality of education in the newly created New Secondary Schools. Because no new teachers were trained for the grades 10-11 level, the best quality teachers from the grades 7-9 level were moved to the grades 10-11 level without the necessary training and preparation. The gap that was created at the lower secondary level was filled by teachers who were trained for grades 1-6. But these were not competent enough to implement the grades 7-9 curriculum. The consequences of these twin movements of unprepared teachers has been that there has been ineffective teaching/learning from grades 7-11 in these New Secondary Schools.

4. Much of the teaching at the New Secondary School system is still traditional and teacher oriented, the students do not develop either the spirit of inquiry or creativity, or self-reliance which are necessary attributes for persons who can positively contribute to the development of the nation. (Jamaica Ministry of Education, 1977, pp. 37-40)

In reality then, although the New Secondary Schools had set out to lift the standard of the Junior Secondary Schools, problems similar to those which faced the Junior High Schools continued to plague the New Secondary Schools. With this prior knowledge, I chose to do a study at one of the New Secondary Schools in Jamaica.

Selection of a School for Research

The Jama New Secondary School was representative of the New Secondary Schools in Jamaica which were created during the 1970s to provide quality, technical education for individuals who were not able to enter a grammar school. I wished to learn whether this school was fulfilling some of the goals of the New Deal. Moreover, because the New Secondary Schools have been the schools of the lower working class, I wanted to see the extent to which this New Secondary School was helping to reproduce this class.

Reproduction theories have maintained that one purpose of school is to reproduce the class system, to such an

extent that individuals fit into their places in society. In this way an ordered society is created.

Resistance theories have maintained, however, that because human beings are not that easily manipulated, reproduction is not complete. Therefore, I wanted to see to what extent the students resisted the culture of the school and the society, or whether the school was helping to fit these students into their places in society.

Most of the studies that have been done at schools have been researched primarily in developed countries. By choosing to do the study in Jamaica, I could apply these theories and understand the makings of an underclass in a developing society.

Jama New Secondary School

The school was built with government funds and opened in 1979. There are 1,132 students, male and female, from 10 to 18 years of age. Attendance usually runs from 700 to 800 on Tuesdays and Wednesdays with fewer students coming in on Thursdays and Fridays. The principal told me that students

can only attend school two or three days out of the week because they have to help their mothers "make business" on the other days. . . . They have to help so that they can come to school the next week.

Other staff members confirmed that the poverty among the student body has prevented students from attending school regularly.

Across the street from the layered lawns and finely-cut hedges of the Jama homes is a large circular concrete wall about 18 feet in height. A rectangular wooden gate on the front side of the wall is the only visible entrance through this massive concrete structure. This gate is padlocked from 8 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. daily. No visitor or student can enter through the gate unless someone from inside opens it. Inside the gate, the daily business of Jama New Secondary School is conducted.

Asked why the school was built in Jama, one staff member explained:

Because of the inequality of the social system--the previous government, in trying to create a more egalitarian community, decided to build New Secondary Schools in wealthy neighborhoods.

He believes, however, that this attempt has failed. "The area has nothing to do with the school. For example, kids from Jama go to B.K. or Kingley" (these are the names of the two grammar schools in Jama). However, he believes that the "kids feel good that they are here . . . because when they look at the Jama surrounding, they see it as the ultimate," but that placing the school in this

neighborhood has done more damage to the students than good. It not only makes them feel inferior, but by being so far from their own homes, the students remain at a great disadvantage. (It is five miles from the Jama Community to Tevary City.)

All the kids must take a bus to and from the school . . . the bus fare is too much. . . . If they were close to home during the lunch period, they could return home for lunch. . . . However, because the students cannot walk from Jama to Tevary City during the lunch break, many remain hungry for the entire day.

On a typical morning when the students are entering the school, the gate is opened. Worship begins at 7:30 a.m. so students must be on the school compound in time for daily worship. Worship in the morning is conducted by a member of the staff. A passage is usually read from the Bible; then all join in singing. The teacher who leads the worship gives out the notices for the day. Students who sit on the ledge outside the wall (facing the Jama homes) are told to get in the building. The gate closes at 8 a.m. Any student who arrives late for class has three options: 1) knock at the gate and be punished for lateness, 2) remain outside for the entire day, or 3) jump the high wall.

Grade Stratification at Jama

In this particular school, each grade is divided into five sections according to academic ability, with 1 as the highest and 5 the lowest. Students who do well in the 1 and 2 levels are given an opportunity to sit for the General Certificate Examination (G.C.E.). Generally, this examination is taken only by students who attend the grammar school. Those who are not being prepared for the G.C.E. will take the Caribbean Examination Council examination (C.X.C.), created by educators from the different West Indian islands. This is largely the examination for the 3 and 4 levels. Generally, the 5 level, even if given the chance, never does well on it.

Unfortunately, however, many of the islands have not looked very favorably at the C.X.C. One grave implication here is that because the society continues to legitimate the G.C.E., students who pass only the C.X.C. are considered, in many cases, not acceptable for employment. This is to the detriment of the mass of Jamaicans who must attend a New Secondary School for their education.

Neighborhood of Jama

Jama New Secondary School is located in the unique residential community of Jama within the city of Kingston, Jamaica's capital. One area of Jama includes half of

the campus of the University of the West Indies. In addition to the University, two elite grammar schools, one posh preparatory school, and the newly built Jama New Secondary School are located in Jama. The students from the Jama community usually attend the grammar schools. Of the two elite grammar schools, one is an all-male institution. At present, in addition to two of the island's Prime Ministers, several of the leading politicians, both of the past and present-day Jamaica, have been educated at this grammar school. A large percentage of the students who attend the grammar schools go on to further study either at the University in Jamaica or at a university in the United States or in London. The posh preparatory school services both grammar schools. No student from the Jama community attends the New Secondary School.

Although a large percentage of semi-professionals and labourers work with the University, a larger percentage are the professionals who are responsible for the academic departments and the medical hospital which services the entire island. However, despite the fact that the University offers employment to individuals, the high price of dwellings within the University-Jama area makes it impossible for the majority of workers who work at the University to live in the community. For example, in questioning one

Jama resident about the price of houses in the neighborhood, I was told that houses in Jama run "from \$250,000 to one million dollars." Overlooking Jama is Queeni Acres, where "the burglar bars on the houses are worth a million dollars," she said.

The air of tradition still lingers in Jama, reflected in the dominant presence of the Anglican and Catholic churches. On the other hand, the Mercedes Benz's, the Peugeots, and the Volvos have added a touch of "nouveau riche" to the once-traditional community.

For the past 10 years the neighborhood has been changing gradually to incorporate the emerging middle class. One reason for this change can be laid to the fear of Communism which pervaded the island during Prime Minister Manley's era (1974-1980). Many who believed that Manley was "selling out" to Castro fled Jamaica for the United States. Much intelligence and wealth had come from this community. Those who decided to stay on the island--and had formerly lived in Jama--have since moved to Classie Hills or Queeni Acres.

At present there are two groups living in Jama--the emerging middle class and a few of those who have lived in Jama from its inception. One such long-term resident reflected on the change in the community:

When we settled in Jama in 1959, we believed that there was no place like Jama. It was very quiet, very clean . . . neighbors were sociable . . . people prided in their flower gardens . . . families in Jama had maids to take care of their children . . . residents were decent and proper.

To the question "Who are the people now living in Jama?"

she answered:

The middle class. Most of the previous owners have left. At present I am the only one of the lot who still remains.

She explained the difference:

Present-day people here are not particular . . . many now don't take care of their homes . . . one reason is that they can't afford it.

She feels good, however, that;

there are a number of doctors, nurses, barristers, judges, mainly professionals who still live in Jama. (The doctors and the nurses work at the University.)

The presence of Jama New Secondary has added to her fear that the neighborhood has changed. Stating that the New Secondary Schools "get kids from the ghetto areas," she fears that the students who are presently attending Jama will bring in "bad influence from the area they are coming from." In the end, the presence of the school and students will "destroy the respectability and quietness of the area."

The community felt upset when they heard that a New Secondary School would be built in Jama . . . if it were a grammar school people would not be so upset as there is more discipline in the grammar schools than the New Secondary Schools . . . however, after putting up the high wall to keep in the students and the noise, residents have no problem now.

"In my day," she continued,

students had respect for teachers . . . now society has changed . . . most of the parents now are domestic and factory type people who do not want to reprimand their children.

"For example," she stated,

when school is over and the students are passing my gate . . . they have bad expressions coming from their mouths . . . some of the students are awful when they pass by . . . some of them should not be in school . . . they should go out and learn a trade. The girls should go out and learn hairdressing or sewing.

This obvious displeasure at the presence of the New Secondary School is reflected in the conversation I had with another resident of Jama. When asked about his reaction to the school's being built in Mona, he stated that he was very upset at first.

Now the kids only make a little noise . . . they do not trouble anything when they are passing . . . don't trouble their fruits, their dogs, nor their flower gardens.

To the question "Have you ever thought of inviting the students to your home?" he stated that he does not know if neighbors have invited kids to their homes; he has never done that. However, he believes that people from the area always support things in the school. In questioning one newcomer to the area (1972) concerning the massive high wall that surrounds the school, I was told that the wall "is alright basically; it is well constructed." When

asked if he does not believe that the prison-like building takes away from the beauty of Jama, he remarked that "as long as it keeps in the noise it can stay. I have become accustomed to it." He is, however, disturbed by the fact that

at a certain time in the morning, the school gate is closed, so kids hang around on the street. . . . This is very disturbing to the neighborhood. . . . However, the teachers are well-disciplined and well-dressed and they are trying.

Neighborhood of Tevary City

Adjacent to Jama is the community of Tevary City. Many of the students who attend Jama New Secondary School live in Tevary City. One Jama resident compared Jama to Tevary City:

Jama caters strictly to professionals . . . Tevary City has no professionals. . . . The town is a semi-ghetto, thickly populated neighborhood with very, very poor people living there.

I asked one student who lives in Tevary City to describe the community to me:

too much niggers live there . . . people cuss all the time . . . there are gunshots all the time. . . . It is a ghetto place with no whites living there . . . mostly single families . . . every month girls have babies . . . at night it is very hot so people play dominoes and other games . . . in the nights the neighborhood keeps a watch out so others don't come in and fight against them.

In his description, he listed the several names which were given to different places in Tevary City: Jungle Town,

Angola, and Vietnam because of the guns. To my question, "What social group lives in Tevary City?" he stated that "poor, in-between people live in Tevary City."

He maintained, however, that despite the ghetto, he could not live in a residential place. He prefers to live in a place that is "noisy . . . there the parties are nice . . . during the holidays people clean up the area." He is worried, however, that people don't appear to "trust each other in Tevary City."

I visited Tevary City with five students from tenth grade (10⁵) who had lived in Tevary City all their lives. A busy atmosphere seemed to permeate Tevary City. Although it was early afternoon, there were several small groups standing, sitting, talking, walking aimlessly on the streets. Many bars were doing active business.

The streets of Tevary City has rows of buildings. Houses are joined together with zinc roofs which seem to stretch for miles. Small one-room dwellings are attached to tiny shops where sugar, bread, and sweets are sold. Some have fruit stands on the plaza of the shops.

Running through Tevary City is the Deer Basin. During the season of heavy rain the river has been known to claim several lives. One-room shacks line both sides of the river. Because the river bed was dry at the time of my visit, there were several goats and cows grazing there.

To the question, "What do the young people do in Tevary City?" the students answered: "girls have babies, boys sell pillows on the street . . . some smoke . . . some do higglering . . . some hustle." One girl commented that several of her friends have had babies. Another fellow said that his friends "Gamble, smoke, and give babies." Another remarked that some boys "fight against one another-- sniff coke and get mad." He stated that he himself had "sniffed coke."

To my question "Does anyone ever go to college?" the answer was "No." Most of their friends "have babies." To another question, "Who do most students live with?" I was told: "most students live with single parents . . . a brother, sister, or a stepfather . . . some live with their baby's father."

The School Building

A circular external wall surrounds the school. To this wall is attached the 25 classrooms, the bathrooms, the staff room, the vocational rooms, the playgrounds, the farming land, the volleyball and tennis courts. In the circular courtyard, which faces all these rooms, patches of grass are adjacent to patches of bare ground. Several dirt walks are visible in the courtyard. Gravel stones form a flat surface where students walk. On the grass a large board

sign reads "Keep Off the Grass." Several trees form shade in the circle. Because there is no official dining room for the students, and because the classrooms are closed during the lunch period, students stand and eat their lunch in the circle. There are no chairs and no tables in the circle.

To the right of the grassy circle is a tunnel vault. A rainbow-shaped concrete complex, this is the most interesting of all the buildings. Lifting from one section of the ground to the inside 9 foot ceiling it ends up by forming a semi-circle on another section of the ground. The length from one end to another measures about 12 feet. There are no doors to the tunnel. Students enter and leave through the open spaces which are on one end of the dome. Because there are no doors, when rain falls the wind blows the rain in. The water settles on the floor. If it is a damp day, the thick concrete--of which the tunnel vault is made--makes it impossible for the sun to seep through. The dome is used for daily worship, graduation services, assemblies or sometimes for a make-shift classroom during the regular school day. During the lunch period it becomes a gathering spot for students who want to rest from the hot sun in the circle.

Behind the dome are the classrooms. Attached to the back of the high wall is the woodwork room. On the bare ground in front of the woodwork room is a large pile of broken chairs, desks, and tables. Each day more broken furniture is added to the pile. Because the woodwork room is a distance away from the principal's office, students who wish to leave the premises, without a permit, usually climb the wall from this section of the compound. Next to the woodwork room are the metal work, electrical installation, and technical drawing rooms. Attached to this room is the kitchen. The kitchen faces the dome.

The kitchen is a larger room than the regular classroom. Here there is a stove, a refrigerator, and several shelves to place the daily food supplies. Here the teachers' lunches are prepared and 1,132 students buy their lunch.

A serving counter separates the kitchen from the teachers' dining room. On a typical lunch hour the teachers collect their lunches over the counter and then find a place to sit in the room, where there are several tables and chairs. This room also serves as a gathering place for teachers when they wish to take a break. Usually the door to this room is closed. No student is allowed in this room without permission.

Attached to the lunchroom are two other rooms. One room is the bathroom for the female students. Adjoining these rooms are several classrooms. At the end of these classrooms a flight of steps leads to the remaining classrooms.

In addition to several classrooms, the Library, the Business Education Room, the Typing Room, the Science Room, and the Physical Education Department are attached to each other to form another circle. The remaining empty space is taken up by the games court. A dried patch of land represents the agricultural plot for students to farm in. Several heaps of broken furniture litter the ground.

On the other side of the steps the staff bathrooms are located. These are usually locked. In order to use this room, the teachers must go to the staffroom for the keys. Next to this is the Math Room. Attached to this room is a larger room which houses the principal's and vice principal's offices where the teachers sign in before they start classes and where the secretaries work. Except for three chairs that are placed in a corner of the room, the room is clear of any seating arrangement. On a typical school day, there are always parents sitting on these chairs. Parents and children are usually waiting to speak to the principal about entering their child into the school for the new year.

It is at this point the circle of rooms meet the entrance gate. To the right of the gate is the Music Room and the Home Economics and Sewing Rooms.

Classrooms

Each rectangular concrete classroom measures about 12 feet by 12 feet and has one wooden door. At the front of the room there is a table and a blackboard behind the teacher's desk. To the right of the blackboard are the only windows in the room. Several of these windows have been destroyed. There are open spaces and some bent windows which hang loosely on nails in the spaces. The barren concrete walls are marked by colored chalk, large distorted holes, and half-broken electric outlets.

Broken chairs and desks are piled in a corner of the room. The half-broken chairs and desks that remain for the students are arranged so that they face the teacher's table and the blackboard. The writing surfaces of many of these desks have been removed. The floor of each classroom is made of concrete. Students' feet easily transport the dirt from the dry ground outside to the classroom floors.

During non-classroom hours each classroom door is closed by the teacher. This ensures that the chairs

remaining in the classroom will not be destroyed before the start of the next class.

Library

The library is larger than the regular classrooms. Pictures adorn the walls. Rebecca of Sunny Brook Farm, The Adventures of Tom Sawyer by Mark Twain, The Stray: A Story by Betsy James Wyeth, Gulliver's Travels by Jonathan Swift, Kidnapped by Robert Louis Stevenson, 9 Books on the Adventures of Anne, Romeo and Juliet, Macbeth, etc., are examples of some of the books which line the shelves of the library at Jama New Secondary School.

According to the librarian,

Although teachers have complained about the choice of books, the Ministry still sends books like Shakespeare to school. There are not many West Indian novels in the library although the students like them . . . if they do come to the library, they are sent to the English Department where they are used as text books.

In referring to the students of 10⁵ she remarked that the students are only capable of picture reading. However, there are not many picture books in the library. So when they do come during their assigned library periods, much time is spent in "settling" them down. "They get excited and call out to each other," she remarked.

She stated that picture books with simple words should be provided for the students of 10⁵. She attributes

the lack of understanding for the needs of 10⁵ to the school system which is alien to the lives of the students. Inevitably,

because of the lack of support from the Ministry, some teachers see no sense in teaching. . . . No one from the Ministry has come out to see what is here.

To offset this breakdown and the sense of abandonment held by both teachers and students, she believes that there should be a closer contact between the Education Ministry and the teachers. "In addition to that," she stated, "space should be made available for teachers to do refresher courses at the University of the West Indies."

Woodwork Room

The woodwork class is important to 10⁵ because it is the group lowest in academic ability. Students who learn skills are better prepared for jobs when they graduate. The curriculum for 10⁵ offers woodwork and crafts for the boys, and for the girls needlework and cookery.

The woodwork room has long, wooden rectangular tables placed firmly in the ground, set in a row facing the blackboard and the teacher's desk. They are arranged on each side of the room with four-legged round chairs that were taller than the tables and had no form of back support. The students have to sit in a hunched position in order to write.

The lack of proper ventilation creates a warm and sleepy environment for the students to work in. Air comes through the entrance door or through the open ceiling vents.

The tools given to the woodwork room a few years ago were in disrepair and had not been in use for several months.

Interviews with the Principal and Staff

The principal and some of the teachers were asked to give their reasons for the educational failure of 10⁵. Much blame was attributed to the lack of interest shown by the Ministry of Education towards the New Secondary School, but the teachers also reflected on the conditions in the school and the society's response to the students and to the New Secondary Schools in Jamaica.

At the time of the study (1985), Jamaica was undergoing tremendous economic upheavals. The teachers in all the schools were demanding better working conditions and higher wages. The staff at the New Secondary Schools were the lowest paid teachers within the certified teaching community. Working at a great disadvantage, they were the ones who coped daily with the students who were predominantly from the lower working class in Jamaica.

Despite the frustrations, however, all the teachers spoke of the importance of education in a newly developing

country such as Jamaica. Stating that education is supposed to contribute to the total man . . . develop a person . . . to help the individual adapt to his environment . . . to bring about changes within the individual and the environment in which he or she lives. Many stressed the idea that education should act as a change agent for individuals.

However, many maintained that, frustrating to these beliefs, the education which was provided for the students at Jama New Secondary was inadequate. Many stated that the school, instead of changing the students' lifestyles, had only made it worse. To my question "What will happen to the 10⁵ students when they leave?" I was informed that,

The students have dreams but they are going into a hopeless world. Crime will come from them when their dreams are not fulfilled. Some want to become lawyers and doctors and policemen.

Similar answers to this question were given by other staff members who had taught 10⁵ at some time. One teacher remarked that the "crime rate will go up." Another commented that "girls will take on womanly roles, boys will hustle--sell if they are independent."

The teachers said that only a few of these students-- maybe 1%--might do well and achieve something. Some of them might sell in the market. The girls will probably

sell their bodies. They only come to school to get away from home during the day.

Principal

My first interview at the school was with the principal of Jama New Secondary School. It is the principal's job to run the school smoothly and to recommend that a teacher be hired or fired. Because of her position she has the closest contact with the Ministry of Education. In her work, she has the assistance of the vice principal who helps to arrange the schedule of all the classes and follow accurately the inflexible curriculum that is sent from the Ministry. The principal and vice principal have both had University training, but the remaining staff members have attended one of the Teachers' Training Colleges in Jamaica.

Mrs. Hugh described the Jama community. "There are elite areas facing both sides of the school. Because of this, people did not want the school to be built in the area." To compensate for this antagonism, she has tried several times to bridge the gap by inviting the neighbors to the school:

I have tried to get the interest of the community . . . have written letters to the neighbors but only one answered. . . . No one has come in to see what is happening at the school.

To the extent that the neighbors are angry at the location

of the school "on weekends people dump garbage on the play field." Mrs. Hugh gave three reasons as to why the neighborhood is antagonistic towards the students: 1) the lower economic status of the students, 2) the social class of the students, and 3) the social stigma of inferior education which is attached to the New Secondary Schools in Jamaica. She described the students:

These kids have been brutalized from birth. . . . They are from underprivileged homes. Although they are potentially good, they cannot make it because they are poor. Some of the kids live by themselves and so are not able to come to school every day. In addition to that, many of the parents are so poor they cannot turn up at a function because they can't afford to come.

In comparing conditions at the grammar school and the New Secondary School, Mrs. Hugh remarked that while the government heartily supports the grammar school, the New Secondary School gets nothing. She said that the school had received no material from the government since January.

Because the New Secondary Schools are the lowest among the schools in Jamaica . . . no one is interested in the kids . . . no one wants to come to a New Secondary School . . . no one wants to help the kids. . . . For example, the school did very well in sports but did not get any recognition from the society. They wanted to do something on T.V. but the station wanted to charge them \$5,000 although they knew the school could not afford it.

This attitude of neglectful and often callous treatment is extended to the way in which some members of staff treat the students. For example, she has warned the staff many

times about strapping the students with canes, yet she knows that this continues throughout the school.

Some teachers complain about the undisciplined nature of the student body . . . but they need to be disciplined themselves. Many of them are usually late for classes . . . some don't go. Teachers need to talk to the students about their problems. While some do this, many refuse to take part in that part of the school life.

Mrs. Hugh maintained that not all the objectives have been filled. According to the educational plan for the New Secondary Schools, students should leave with a skill. However, at Jama: "not many will be able to do this. The financial constraint has made it impossible for the school to buy material." She is concerned, however, that because the students have not been prepared academically or vocationally to be productive citizens outside, "Crime will come from the group at school . . . if neighborhoods won't help, students will return and destroy them."

Interviews with 10⁵ Teachers

Teacher A. Teacher A was the staff member who was responsible for all the tenth grades. His duty was to see that the teachers who taught the tenth grades were present for their classes. He was also responsible for the social education which was given to 10⁵. My questions to Teacher A focused on such topics as the meaning of education, the quality of education for 10⁵, the political and economical

aspects of education in Jamaica, the curriculum for remedial classes, the selection of teachers for 10⁵, and his opinion on class 10⁵.

Teacher A defined education as a:

system whereby the individual will get an understanding of how to improve himself as a person . . . they learn basic skills to make them more literate so they can adapt to the environment . . . help them to be a better person . . . to understand that we are human beings and we are to live decent lives . . . it will help people to know how to socialize with people. For example, if you have two people from two different cultures . . . if you are not educated and because of their physical features, their height, you might believe that they are somebody from Mars . . . because of education and study you realize there are different types of people all over the world . . . different hair . . . eyes . . . all of this . . . education helps to bring you in a more understanding of people . . . their different ways of life.

To the question "Would you say 10⁵ is getting an education?" Teacher A said "No." He gives several reasons for this.

From experience, it has been realized that it is very hard to teach 10⁵ without teaching aids, . . . however, because of a lack of money, the government is not able to buy teaching aids so the students can touch things with their hands . . . for 10⁵ you find that just by learning to read from the board is not enough . . . they need to get things to handle . . . to hold. For example, in Maths, they need to hold the shape of the triangle and the rectangle . . . so they can see what they are. . . . The theory is what they get but this is not enough.

Despite the lack of money, however, he doesn't blame the Ministry of Education entirely.

Ministry of Education has some good ideas . . . but the good ideas are only brains for graduates and college students . . . maybe they are also prejudiced . . . you don't know. . . . Added to this is the fact that politics has come in the system. Here every man is doing for himself . . . because of this education becomes a money-making affair instead of pertaining to the human side of life.

Maintaining that the curriculum is irrelevant for remedial classes, he stated that if the Ministry of Education is interested in helping to lift the level of education for 10⁵, it should have "a separate place for them with specially designed programs . . . work programs so students can understand what they are doing." In addition to that, "Colleges need to train more remedial teachers as there are more people who need remedial work in the school system." If this can't be done, the Ministry should have a "special college which deals only with the discipline of remedial work."

To the question "How were the teachers who teach 10⁵ chosen?" Teacher A stated that:

The Heads of the grade usually asks the subject teachers what they wish to teach . . . however, this does not mean that teachers will get the class they ask for . . . however, in some instances there is favoritism, to such an extent that some teachers do get the classes they request. Some teachers don't like to teach 10⁵ . . . this goes back to the way the society feels about the lower class and because many were not trained to do remedial work, they find it unrewarding and frustrating to do . . . on the other hand, many don't like to associate themselves with these people.

He believes that although teachers have the power to change the curriculum,

some people in supervisory positions are not working as hard as they should . . . to this end many of the teachers are not guided . . . some don't know what they are supposed to do . . . some got the job because of experience . . . because of friends . . . what happens in these cases is that because they are hired under these conditions the students suffer . . . the work is not worth doing.

He does not blame the teachers as the educational system in Jamaica is

in a dump. What is happening is that it is hard to put someone in a job without incentives . . . without motivation . . . because of these factors teachers don't want to be bothered.

In addition to that,

attitudes of students . . . turn teacher off . . . completely . . . it is hard to control them . . . hard to cope . . . so teachers react badly to students . . . children are not disciplined at home . . . so they come to school with problems . . . in Jamaica, in the educational system teachers have a lot to do and these things take away time that should be used to teach kids . . . there is loss of manpower . . . teachers have to look after canteen . . . special jobs should be done by top management who are not assigned to classes or other people so teachers can have time to prepare work . . . teacher should not do fundraising . . . they should only teach.

Blame also was attached to the parents.

Many of these children don't see their parents until night. They leave home early in the morning . . . then they have to come home and work again . . . so you find that it is not that the students have not got the brains but they never got the opportunity . . . some don't have the books so they can't do the class work so their work is affected . . . eventually they are pushed down to the 10⁵ stream.

To the question "Where do you see them going?" he answered:

No more than 1% of the class will achieve something . . . only few will do well . . . they will sell on the plaza . . . go to the market . . . some kids have great ambition . . . but lack of food and no work force them to use their bodies.

At this point I remarked that not all the students in 10⁵ believed that they were going to "sell at the plaza," as most considered themselves "middle class," and had high hopes of "getting a job." Teacher A's response was that

Most of them understand . . . most of them know where they are going . . . and are fooling themselves . . . some of these students cause themselves to be in 10⁵ . . . somewhere in 1⁵ and 2⁵ they wasted time, plus their attitudes were bad . . . so not only educational system must be blamed but 10⁵ students must take responsibility for themselves.

Teacher A said the students were not taught to think either politically or critically.

Teacher B: Homeroom. My second interview was with the homeroom Teacher B. Questions to this teacher were centered around the Jamaican society, his overall view of 10⁵, the failure of the system to recognize the lower class, and the inevitable result in education, because of this failure. Twenty-six students were presently enrolled in 10⁵.

In describing the Jamaican society, Teacher B said:

Each person in Jamaica tends to think of himself. . . . Financially we are down; people get jittery, are not

willing to share. Society becomes selfish. It's very pathetic. One becomes very frustrated. . . . People are giving up now in Jamaica. It's a negative society.

Asked about education at Jama, he answered with discouragement:

I have been in education for a long time . . . I notice that the longer I stay, each set of students is worse than the first . . . except before they had more values, now students have no values, no interest.

Teacher B said that

students with good education can't find jobs. Jama Secondary students see this so they have no motivation to study. If the students at the grammar schools are not getting jobs, then they are certain they can't.

He spoke of the low academic abilities of the students in 10⁵:

Many are not able to form words, many can't recognize words. . . . Students lack long attention span. . . . They lack motivation. They have no interest in school. Financially, they are very poor. . . . can only attend school two days per week. They will fail in the society.

This description of their reading skills was confirmed by the reading teacher who taught these same students from 7⁵ through 9⁵.

The reading level of 10⁵ is "pre-primer," "primer," or sometimes "grades 1 and 2 in the Primary grades." In 7⁵ students were grouped according to their ability . . . teachers were trained to make work simpler . . . now reading teachers have stopped teaching all tenth grades . . . inevitably slow learners return to the Pre-Primer stage where they cannot recognize words.

Teacher B, however, offered several other reasons for the students' failure. He maintained that many of the

teachers have forgotten their own background and so tend to look down on the students of 10^5 .

Teachers don't want to be bothered . . . 10^5 needs extra planning and the teachers are not willing to do this . . . the students are not academically gifted so teachers are not interested in them. The teachers prefer to teach in the high schools where they have the academically gifted students.

He spoke also of the society's neglect of people like those in 10^5 :

students want to work but Ministry does not provide material for them to work with . . . society tends to forget these people. Instead of trying to push them, they neglect them.

He believes that the "bad treatment" of the students in 10^5 is due to the social class which they belong.

The Jamaican society does not recognize the lower class . . . the students of 10^5 are lower class. Because of this class they did not have the privilege to be exposed to different things so society tends to treat them differently.

He spoke of the education which is being taught in a vacuum because of the rigid curriculum.

The curriculum is irrelevant to the students' lives, but we can't change it because it is coming from the Ministry. For example, 10^1 and 10^5 syllabus are the same although academically, they are two different groups. . . . In addition to that both groups are being prepared to do the same exam in June '86.

What is remarkable about this situation, he stated, is that every school in the society has a 10^5 .

Society neglects them. They are handicapped . . . schools are not equipped to teach them so inevitably they become drop-outs.

Like the principal, he confirmed the hopeless situation of the students of 10⁵.

They will become the outcasts of the society . . . inevitably they will play back on the society . . . become criminals and robbers.

Asked what kind of curriculum he would create for 10⁵, Teacher B answered: "Develop a program to interest them so they can feel free to talk. The curriculum is so formal."

Teacher C: English. My third interview was with the teacher who taught English Language and Literature to 10⁵. She focused on the school's and the Ministry of Education's inability to empathize with the needs of 10⁵. Teacher C had come to Jama New Secondary in October 1984. "The first two weeks," she stated, were "very hectic." Despite this, she tried very hard to "know the students . . . to know the system." The class had begun with five students, but by the end of the term, she had a full class. She appreciates and enjoys the class because "they are trying . . . however, people tend to leave them out . . . to treat them as if they are not human beings." She described them as being

very slow learners; very, very poor students who do not have much time to think about school. . . . They have to think about money and food. . . . They are very angry and oppressive with each other.

She maintained that instead of providing an educational environment for them, Jama New Secondary

teaches them to hate each other . . . it is institutionalized like a ghetto society . . . the school does nothing for them . . . they are not being taught to fit in the society . . . just being taught here to leave school . . . most students are teaching themselves how to survive, how to cope . . . Jama does not teach them this.

She accused the teachers of letting down the students:

Teachers let them down . . . when they tell them anything . . . they tell all . . . there is no feeling of trust between teachers and students . . . parents curse them, teachers curse them . . . and the students hear this every day. . . . Secondly, some teachers want to climb up . . . they don't want to go back so they look down at students with disgust. . . some want to see results right away so they have no patience with students such as 10⁵ who take a longer time to learn . . . many feel that they are attacked so they attack the students in return.

Furthermore, she maintained that the school is too confining:

"Too much rigmarole in demonstration . . . yet, no one comes to see if 10⁵ is being taught, no one sets up a program to help them." Like the other staff members, she lays blame on the Ministry of Education, which has not only abandoned the school by not providing "tools, equipment, funds, and concern for the students," but has also abandoned the teachers by not providing them with the tools to work with groups such as 10⁵:

Teachers have given up . . . they are not capable of dealing with remedial classes because they were not trained at the Teachers' College level . . . more attention should be paid to teachers who teach remedial classes.

Teachers D and E: Sewing and Home Economics. Both Teacher D and Teacher E complained of the school's inability to create a more productive environment for the students. In addition, they offered suggestions as to what should be done for the students.

At the time of the study, there were two girls from 10⁵ who belonged to the sewing class. The sewing teacher, Teacher D, said that the curriculum for the sewing class was planned years ago.

In grade 10, students were supposed to make skirts and tops . . . however, because of the economic situation, the curriculum had to be changed. . . . Now they make needlework bags . . . the kids cannot afford to buy the material to make the garments. Many times, I had to buy material for the students. What is sad is that they are being taught in the same way as 10¹. Their exam in '86 will be the same as 10¹ . . . at present, none will get a certificate in '86 . . . only a paper which says "I went to Jama New Secondary School."

She spoke of Jean, a 10⁵ student.

When Jean was in grade 9, she was ready to work . . . she chose to major in clothing and textiles . . . she sat in the front of the class every day. However, when she reached grade 10⁵, she changed.

The teacher blames this both on peer pressure and on the fact that school now has nothing to offer her. "During class time," the teacher says,

Jean sells tamarind to the other students . . . during Christmas she works . . . now school cannot motivate her . . . money is very "sweet" . . . she has the money to do the things she wants to do . . . interested now in hair and money.

How can school help her?

Purpose of school now is to get her things sold . . .
 She will drop out by grade 11. . . . School can't
 hold her. . . . Laughs at teacher now when she is
 reprimanded by the teacher . . . dress making now
 takes too long . . . she wants the quickest way now
 to do things.

She described Maxine the other student from 10⁵:

Maxine's mom use to sell outside the school gate . . .
 Maxine wants to be a dressmaker . . . she loves to sew
 . . . she loves the practical work more than the theory
 . . . to such an extent that if she comes to class and
 sees the other students reading . . . she leaves the
 class immediately.

What will happen to her? "She will take on a womanly role,
 hustle, sell, depend on men."

In addition to the sewing teacher, I also interviewed
 the home economics teacher concerning the only girl from
 10⁵ who was in her class. She described Michelle as a stu-
 dent who "always tries, [she is] always present, always
 does practical work." Teacher E "is trying to make her
 into a good housewife or a good maid."

Both teachers maintained that in order for 10⁵ to get
 quality education,

practical skills should be a priority . . . students
 should be able to choose what they want . . . they
 need to work by themselves in a group as others laugh
 at them . . . they need a special program . . . a spe-
 cial teacher to work with them . . . teachers at pre-
 sent complain about 5 stream . . . they feel that they
 are no challenge . . . they should be taught only the
 basic maths and English . . . should not be doing the
 same work as 10¹.

Asked "How will the students survive when they leave Jamaica New Secondary?" Teacher E answered:

not sure how they will survive but believe that in order for them to live the boys will become criminals, jockeys, some might get a chance to go away, some will hustle and sell if they are independent, some will get pregnant . . . society does not hold much for them . . . Jamaica is not changing . . . education does not include the poorer class . . . we have not moved from colonialism.

Teacher F: Mathematics. My interview with Teacher F came after I had observed her teaching a mathematics class with the 10⁵ group.

Teacher F had put the word "Statistics" on the board. She asked the students if they knew what the word means, and asked them to say the word. Time was spent in getting each student to say the word. Then Teacher F spoke about "raw data," and tried to tell history of the development of statistics. By now she had lost their attention. The students began making noise with the desks; they put their heads on their desks; some were sleeping. No student asked questions. Some students were walking out before the class was over.

I asked why this lesson was taught, and was told that the work was sent from the Ministry. She was required to teach it to the students. She also told me that she had recommended to the students in 10⁵ several times that they

do not return in August '85, because they would just be wasting time. She described them as

nowhere educationally . . . although they can't do the work . . . because of their age, they are promoted every year to a different class.

She maintained that in order to avoid an illiterate society in the future, "special classes should be developed for them . . . irrelevant things should not be taught." The students told me that Teacher F is "very rough" with them. They considered her "very ignorant" and someone who usually "cursed" them if they did not understand what she was saying.

Teacher G: Woodwork. My interview with the woodwork teacher took place in the woodwork room. Like the other teachers, his arguments centered on the government's and the society's neglect of the students of 10⁵. Teacher G argued that by fulfilling only the needs of the grammar schools, the New Secondary Schools were neglected.

I commented on the lack of material in the classroom. He maintained that although the program is a "good one," "it is useless without material and equipment. It could be more successful if students had tools to work with." He laid the fault on the government which he believes is

not serious . . . about education especially for the lower-class group of students . . . at Jama New Secondary teacher gets material through begging . . .

government is aware of this but puts money in the grammar schools. There has been no material for the woodwork class since January. The grammar school gets more priority . . . so the students will succeed more than the New Secondary students. Society looks down on the New Secondary schools.

In addition to a lack of material, he stated that,

the exam from the Ministry is more theory . . . students usually fail because they don't study. The kids' minds are geared towards practical work but there is no material . . . students want to use power tools but again no material.

In addition to this he spoke about the background of the students. He maintained that

the students' background is a problem . . . students have deep problems--some see neither mother nor father. Some are so hungry during the days . . . some are deeply frustrated . . . some see no reason for putting out an effort because they see no chance of getting a job . . . believes that if they know they can get a job, then they will study.

Like the students, Teacher G feels bored at times. He sympathizes with them and can understand their lack of interest in the work at school. He has tried to motivate them but it is hard to do. They are interested in "sex, music, reggae, race horse, girls, gambling, movies on T.V.," he said, "but not school."

Again, the blame for the poor condition of the lowest level of students was placed squarely on the government and on society's belief systems.

Society needs to accept New Secondary Schools . . . the society still believes in the academican so

students who do woodwork suffer . . . [the] government needs to develop New Secondary Schools . . . to change their perspective where the New Secondary Schools are concerned.

Teacher H. In addition to interviews with the 10⁵ teachers I also interviewed two male staff members. Taking a more radical approach for the neglect of 10⁵ students and the students of Jama New Secondary, both offered new insights into Jamaica's educational problems. In addition to their Teachers' College education, both were attending evening classes at the University's Extension Department.

Unlike Teacher B, the homeroom teacher, who blamed the failure of 10⁵ on their position in the society, Teacher H staff member approached the subject of 10⁵'s failure in another way. In his remarks he attributed this failure to the political nature of Jamaica's educational system.

Each government that goes up has a political concept of education and they try in many ways to influence the school to bring about these concepts. For example, the Manley government believed in a Nationalist-Socialist way of life. For this reason the New Secondary Schools were created. In these schools self-sufficiency was stressed . . . farms were operating fully. Manley advocated Cuban schools which were the model of agriculture . . . the infrastructure was mapped out in such a way that schools were fully equipped with machines. This was done that in the hope that when these students left the New Secondary Schools, they would help in bringing about a more productive agricultural society.

"Now," he continued,

this government is opposed to this kind of school . . . not impressed by these schools. This is reflected in the way it treats the New Secondary Schools . . . the present government has shifted to a low-keyed capitalist philosophy, centered around Free Enterprise, with everybody doing something without government's help.

In one sense he considers this good in the sense that the "dependency relationship" which Jamaica developed with the external superpowers will be lessened. On the other hand, he feels that there is great failure in this approach. He listed the two failures:

First, Free Enterprise system tends to be very opportunistic--maximum profit with the least amount of expenditure. . . . In this system, people are exploited . . . the emphasis is on the economy and profit margin . . . and no one cares what happens to the society. Most important, schools which are supposed to be agencies of learning eventually become pawns in the Free Enterprise system. For example, in Jamaica now, schools are now given less money to work with. They must find other ways to supplement their income. . . . There is pressure on them to do fund raising projects. . . . In schools such as Jama New Secondary only utilities and staff are paid by the government . . . no material is given to these schools so the students suffer.

Coupled with this attempt to create a Free Enterprise system, he proposed that the educational experience of the dominant group has also made it impossible for them to understand groups such as 10⁵.

The intelligentsia is still very much English oriented . . . the upper echelon of the society is educated in London so their experience tends to separate them from understanding the most menial of the groups. As powerholders, they push "academia" instead of factors

which would develop an agricultural Jamaica. Because of this, schools such as Jama are deprived of agricultural material and a productive environment to learn.

Moreover, he believes that

the leadership supports certain thinking and activities along the color line although the majority are black. . . . With 95% of the student body who are black at the New Secondary School, it is not surprising that there are gross injustices at these schools.

Maintaining that education is supposed to contribute to the total man--"It is a lifelong process of development"--Teacher H stated that he does not believe that schools such as Jama Secondary have succeeded in giving students an education.

The school has a lot of problems. It was designed for 709 (Industrial Arts) or 10-11 Vocational. The classrooms were set up to cater to only one--not both. In terms of equipment, there is no equipment so the students are given theory. There is frustration because there is no practical work. In the vocational area, students have four straight hours of work. . . . With kids of this ability, it is hard for them to sit and write for four hours. This frustration they vent in several ways . . . they steal the furniture . . . they bang on the desk . . . they create problems for the teacher and the teacher inevitably becomes frustrated.

I asked whether he thought it was intentional that some people stay at the bottom. He answered:

Looking at what is there . . . I must say yes. There is no way for 10⁵ to go up unless they have "0" levels. Here is a dead end street for all of them. Things are ordered so that a certain set of people can do what they please . . . not sure if it is by design . . . but it is something within the society that the government refuses to address.

"For example," he continued,

the schools in Jamaica are restricted to Maths and English . . . students are not taught to think critically . . . students are not encouraged to think on their own . . . to think of the country. This is a fault of the system . . . this is by design. If the government raises the level of consciousness, there would be a revolt . . . only those who can keep the system intact have their consciousness raised . . . idealistically this should be the case . . . but this is not being done . . . the government would be in trouble.

To avoid indoctrination, Teacher H maintained that

teachers must take responsibility for educating the students . . . to move forward depends on the teacher. Students who realize this can change the system.

Teacher J: History. The next male teacher interviewed taught History to 10¹. He did not teach 10⁵. His main concerns were the irrelevant curriculum at the school, the inflexible social system in Jamaica, and the purpose of education in Jamaica. Asked what he thought was the purpose of schools in a newly developing country, Mr. Hill stated that schools "should act as a change agent . . . should provide a setting for children to learn." On the contrary, however, he does not believe that this is what schools in Jamaica do. "Here," he stated:

schools confuse the youngsters . . . do not respond to human needs . . . mirror the society . . . reproduce the society . . . serves only a certain group in the society.

At present he is concerned that

education in Jamaica is too uniform . . . Jamaicans are too comfortable with tradition . . . education is too static . . . we need to realize that the things that work for the governor general cannot work for this generation.

He attributed this inflexible social system to the economic status of those in power:

it is the upper and middle classes who control most of the country's money and as such they make a bargain. . . . Keep the system as it is and we will stay here and do business.

"It is to the benefit of the power holders," he stated,

"to keep the society as it is":

the power holders wield power to ensure that the succeeding status quo is so continuous that they will not fall victim for policies that work for Jamaica as an independent nation.

Claiming that "We are doing a serious injustice to 10⁵," he stated that they are "vegetables . . . human beings that have potential but because of who they are . . . they are kept down." In agreement with the other teachers, he believes that they will become the "criminal class."

The system encourages this . . . first what the system does is to "beef" up security . . . they prefer to extend funds to keep up the security and to keep things as they are than to extend funds for education for if they educate all the children . . . their children might not get a chance . . . it is easier and cheaper to keep a security force than to educate . . . the populace must be subdued.

He went on.

What is sad, however, is that the kids in 10⁵ believe that they are getting an education . . . they have been taught that all who go to school will get a job,

but in reality they will have to settle for selling bottles, selling on the plaza.

He blames this on the fact that the

kids are not getting the right message. They need to be told . . . but by not telling them it serves a purpose . . . you keep them in control and quiet when you don't present them with a mental picture of what the situation is . . . then they quickly settle for the least.

Defining education as a process that must

be concerned about providing the individual with the kind of mental and economic tools to fit in a changing society . . . mental tools like self-confidence, a sense of identity, belonging . . . certain values about himself that he is a person of worth:

He stated that in order for us to achieve the above and because so many lives are at stake, we must begin to put education in the time, place, and context of this generation and not go back to tradition to find answers.

Claiming that he is neither a Communist nor a Socialist, he maintained that his main concern is for the government, which must begin to deal with "the condition of the poor . . . to get rid of the "isms" and to address the country's domestic problems." In addition to government's help, he also spoke of the teachers who, he believes, need to "address students about their concerns . . . to move away from the "chalk and talk" method and, moreover, to help in changing the irrelevant curriculum that exists in present-day Jamaica.

At the end of my interviews with the teachers who taught 10⁵, I spoke with several other staff members at Jama. Their conversation also reflected their frustration and hopelessness within the system. Several suggestions, however, were made as to how the educational system could be improved.

My interview questions did not center only around the teachers but also other individuals who had come in contact with 10⁵ some time. According to the Guidance Counselor, all grades come to her for counseling. She stated that while she had 1,200 students to deal with, the grammar schools had two or three counselors and a certified nurse besides. She has to do a nurse's job and counselor's job. She stated that students are dropped at grade 10 and picked up at grade 11. In grade 10 they are only allowed to come in if they are sick.

In describing 10⁵, she stated:

10⁵ students lack ability to learn . . . they have social and economic problems which places a strain on them. Many can't concentrate and learn because they are very hungry. The lunch program during the school year was designed specifically for them but the school's financial problems have made it impossible for the lunch program to continue so the students stay hungry during the day . . . where parents of 10¹ students are working . . . parents of 10⁵ are not working . . . some students in 10⁵ are not getting 50¢ per day to buy lunch.

In the end she maintained that in order to change the system, education must satisfy "hunger and financial problems first before they address themselves to learning problems."

Additional Comments from Teachers

In speaking about the failure of 10⁵, several teachers offered criticisms and suggestions as to what should be done for themselves and students who attend New Secondary Schools.

Most often there were complaints that the government of Jamaica neglected education. The inevitable result of this, they stated, was that teachers became despondent and frustrated.

The teachers criticized the teachers' colleges whose theoretical curricula prepared them poorly for teaching. Many complained that more practical work should be offered to the student-teachers in these colleges so they would know what to expect in the classroom. Additionally, they argued that the teachers' colleges should put more emphasis on learning that addresses the low-ability students.

Many of the teachers called for continuing education courses which the Ministry of Education should offer to teachers during the summer months. Additionally, they argued that Jama should have workshops each month so teachers can get new approaches to teaching. Some stated

that there was a need for psychology programs at the New Secondary Schools to help teachers deal better with students.

CHAPTER V
INTERVIEWS WITH STUDENTS

Chapter V focuses on six students of Jama New Secondary School. The observations recorded across a month at the school are analyzed. The bulk of the chapter centers around the interviews held with these six students.

All six of the students were from Tevary City. They were chosen not because they were the brightest of the group but because they came to school on a much more regular basis than the other members of the class.

General Observations

All the students in Class 10⁵ would be graduating in July 1986. The average age of the students was 17+. Class 10⁵, unlike the other levels of tenth grade, had more boys than girls in the class. The staff gave two reasons for this: first, there was a high pregnancy and drop-out rate for girls, and second, boys tend to settle down less than girls. The implication here is that because of the boys' inability to settle down, they were drafted into the 10⁵ stream.

The 10⁵ curriculum consists of six hours of home economics or sewing for the girls and six hours of arts and crafts or woodwork for the boys, English, mathematics,

social studies, and life science. The class spends two hours each week in the library.

These students were not only at the lowest academic level of the tenth grade. They were predominantly from the lower lower class in terms of financial status.

Moreover, they would be leaving the school soon. During the spring each student would leave school for a three-week "work experience," when he or she would be placed with a mentor in an area of interest to gain familiarity with the working world.

Absenteeism was the greatest problem in all classes. The homeroom teacher said that class 10⁵ began with 36 students in August 1984. Less than one year later, 26 students were regular members of the class. However, during my observation of the group, I did not at any time see more than 10 students who belonged to the class. Even these 10 students did not attend school regularly. One group came Monday through Wednesday or Monday through Thursday or Wednesday through Friday. There was no student among the group that came for the entire week. Students and teachers gave several reasons for this.

Those who did come to class came late; they slept on the desk, walked out of the classroom after a brief period, fought, created senseless havoc, or played marbles on the corridor outside the classroom door.

I observed few classes where there was actual teaching. Most of the teachers' time was spent in trying to get students to be quiet, or waiting for them to come to class. In the woodwork class, which was supposedly a practical class for the boys, the teacher would spend the entire two or three periods writing notes on the blackboard which the students had to copy. This was done because the students had no woodwork material to work with. In such a situation where many of the students wanted to work with the material and did not want to write, this created chaos, boredom, frustration and anger among the students. Many slept through this class or in some cases stayed for a short time, then left. The same observation must be made of the cooking and sewing class for the girls. Both staff members complained of having received no material from the government during the year. In addition to this, students were usually late for these classes. Because classes started late, I never observed an entire class period.

Because of the high illiteracy rate of 10^5 students, some teachers did attempt to help students on an individual basis. However, these teachers were frustrated because they could not cover the material sent to them by the Ministry of Education, and still have time for each student's needs to be addressed.

The irregular attendance of the students prevented any continuity in the students' learning or even in the lessons themselves. Because of the great absenteeism among students in 10⁵, the teachers had to teach--if they did teach--the same lesson to a different group two or three times in a week. Students were most frequently absent on Fridays and offered several reasons for this: a) teachers do not come to school on Fridays; b) if there, teachers are not prepared to teach them on Fridays; c) there is nothing going on in school on Fridays; and d) school is boring on Fridays because most of their friends are not in school on that day.

In order for students to have a seat during class time, the classroom doors were kept closed at all times because of the destruction of furniture. At class time, I would sit at the back of the class and wait for both teacher and students to come in the classroom. Those waiting periods lasted several minutes and much time was wasted.

Because of the dissension between the teachers and the government, an antagonistic backlash developed between the teachers and the students. In some areas as the teachers' work force strengthened towards a strike, many did not go to class, and if they did go, they refused to teach.

During the month of my observation there were power cuts throughout the island, massive demonstrations, sporadic island transportation strikes, consecutive island strikes by teachers who were demanding higher wages and better working conditions. These conditions were unsettling for the students. Lack of transportation during this period kept many students at home.

Finally, there was an all-island strike which crippled the country during the last week of my observation at the school. This strike was called by the seven unions which represent the entire work force in Jamaica. Anyone who attempted to go to work was dissuaded or threatened on the street. This only helped to provide more chaos within the school community. One advantage to these incidents was that because of the uncertainty of the whole situation--which worsened progressively as the weeks passed--all the participants were interested in cooperating fully with the study. In addition to that, because of the chaos, I was able to move easily within the school community without much interference from staff members.

Below are descriptions of several classes which I observed.

Woodwork Class Observations

Class is supposed to start at 11:35. At 12:05 students have not yet settled down to work. Students shout, eat mangoes, hit each other, sit around desks, walk up and down, touch the machine, curse each other in shouts, throw insults across to each other.

Teacher places work on blackboard--theory; warns students that they must do their work. Students complain that they want to work but have no proper chairs as chairs in classroom are twisted and broken. Students go to steal chairs from adjacent classrooms.

I speak to one student who is not doing any work. He said he only likes to do practical work. I ask him what he had for lunch. He says sky juice and bun.

Teacher works problem 20 at the blackboard. The students talk among themselves. Students sit with heads on desks. Students at the back look around. They drum on the desks, dance. I see four fights start in 15 minutes. One student says he cannot do work so he rests on desk. At 12:30 class still had not started.

Students talk and argue among themselves. Students complain that they can't do work. One boy walks out of class and never returns. I ask another boy why he doesn't do the work. He says he doesn't know how to do it so he is

not trying. Teacher begs them to work problem on the blackboard. Students ask teacher to work problem. Students do not listen as teacher explains problem. They mark on desk. They talk among themselves.

At 1:05 students walk in and out of class. Because there is no material, the teacher provides several math problems on the board for them to do. Students refuse to do them. Teacher alone works at the blackboard. One student begs the teacher to put work in stages so that they can understand. Teacher refuses. At 1:20 teacher puts two more questions on board. Half the class has already walked out. They gamble with stones outside; another fight starts in the classroom. Argument starts about who carries knife to school. One student is working. Others knock on their desk, gaze into space, pay no attention to teacher; others walk up and down. No teaching has taken place. Two other boys walk in. Other students relax on the table, having their own conversation. Every second an aggressive shout comes from one across the room. The bell rings to signify the end of the day. Students walk out of the classroom. Those who are outside come in to take up their books. Those who remain in the classroom are told to stand up and pray. A rock is thrown in the classroom.

Boys sit on high stools facing the blackboard. The seat of the stool is higher than the table so students have to sit hunched over in order to write on the table. Two boys from the class arrive late for class. Teacher writes at desk. Boys copy the work from the blackboard, asking no questions. There is no communication, no dialogue between teacher and students. Several boys have walked out without asking any questions of the teacher. Teacher asks questions; only one student answers. Some students go through their books, talk, lean heads on the desk.

I observed one fellow for one full hour. He does nothing for the entire period. Students sit in groups of twos and threes. Teacher stands at blackboard and draws several different shapes for the students to copy. He talks to students with his back towards them. He asks if they understand what he is doing. Those in front say "yes." Those at the side and the back talk among themselves. He does not move around to see if students are drawing the correct figure. He painstakingly draws on the blackboard.

One student asks teacher if he can go to the bathroom. Teacher tells him that he is to discipline his body. Student walks out.

Teacher comes and talks to me. Students become noisy, sing reggae. One is sleeping; the teacher believes he is on drugs.

Social Studies Class Observations

Although class is supposed to start at 8:00 a.m. neither teacher nor students are there at that time. Students come in, put heads on desk. Teacher arrives at 8:30. Says someone stole her watch. Students loiter outside on the grounds and in the corridor. No supervisor controls them; there is constant noise in the classroom and in the corridor. At 8:25 one girl and 10 boys are in class. I had seen the other girl outside and had encouraged her to come in. Bell rings at 8:40. Ground is still crowded with students. The classroom is dirty. The chairs are broken; the walls are dirty; the floor is dirty. At 8:45 12 boys and 3 girls are there; students are still outside. Girls stand at the back of the class combing their hair. Teacher talks to only a few students, asks no questions. Teacher stands alone at the blackboard. Teacher takes out papers with diagrams on them.

At 9:00 constant movement continued outside. Again teacher explains. Teacher asks no critical questions, allows no time for students to do their own work in their own books. Teacher asks only questions that ask for right or wrong answers; she spills information. I wonder how she feels about children.

Three girls have done nothing for the entire class. Half the students have not grasped what teacher has said.

Students hang out in the corridor. No one comes to see what they are doing. Teacher complains that she has to go and seek students because "they will complain that she is not in class." She leaves and does not return for the entire class.

English Class Observations

Class starts at 11:35. At 11:45 there is still no teacher. Students wait in the class--others who don't belong remain in class.

Desks are in disarray or broken up. Students sit in groups. Boys playing tic-tac-toe with stones. Students come in and remove chairs because they have no chairs in their rooms. Although it is 11:50 students still loiter in corridors. Teacher apparently did not come to school. At 12:00 students are ready to leave.

I decided to give them work. I ask students to write on whatever they want to write on.

Short attention span. I have to beg them to write. Constant outburst from the girls who constantly complain that they want to go home. I ask myself questions: How must they be taught? How can we teach them--to hold their

attention? They have to have someone there or else no work is done. They dream; they are restless. I spend most of my time keeping them quiet. One sleeps.

Teachers feel restless and frustrated especially if they were not trained to work with this kind of student. One student reads her book under the desk; one sleeps; two boys who do not belong to class stay in the class. They gamble. One fellow from the class joined them. They have no motivation to work on their own. I have to stand up there and watch them, remind them about exam. They would not write. After a time other fellows leave to play.

The 4 girls and 4 boys in the class rarely come to school. After a week I still do not know them. No one group comes every day. Some come to class late; some fan themselves with their books.

Students talk restlessly. At 12:00 students are still entering the class. Teacher is still handing out books to students. Students fan, talk, shout. One student comes in with his shirt open. Teacher scolds student concerning his absence from school. There is noise from another room. Ventilation is poor. The children are told to be quiet. Teacher hands them poem to read. One student comments that the session was over and nothing was done. I was surprized to hear this. The poem is "The Cow."

Room with one door--dusty, dirty, noisy--room is hot enough to make students sleepy. Some do not do any work; just sit. Teacher spends time interviewing them concerning their absence from school. The room is hot--sticky, broken chairs and desk; needs to be swept; walls are dirty and barren.

I walk around and look at the students' work. They don't form their letters well; they can't answer simple questions; some can't read.

Four girls and nine boys are in the class. They disturb the class and are noisy; they have no pens. Assignment for the class period: rearrange words to make a full sentence; for example, "The tree Jack climbed."

Day of the Strike

During my last week on the island there were several rumors that teachers would stage an all-island strike. No day was set for the strike to take place. The students at Jama were not told. I was not told. So on the day of the strike, I, along with the students arrived at the school. This is what I saw:

Arrived at gate at 7:30 a.m. Saw several students sitting on the ledge outside the gate. The gate was opened so I went inside. A large percentage of the

students were standing in groups in the circle. All the classroom doors were closed. The main office and the principal's office were closed. There was no adult or staff member on the school compound. At 8:00 a.m. no teacher had arrived at the school to communicate to students that there would be no school. At 8:10 students were arriving in large numbers through the gate. No one had come to talk to the students. At 8:30 no teacher had arrived. Kids were playing, shouting. At this point I began to question some of the students about their reaction to the strike and to the absence of the teachers. Below are some of the responses to the questions. It is important to note that Michelle, the home economics student, was having her final year practical examination that day. She, with the other home economics students, had brought food that was easily spoiled. They had come prepared with their food to do the all-day examination.

When questioned, Michelle said that teachers should not strike; they must come to school. She said the teachers had not told the students about the strike and they should have announced it. She was angry because she had expected to take her practical exam that day.

One student felt the strike was justified. "Teachers want more money; they should strike."

In group conversation, it was held that it was unnecessary to strike. Students agreed that they should have been told. It was a waste of money to come to school here today. Students feel fed up. They reiterated that someone should have told them from yesterday. Students felt taken advantage of. Accordingly, teachers should not get raise of pay. Should have had teachers here even a half day to explain things. They should have come and left. Not to let students know what is going on is wrong. One girl brought things for her exam. They are making things worse for themselves. A wasted day; they should have been told yesterday.

Michelle: Going back home and ask man where I bought things to take it back . . . some kids have no place to go because parents are out working. They have to stay outside for the day until their parents return from work. Feel that teachers should be fired.

At 8:40 no staff member had come on the compound to tell students what was happening. Students were playing in the dome--students sitting on ledge in groups, boys in groups talking and laughing.

At 9:00 students were still on compound; walking in groups, noisy, and chaos. At 9:10 prefect students began to ask students to leave. One student commented, "Where are we going to leave and go? Our homes are closed." At

9:15 a number of students were still sitting on the ledge outside. Someone was at the gate telling them to leave. Some were cursing that they were not leaving. No authority figure has yet come to kids to tell them what has happened. Nothing had been communicated to them.

Did the teachers know that there was going to be a strike? Why weren't the students told? I did check with other students who attended two different grammar schools in Kingston. Yes, their teachers had told them that they should not attend school the following day because teachers were going on strike.

Many of the students at Jama came from homes where they must leave home by 6 a.m. in order to be at school by 7:30. Several hundred students were in school that morning. There were no teachers present. In addition to that, all the offices were closed.

Day After the Strike

This is my last day with the students. Four students from 10⁵ are in the class, three boys and one girl: Phillip, Michael, Michelle, and Patrick. Students were told to stay inside the classroom. 10:25--no one has come to explain to the students what is going on. They are

just sitting there wasting time, staring into space, doing nothing.

At this point I began to question them concerning their obtaining the school certificate when they would graduate in the spring of '86. Students will get a certificate from the school when they have done well in four subjects. Additionally, the principal and other members of staff will appraise each student's academic performance, attendance, and discipline from the student's first day at the school. If the student does not get a certificate, he or she will get a transcript. One student described the transcript as a "blank paper with your name and Jama New Secondary printed on it."

Michelle said she would get a certificate. She would pass math, food and nutrition, and English. Michael said he would get a certificate because "my work deserves it."

Phillip answered my question with the following:

Will pass maths--can't pass woodwork or Life Skills
. . . not sure if I will get a certificate. Some-
times I leave class . . . if class is boring . . .
just leave. Next year is my last year, I will stop
leaving class. I will come back to get a certificate.
Sometimes it is so hard to get lunch.

Patrick said: "If we don't get a certificate . . . we can't get a job . . . parents will be disappointed . . . they will be upset."

At this point, I had to break the conversation because the students were now being asked at this late time in the day to go to their classes. Before they left, however, they shared their feelings with me concerning my visit with them. Below are some of the comments:

We enjoyed having you--most teachers don't have the time to do this . . . they have no time for students . . . it was good thing you asked about the certificate and how many subjects we have to pass. No one tells us anything. Wish if teachers would tell us what life is like . . . the world . . . don't tell us anything. Feel teachers want to punish us . . . for what we don't know . . . we have no power to ask questions . . . scared of being insulted. One boy from 10⁵ has won four gold medals in track but he has never got them. He wants to know why but is afraid to ask. We have no power. . . . Every year we pay \$1.00 to take exams plus we have to pay 10¢ for one answer sheet. . . . If we don't pay it, we can't do exam. . . . We have to pay \$25.00 at the bank every year. We can't ask any questions, and nothing is explained to us.

Interviews with Students

Six interviews were held with members of class 10⁵. My first interview was with the three boys who were members of the woodwork class. I briefly discussed the idea of social class and what it means to be in a specific group in the Jamaican society. At the end of the discussion, the students described their position in the society:

Students who attend Jama New Secondary are from either the high class, middle, or the lower class . . . however, you find more middle class students here than lower class.

The students continued the interview with their description of the Jamaican society:

It is a society that is trying to keep up . . . a society that does not have the equipment and money to do things . . . it is a society that needs money, jobs, factories, industries to produce jobs.

"Nevertheless," one stated, "it is a society that is looking out for its youth and children."

It was pointed out that there were several students in the school who were hungry because of money. Stating that it was the government's job to provide adequate housing and education for the poor, one boy remarked that "government can't do everything." He listed several things that the government was doing. None had to do with taking care of its people. Another boy stated that he believes what is "bringing down" the society is the fact that so many young girls are having babies. He blamed this on "lack of love . . . not much attention is given at home." Another boy added his views on why girls were having so many babies. He stated:

Girls like to have things . . . and they believe that the only source of getting something for themselves is to have a baby for a boy . . . they will have the baby for financial reasons . . . so one girl will have five

kids for five different men . . . the men promise her things so for financial reasons she has a baby for them.

To my question, "How do you feel about this?" the three gave different answers:

Some girls don't think . . . they want easy life . . . they don't want to see what life has for them . . . some sell their bodies . . . some just give it away . . . some want permanent relations but their boy-friends don't think that way . . . another thing is that some girls follow--who can have the most kids. If their friends have a child, they want to have a child--they think a baby is lovely.

One tells the story of the time he was coming from a party and he saw two girls walking toward him. Both girls were pregnant. He knew in his heart, he said, "they planned this--to have the babies together."

One other remarked that the reason why girls had so many babies is that they were obeying the word of God. According to what the Bible said "children must have children" so these girls had babies to please God.

At this point one stated that girls do have a "rough time" in the society:

For example, if a girl is coming to school and her parents are having financial problems, she is the one who has to leave school . . . she is going to want money to spend so she goes to a boy . . . she gets pregnant. When this happens, her mother runs her away . . . it is hard on the parents . . . some can't afford to take care of another baby . . . the girl goes and stays with a boy and gets another baby.

To my question "How is the school helping these young women?" one answered by stating that:

The schools help these new mothers by providing infant schools for the babies . . . and in some instances, the school gives them family life education. However, although the government puts interest in education, there are other things to look at besides education.

I began my next interview with 10⁵ by asking them to describe what education means to them. Maintaining that for them that education means the "ability to learn English . . . to learn how to read and write . . . to speak proper English," they all agreed that:

if you don't have an education you are nothing . . . education can carry you through the world . . . education means to understand the world . . . if you are an educated person, you talk respectfully and intelligently . . . you show love for people . . . you like people and get along with people. . . . An educated person moves differently from an uneducated person.

To my question "How is education important to your life in Jamaica?" they answered:

In Jamaica education is very important. Without it, you can't get very far in life . . . main source that helps you to achieve something. You can learn about life . . . it helps you to be a success.

At one point in the interview, I turned to another boy from a different class. I had observed him several times; he usually slept throughout the entire class. But when I asked him why he came to school, he said, "To get an education." To my question "Do you believe that the school

has prepared you for a job?" he answered, "Yes, Miss." The fact that there was no material to work with and more important, that when they came to school, they either wasted time in class or did not report for class, did not deter their belief in the importance of education for themselves. Ironically, it was this positive feeling toward education which made me comment to them that in observing them, I noticed that most of them had no motivation to do any work. To my question "How is this wasting time going to help outside?" one fellow remarked, "It can't help you no how at all . . . only help you go down more than what you are." Additionally, one from the group remarked that:

Jama New Secondary is prepared to give you an education. . . . If you are not prepared to take it, the school can't force you . . . the school gives you discipline . . . what you learn helps you to get a job . . . school prepares you for life.

They seemed to believe in the value of education, and in the school to change their lives. My next conversation focussed on the importance of education to their lives.

To my question "Why do you come to school?" all the students gave positive answers.

Come to school to get an education. School is preparing us for work outside. Education is a valuable asset. It is O.K. It helps you to move on . . . to learn, help parents, to get a good job. One does not

"have to beg" if you get an education . . . helps you to read and write . . . to carry you through the world . . . helps you to understand the way of the world . . . to teach us manners and good behavior.

They seemed satisfied with the kind of education they were receiving from Jama. To my question "Do you believe you are getting quality education at Jama?" all the boys replied in a favorable manner.

Yes, we are. . . . We feel fortunate to be here . . . we are satisfied with the teaching here . . . we only need a little improvement. For example, instead of giving 10⁵ only practical work, we could have chemistry, computing, modern technology, history . . . and a new kind of math.

I asked them how they felt about someone who is not educated. They answered,

We feel sorry for them. They should get a chance . . . We feel fortunate that we are getting an education. We feel satisfied with it . . . we can go far with our education.

This belief in education and the subjects that create an educated person illustrates to what extent the students had "bought into" the dominant views of the society. To my question "What do you consider to be your most important classes in school?" they answered, "Math and English, because they help in everyday life outside." If the curriculum were changed to include more skills work, they said they would not like it and that they need Math and English.

The choice of classes was reflected in the students' answers as to what kinds of books they read. When they visited the library, they stated, it was to read books on national geography, space, science, computer, modern technology, and most important, they read books that "showed you how to design things." These books were read, they stated, usually during the mandatory two hours per week they spent in the library, or during the time they chose to go there on their own.

These contradictory statements were reflected in what they did in their spare time. For example, despite their deep interest in the sciences, they stated that most of their in-school hours were not spent in discussing their class interests, but that when they were with their friends, most of their time was spent in discussing "girls, sex, what kinds of trouble they got in last night, cartoons, gambling, movies, and things they would like to do."

As tenth graders, they would be entering the eleventh grade the following year. While in the eleventh grade, they would go out in the society for a three-week work experience. At one point, I suggested that instead of going out to do "work experience," the school could have different individuals with different work experience in the

society come in and speak with them. I suggested that perhaps for the first session the school could invite a higgler (an individual who buys and sells in the open market) and a doctor. This is how the students felt about the choices:

Yes, we want a doctor to come and talk to us . . . a doctor would tell us about our bodies. He is a professional person . . . we don't want the higgler . . . the higgler cannot teach us anything . . . society downgrades the higgler.

Remarking that the Jamaican society "downgrades people who don't have an education," they stated that:

our parents would get upset . . . teachers would get upset if they listened to the higgler . . . teachers would say, "Look, this is what he likes, . . . before he listens to the doctor . . . he is listening to the higgler."

At this point my questions shifted to the society's views of the New Secondary Schools. To my question "How do you believe the society views the New Secondary School?" they answered,

See them as in the higher classes. . . . When the grammar school students leave school, they can't get jobs because of their skill. . . . Because of the money they earn, they will move up to middle class . . . while the higher class student will move down to the lower class . . . although they have "O" level. . . . the best schools in Jamaica now are the New Secondary or the Technical Schools . . . here you can do a lot of things--mechanics, engineering. In the grammar school . . . you don't have this. When you go to a secondary school, you have a better education than when you go to a grammar school . . . going to a New Secondary School is very interesting.

To my final question "Would you encourage your brothers and sisters to come here?" all replied, "Yes. It is a good school."

The students seemed proud of the fact that they were attending Jama New Secondary School and were not very concerned about wanting to change the picture of what they presented as a typical day at the school.

A typical day has a lot of fights around the school . . . not sure if it is planned that way but every day there are fights . . . some days it is quiet . . . some days it is noisy and some days it is boring.

Nor did they seem concerned about the noise, the dirt, the chaos that seemed to engulf the entire school. They never suggested that anything be changed. For example, when I questioned the group concerning the overall environment of the school, I got very positive comments. They all agreed that the design of the school "is O.K.," and that the school is kept very well. At this, I commented that there was so much paper, so many broken chairs, such dirty walls. Their comment was, "The school is cleaned up in the evening, even during the lunchtime." When I asked "What would you like to change?" they answered, "Nothing. Only one pipe now using--need that to be fixed." They said that not all of the schools were like Jama, "Only the Cuban schools . . . they react like this, at Covert New

Secondary teachers act better towards students." I asked them "Why specifically the Cuban schools?" Jean answered, "because that is how Cubans acted. They try to suppress Jamaica."

Interestingly, many blamed the design of the school on the Cuban involvement in Jamaica during the Manley era. Many said that the wall that surrounded the school was put there because this was another way that the Cubans wanted to hold them down. According to their explanation Castro wanted to bring Communism to the country and several of the Cuban schools were built this way, they said. (This is not true. Jama is the only Junior Secondary School with a high wall.) The students linked their "prison school" to the prison which Castro and Communism was going to do to Jamaica.

This explanation was also given as to why the gate was closed and why there was only one gate for over a thousand students. My belief was that the gate was kept closed because of the pressure from the neighborhood--yet the students believed that the gates were closed because of Castro's strong influence on the island.

David: Can't use that because the Cubans are not here anymore. The teachers want to see school run good, you find that at other schools where students have a free walk around, they fight a lot.

The following interviews reflect the change in the students' attitudes towards some things. Two weeks after I had been with these students, I talked with them again. By this time their attitudes had begun to change about some things. Each in his or her own way had begun to perceive and even to object to some of what they felt were injustices dealt to them. For example, as they spoke of the reasons why some teachers gave them a hard time, the students' answers presented a clearer insight into the staff's disregard for them.

Teachers are coming from where we are coming from so they are downgrading us . . . they are teachers . . . they learn already . . . they want to keep everybody down . . . they only business with themselves.

One student stated that he had wanted to take the 11⁺ exam, but when he went to the teacher, he got no help. He stated that

It seems to be of no concern to teachers . . . teachers tell us anything because we are not their children . . . teachers tell us that they have no children so they have no time to waste on us.

The students believe that one of the reasons it appears as if they are failing is the fact that the present teachers who teach them have no time to spend with them:

Other teachers who used to sit and talk with us are gone . . . now the work is very hard to understand . . . at first they were accustomed to teachers sitting and talking with them . . . new teachers don't do that.

"Why?" I asked. "They have not got the time . . . they spend too much time gossiping," another said.

Teachers don't explain things . . . instead teachers tell us we are grown . . . a big person. . . . Teachers go on as if they did not grow up like us . . . teachers look at us and order us . . . some students can't cope so they leave.

"What would you like teachers to do?"

Explain things to us . . . have more social discussions . . . treat us as if we are human beings . . . when teachers do this, there is more understanding . . . teachers need to have more patience with us . . . if we don't understand, teachers give up . . . then punish us . . . send for our mothers or take us to the principal.

One boy remarked that when teachers "send for our mothers, . . . she loses money from work . . . and if your mother don't come, the teachers get angry."

Jean: Teachers should not give students lines to write . . . should not lock you up after class if you don't do your homework . . . punishment should consist of having students sweep the school . . . the corridors.

David: Students should not stand in the sun . . . teachers here do this all the time . . . should not do this . . . teachers lock students in classroom after school . . . when they get out, they can't get a bus to go home so their mothers beat them up and say they were on the street . . . don't know that the teacher locked them up.

Patrick: Teachers should not let them write lines . . . when they do it, it is in their books . . . if teachers give 200 lines it takes up 4 pages . . . they have not got the money to waste.

Patrick: The math teacher, if she does a problem on the board and you don't understand . . . and you ask her she roughs you up . . . she is dark and ignorant . . . some children don't pick up that easy . . . like when she teaches him, he can't concentrate . . . he has to go to another student for help . . . the way how she talks, he can't answer.

"Have you ever spoken to her about this?"

Yes, she has the power here . . . she is ignorant . . . if it was not her we could not learn . . . don't care how she goes on we have to put up with it.

These criticisms of the staff members were inevitably linked to "certain conditions" that they felt needed to be made at Jama New Secondary School. For example,

like everyday the same lunch in the cafeteria and they want us to buy from them . . . bathrooms need to be fixed . . . we need for chairs . . . need more people to work on the compound . . . sometimes there is only one bathroom to serve all the students . . . it is hard for all the students to keep this one bathroom clean . . . there should be people who control . . . who look after things.

This same insight was seen when I interviewed the other students from 10⁵. To my question to the group "Are you satisfied with teaching here?" Patrick and Jean said "Yes." David, however, remarked that the teaching was not enough, "we could have better teaching." At this point Jean stated that the students do not get:

enough teaching on Fridays . . . sometimes many of the teachers don't come on Fridays and if they do come . . . they go away . . . they mark their names and they leave.

Maxine: Sometimes they wait and leave at lunchtime.

Patrick: Yes, some only come to school and mark their names and they just sit down and gossip.

Despite this, however, all felt that there was not much that they could do. They were angry, they stated, but when I questioned them about alternatives to the problem, one among the group stated that:

Yes, we can telephone the Ministry . . . or we can go to Mavis Gilmore (Minister of Education) . . . but she would send us back to the principal . . . and if you go to the principal, she will say it is untrue.

This same sense of powerlessness was reflected in the way they dealt with others on the school compound. Patrick and David related an incident to the group:

Patrick: Sometimes in the cafeteria the food is so stale, and you buy it, you can't carry it back because they don't want to change it.

David: One day I bought a bun--it was very stale--so I threw it away and returned to the cafeteria. The man who sold the buns to the cafeteria was there. When I reported it, the man told me to move away from the cafeteria. Someone else came at the same time and bought another bun. When he ate the bun, the bun was also stale.

At this point, David said, both told the man that they were going to report him to Mrs. Hugh (the principal). Only after this did the man want to return their money. To the extent that the students had power in the school it was:

In the school yard . . . just that we can go around the school yard without anyone troubling us . . . the

staff room is for teachers. . . . Students are not supposed to go near the staff room unless you get permission.

Patrick, Jean, David: We have no power . . . not even in the classroom because at lunch time you really can't come in the room and have your lunch if you want to. You have to stay outside and eat because they lock you out. Our form room is the Art and Craft room, and during the lunch time, Mrs. White locks the door and she and her friends stay in there and eat and we can't come in there.

David: Another thing whenever you pick an area . . . the teachers put you where they want to put you . . . you have your mind set on a thing . . . you pick what you like but when you have to do something that you don't like you are going to find it hard to cope with it . . . teachers put you where they feel like.

Jean: Who they like they put where they would want them to go. When I was in ninth grade, I picked Clothing and textile and Food and Nutrition and Dancing, and I got it. I know some students in the class who told the Guidance Counselor what they liked, and they did not get it.

Patrick: Students don't have power to do anything, not even to choose their subjects.

Maxine: They choose it but they don't get it.

David: Students leaving all age school . . . teachers don't worry with the choosing . . . they are just put where they feel. I went up to the Art and Craft room and I noticed that there were some girls doing drawing. They can't do it. I asked them if this is what they had chosen and the girls said "No" but that is what they got.

Jean: Students have no choice.

David: Don't see the reason why they should give somebody something that they cannot do.

Jean: If you can't do it you are not going to put your mind to it, don't care . . . it don't care what the teachers do . . . you are not going to try to do it.

"When students don't have power, how do they feel?"

Jean: Feel a kind-a-way angry.

Patrick: Can't feel happy . . . because some of the things that they want to do they can't do it . . . when school is over, when you are using the pipe teachers turn off the pipe.

"How do you feel?"

Patrick: Don't feel good about it.

Jean: Sometimes you feel thirsty and can't get any water to drink but you have to obey her when the teacher turns off the pipe.

David: There is one pipe which serves 600 children.

Jean: There used to be three pipes in the school and some low ones . . . and now two bomb out leaving one of the low ones. The powers are low so only one pipe can be used . . . and even the one pipe is not working so one pipe serves 1,200 students plus teachers.

Maxine: Teachers get ice water from the canteen and they don't want us to drink the ice water.

Jean: The ice water in the fridge . . . they give it to certain students and not everyone.

David: We should have a cooler.

Jean: If you beg them for a little water they run you away. "Go to your yard for water. Don't you have a fridge at your yard?" And the people who work in the canteen run you away as if you are a dog.

Patrick: I hate those who work in the canteen.

Jean: They don't know how to approach a child.

David: The things in the school are for the students . . . not for the teacher alone . . . teachers have it for

themselves . . . you go for a drink of water and the people in the cafeteria ask you if you carry a fridge to school and all sort of things.

Patrick: The only way you can get a drink of cold water during the day is if you go to the canteen with a lie and tell them a teacher sent you . . . if you go there and tell them that you are begging a glass of water, you are not going to get it.

"How do you feel about this?"

Jean: Don't feel good. This morning I was very thirsty . . . I did not want to drink the water from the pipe and I feel as if I could drink some ice water but I can't go there . . . if I go to the cafeteria the lady will disgrace me.

Patrick: And she is going to say she don't have any . . . but if a teacher goes there she will get it.

Maxine: Teachers are up there and we are down there.

"So what are you going to do?"

Jean: Sip it until I leave . . . not sure if I will be here next year because my father is paying for me to go to a school.

"Is it going to be different there?"

Jean: Yes, it is a Commercial School . . . you learn what you like. That will be nicer. There nobody can handle you any old way.

Patrick: You are paying your money.

One student, however, commented on the fact that he did not like the woodwork class; he is disappointed in it. "Yes, came to learn but most of the time students talk a lot, . . . too much notes . . . just write down and don't study them." To this another commented that although he liked the notes, he can't afford to spend

all his time on the woodwork . . . if you study woodwork all the time . . . something will fail . . . the other classes have to be given a fair chance.

It was interesting to note here that after this comment, several criticisms were levelled at the woodwork class. One student remarked that he was tired of the writing.

Mind drifts in woodwork class . . . get fed up of the writing . . . there is no practical work . . . the place is too hot . . . need more machines . . . teacher talks and students listen.

"What could be done?"

The room needs to be air conditioned . . . the teacher needs to discuss more things with the students. Some teachers just don't talk to students. Teachers need to talk.

"Suppose you had to change things . . . "

Need machines, need to stop writing--it is too boring.

"Would you like to do agriculture?"

Only if there were modern things.

"Has this class served its purpose?"

Yes.

"Do you have a games field?"

Yes, but they don't do it--chose woodwork instead. Art and Craft--no work is done--teacher does not teach --does not give students specific things to do.

"Do you think teachers work very hard at this school?"

Some--optional area work very hard--some deserve raise of pay--some put real effort. Some say that they don't have to come because they are going to get pay anyway.

If teachers were getting paid according to how much work they do, more effort would be put in teaching--because they know if they didn't they would not get pay--they would not talk--that if they don't come they should. Some teachers when they do not do their homework say "We could sit in our office and do other things." Some teachers are proud to say it.

Only when I pressed the question several times did I get an answer that appeared as if they were conscious of their environment. Some suggested that

the classrooms should have more windows--bathrooms needed to be repaired--school should have one who controls different areas in the school so that things cannot be easily destroyed. Gate should be opened so students can buy lunch outside--get tired of the food --sometimes don't want to eat in the canteen. Everyday is the same thing--it is stale. Have to hide and go over the fence--when this happens students don't return.

"So you believe that when you keep students in, they act better?"

David: Yes, Miss.

Patrick: That is what they think . . . when they lock us in the school we can't go outside . . . and we will learn better.

Jean: But they are not acting better . . . you still find fights.

Patrick: Place mash up quicker . . . it is worse . . . because when the students want to go out they jump the gate.

Jean: If you go around the back you find broken up fence and broken chairs.

David: Miss, you go around the back . . . they pay thousands of dollars to run a fence . . . to keep the students in . . . it was a waste. Students still climb over it . . . if they will let the students go out as

they want . . . this would not happen . . . but still they fence us up and still we leave.

Jean: Sometimes you don't want to leave but accidentally you see the gate open . . . and you want to buy good lunch to eat so you leave the premises. When you are returning you say to your friends "I don't feel like returning . . . because I am going to be in trouble . . . I have to climb the way to get back in . . . so I go home."

"Is that the reason for so much destruction on the ground?"

Yes. Can't do anything else . . . we have to satisfy our minds . . . this is the only way . . . we have no one to talk to . . . teachers don't sit and talk.

Another student commented:

Teachers will not like them if they report it . . . feel that when report time comes teachers will write many things about them . . . the social studies teacher mainly don't come . . . comes when she is ready . . . she says that government can't pay her neither on students so she is not coming to class.

Another student:

Teachers have power . . . but this is the only way we can get power . . . when we hit out at something or someone. The more people are locked up the more they destroy the things. Teachers don't give the students a chance to talk with them. So we will destroy the buildings.

"Have you told the teacher this?"

Maxine: I believe that the more people are locked up the more they become bad.

"Have you told this to the teacher?"

Maxine: Teachers know the conditions.

David: Don't get a chance to talk with teachers.

Patrick: Teachers know the conditions but don't know that they are feeling it.

Jean: Can't talk with them . . . they are too big.

Patrick: Some teachers go on with dirty ways . . . some go to dance halls . . . teachers shock us by their behavior.

Jean: Teachers should carry themselves good . . . should not think themselves better than the students.

Patrick: There are some teachers here, if the students pass them . . . they turn up their noses at the students.

David: There are some male teachers here if they don't get a dose of rum in the morning . . . they can't come to class.

Maxine: Some teachers smoke.

David: We need to flush them out.

Jean: Don't say they can't gamble and smoke but think they should not do it during school time . . . I think they should do it on weekends because they don't know where students can stay and see them . . . on weekends students don't do business with them.

David: Can't say they should not drink . . . but it is the way how teachers do it . . . on Fridays when teachers get their pay, they go to Covert and gamble.

Patrick: Wish if teachers would talk to us more . . . would see us as human beings.

Maxine: Need for teachers to encourage them to work . . . because it is my mother's money helping to pay the teachers.

Jean: Never knew that is parents tax money that is helping with teachers' salaries . . . sometimes my father comes in . . . he only has \$100 and something to take home . . . he gets \$300 per month . . . when they draw it out they take it to pay teachers' salaries.

David: I want to know what is going on.

Jean: Should make children who can't afford it get free lunch and books, even try to help them with uniforms,

because it is our money that is supporting the government . . . but they don't think about it . . . the school even wants you to bring your own things and then you buy it back from the school.

Maxine: Last time we had a fish fry we had to bring coconut oil, flour, everything . . . then you have to buy it back.

David: There is only theory in practical class . . . want to know how to build something . . . don't feel like going back to option class because from in seventh grade the principal had said they should have a time to do workshop, but it was not arranged properly from 7-9 grade, only theory.

Patrick: Can't stand theory. We should be getting practical now. We want to know how to build something but everyday we come it is only writing.

David: Now when it is time to get practical you hear that we have no money, no material so we still getting writing . . . we just get fed up.

"Is the theory interesting?"

Yes, it shows measurement but we want practical so we can make something now.

"What is going to happen?"

Don't know . . . tired of the writing . . . in every class we go for the day we have to write and for four sessions after lunch until school is over we have to write . . . it is hard.

Patrick: I stop go to woodwork class because can't take the writing.

Maxine: We do practical work.

Anger Yet Powerlessness of the Students

What anger does normally is to push individuals to create changes for themselves. Not so with 10⁵. Anger

makes them powerless. Many complained about the way teachers spoke to them. They felt that they could not do anything about it. In the sense then that they were angry, they felt powerless to defend themselves. When they did defend themselves, it was to destroy the furniture.

Below are several conversations with different students on the themes of anger and powerlessness.

"Why would anyone be angry at Jama Secondary School? Give some reasons."

The way how teacher handles them. Sometimes a teacher stops them and says "You don't smell good. You need to go home and bathe." When a student hears this, they get angry and want to do teacher something bad. For example, one time in the art room, teacher comes up and says, "Jesus, the classroom smells horrible. You need a deodorant." And so students get angry and curse her. When this happens, she reports this to the principal who gets upset with them. Teacher embarrasses them in front of their friends--that is why they cannot bet along with the teachers. Another reason is teachers believe that because they are teachers they can talk to you anyhow.

"Do you feel powerless when they talk to you?"

Yes. Because if we talked back to them in the way the teachers do, we would be expelled. Feel teachers should talk to them [students] with respect. Teachers tell them about their mother. Feel cut-up about it but can't say much because principal will not talk bad against teachers. When a teacher talks something against us and we go to the principal, the principal accuses us of being liars--believes teacher more than students.

Girl: I was selling tamarind to my friends. Teacher carried me to principal. The teacher tells principal that I offered her a slap in the face. I did not say

that. Principal said that she has to believe the teacher because teachers don't lie. She was rude and she should not be in school. Principal wanted to expel me.

One student reported that if students come to school one morning and lie on their desk if they don't feel well, teachers curse without asking them questions. They tell them they were out hustling at night and that they are tired because they were on the road in the night.

Another student had this to say:

If your clothes is dirty--if you come to school dirty, they curse; yet if they wash the clothes and it is not dry and they wear something else, teacher sends them home to get parents. It is Friday. She should not send them home; they go home for silly things.

Because teachers have power they do not want students to talk--only they alone talk. They would like to learn something; they do not like to waste time.

"Are you prepared to do exam in July?"

Can't do exam because we were not taught.

Comments from Students in the Group

I like to come to school on Fridays--teacher does not come to class. I like to come Monday through Thursday. Get much teaching during Monday to Thursday. I feel good with some teachers. The Arts and Craft teacher does no work; she sits until bell rings--no work.

They feel upset--because they are upset, they can't speak to teachers. Some have no children so they feel no compassion for them. They feel teachers are going to

suffer, that teachers believe they are going up in life while students are going down. The students never talk about this among themselves. They feel they can't do anything about it; they have to bear it. When students report teachers, teachers threaten them saying that they will not promote them. Teachers will spite students if they report them. The students have only one teacher on their side but they are not sure she cares. "She is roots; she does not boast; she does not go on funny." Sometimes she allows them to become the teacher and she the student. They feel important when she does that with them.

Students constantly complained about the treatment they received from teachers. Teachers at present "bark" at students. A good teacher helps when they don't understand, takes them to the staff room, gives individual attention, advises them, encourages them. The math teacher says she has learned already so she is not interested in the students. She talks about them in the lowest form; she tells them that they are the lowest of the society. "How do you feel?"

We feel ashamed. She waits until we are with friends to embarrass us. She tells us we will wipe off cars. She loves to send us home. If we come with different uniforms, we have to go home. Some teachers are interested in clothes more than lessons.

"Why do you say that?"

Teachers do not want their clothes dirty. They prefer to give students blackboard to clean. Principal does not understand, does not believe students. If we come late, teacher drives us away.

CHAPTER VI
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Interpretation of Interviews

Jama New Secondary was built in 1979 during the time when the government was attempting to create a more egalitarian society. Jama New Secondary's main purpose was to provide quality, technical education for students who were not able to get into a grammar school. To strengthen the case for this new society, the government placed the school in an affluent neighborhood. However, despite the fact that this was done, it did not change the social structure of the community.

In fact, although the neighborhood is changing, strong resistance by the community is evident in the study. For example, at the time, no student from the Jama community attended Jama Secondary. Students from the area attend the "posh" preparatory schools, then go into one of the elite grammar schools there. Students who attend Jama New Secondary are bussed into the school from the adjoining neighborhood, and no attempt is made by the neighbors to incorporate them in the community.

Additionally, it must be noticed that although the school faces many of the houses there, no attempt was made

by any resident of the community to create a more harmonious situation between students and residents. Accordingly, the principal has stated that although she has

tried to get the interests of the community . . . has written letters to the neighbors . . . no one has come to see what is happening at the school. . . . On weekends, people dump garbage on the playfield.

The attempt to maintain the existing society and at the same time to resist the newcomers is most vividly seen in the presence of the prison-like wall that was built around the school. Surrounding the entire school, this massive circular concrete wall, on one hand, locks in the New Secondary students from 7:30 to 2:30, while on the other hand, it strengthens the separation of the two groups.

The inevitable result of all these factors has been that over the years the social structure of the Jama community has remained intact. This is despite the fact that a school that is attended predominantly by the underclass has been in the area for over six years. As one staff member stated:

Because of the inequality of the social system . . . the previous government in trying to create a more egalitarian community decided to build New Secondary Schools in wealthy neighborhoods.

One can assume from this statement that it was hoped that the wealthy individuals in the community would fully incorporate the school into their lives. The school then

would become the agency through which both groups would get together. Unfortunately, this has not happened. For, instead of changing the social structure that characterized the Jama community, the school has become an agency for strengthening the social environment of Jama, while at the same time alienating those who do not belong to the community.

Additionally, one can safely say that by placing the school in Jama it was also hoped that the students would use this environment to strive for the unattainable. One teacher stated that the "kids feel good that they are here . . . because when they look at the Jama surrounding, they see it as the ultimate." In seeing this as the ultimate, the students would eventually become like the people of the Jama community, social changes would take place, and those in power would recognize this effort as an effective method for creating equality in the Jamaican society.

However, the presence of the school has in no way changed the social structure of Jama. From this failure to change the social structure of Jama, several observations can be made concerning the school as a change agency in newly developing capitalist countries such as Jamaica.

Although avenues for social upliftment may exist and schools may be placed in wealthy neighborhoods, the factors of class and wealth predetermine the lives of those who will remain on the periphery of the society. The restructuring of educational institutions cannot change the social structure of a society. Societies can only change when there is an equal distribution of wealth among individuals in a society. Although schools take part in social reproduction in societies, to such an extent that the social structure remains intact, they cannot bring about social changes. Finally, in addition to schools, neighborhoods such as that of the Jama community tend to take part in social reproduction and at the same time to resist any factors that tend to break down this structure.

Outside the realm of the Jama community, several attempts have been made over the years by different governments in Jamaica to close the gap between the rich and the poor. By failing to recognize the factors listed above, the government's efforts to use the school as a change agency have failed. The school was intended to be used as a means to bring both groups together. Unfortunately, it has not worked. It is this failure on the government's part to completely understand the deep-rooted class antagonism that exists in post-independence Jamaica today, which

has created the failure of this effort. Moreover, it is their failure to recognize that the restructuring of educational institutions cannot change the social structure of a society. In refusing to recognize that societies can only change when there is an equal distribution of wealth among individuals in a society, the government has created schools that continue to maintain the previous social system.

Added to this failure of the community to incorporate the students into their lives, has been the failure of the school to change the social conditions of the students who go there. According to the principal, students who attend Jama

have been brutalized from birth . . . they are from underprivileged homes. Although they are potentially good, they cannot make it because they are poor. Some of the kids live by themselves and so are not able to come to school every day.

Additionally, the homeroom teacher describes them as:

not able to form words, many can't recognize words . . . students lack long attention span . . . they lack motivation. They have no interest in school financially, they are very poor . . . can only attend school two days per week. They will fail in the society.

In fact, in looking at the students, one is left with the impression that there is no hope for them. However, in examining the goals of the school, it appears that there

is a hope that the students who attend Jama will be given the opportunity to take their place in the Jamaican society. Unfortunately, this has not yet happened. Kept as "prisoners" in a community that has constantly resisted their presence, these students--because of the irrelevant curriculum, the absence of materials at the school, the disrespect of the teachers towards them, the socially unfit school compound, the society's and the government's lack of recognition towards the school--have continued to reproduce the social conditions of their lives to such an extent that when they leave, they will continue to occupy the lowest level in the society.

One way of looking at this is to examine the purposes of the school and at the same time, how these goals are fulfilled. In fact, although the school was supposed to be a technical school, and its purpose was to provide a clinical education, this does not appear to be happening at the school. According to the principal, "the school has received no materials since January." This remark has also come from the woodwork teacher who argues that although the program is a

good one, . . . it is useless without material and equipment. It could be more successful if students had tools to work with . . . at Jama New Secondary teachers get material through begging. . . . There has been no material for the woodwork class since January.

Under these conditions, it is inevitable that the students will reproduce their social conditions. Since they have not been provided with the tools to learn, it is obvious that the students can only get a lower-class job when they leave the school. The specific kind of knowledge that is offered to the students will eventually lead them to a lower-class position in the society. In this regard then, the school has managed to reproduce the class so the students will fit into their place in the society.

Moreover, not only does the school help in reproduction; the students also help. In fact, while the students are resisting they are also accommodating the values of what a school is supposed to do. Despite the fact that no actual teaching ever took place during my observation, the students believed that Jama was giving them an education. To my question "do you believe you are getting quality education at Jama?" "Yes, we are . . . we feel fortunate to be here . . . we are satisfied with the teaching here . . . we only need a little improvement."

More important was the inherent belief in what school should do. To my question, "Why do you come to school?" they answered:

Come to school to get an education. School is preparing us for work outside. Education is a valuable asset . . . it helps you to move on . . . to learn

help parents, to get a good job. One does not have to beg if you get an education.

In failing to recognize their part in legitimating the existing class system, they have absorbed ideas that will continue to keep them at the bottom of the society.

Additionally, much significance must be given to the teachers who were interviewed and those who taught 10⁵. As a group, many of them had attended a two-year college for their education. In terms of pay, they are the lowest paid teachers in the country. Not only that, but they are the ones who came in contact with the majority of students from the lower-working class in Jamaica. Despite all these facts, a subtle antagonism exists between the teachers and the students.

For example, although they come from the same background as the students, many feel they are better than the students. Additionally, like the neighbors, they have their own class prejudices which force them to alienate themselves from the students.

Nowhere is this separation more vivid than in the way they responded to the students. In addition to not coming to class, or if they did come, it was late, many treated the students with complete disrespect and contempt. According to Mrs. Hugh, the principal, many whipped the students although she had begged them not to do it.

Unfortunately, in attempting to alienate themselves, they become trapped also. Having no intention of becoming like the lower class--the students they teach--they separate themselves, thus creating an atmosphere of superiority around themselves. When asked what will become of the students, all maintained that, "They will become the criminal elements in the society." Not only do they criticize the students but they attach blame to the government, the society's feeling towards the New Secondary Schools. Yet, ironically, by separating themselves, they have become trapped also. Like the students, the financial and educational constraints placed on them by the society⁸ have forced them to remain in that position for life.

It is important to note, however, that despite several attempts made by the school, the community, and the government to reproduce the students, resistance was evident throughout the period of observation. This resistance contradicts to a great extent the accommodation that was taking place. One such evidence is reflected in the way in which the students reacted to what was being taught to them. As was stated in several of my observations, during class time, many slept throughout the period, many walked out of the class at different times during the period, and in many instances many did not show up for class.

More open was the resistance to the institution and its surroundings. As was stated in the study, several heaps of broken chairs, desks, and furniture were scattered around the school yard. In order for students to have a chair to sit on when they came to class, each classroom door had to be closed after each teaching period. One can assume, therefore, that by destroying the furniture, etc., the students were not only resisting the teaching, but were also resisting what the institution stood for. In a situation where they were powerless, the destructiveness and apathy with which they approached the school and the curriculum were two ways to avoid reproduction.

To the extent that they have resisted, they have avoided being socially reproduced by the society. The strength of their resistance lies in the fact that although they might not be aware that they are resisting "capitalist intentions," they are in fact taking part in their own liberation. Through destruction, the only way they know, they liberate themselves. Unfortunately, however, it is this "destructive resistance" which will lead them to nowhere. For in fact, by destroying everything on the premises, they are left with no tools to prepare them for a job in the society. By not collectively demanding that they be taught and treated with respect, they have failed to

prepare for a life in the society. The inevitable outcome of these students will depend to a great deal on what part they can play in collectively resisting capitalist domination in the future.

Summary and Conclusions

One purpose of the study was to examine the theories of social reproduction and student resistance in educational settings. In reproduction theory, we saw that schools in capitalist countries are the main agencies for keeping the social class intact. To the extent that schools do this, they provide different groups in the society with different skills and knowledge which they need to occupy their respective places in the society. Additionally, schools were seen as cultural institutions whose main purpose is to distribute the kinds of knowledge that is to the benefit of the dominant culture. Finally, schools were seen as an agency of the state to produce and legitimate the ideologies of the state.

While reproduction theory focusses on the constant fit between the school and the society, resistance theory disputes this constant fit theory, and argues instead that social reproduction is not complete as individuals struggle within the environment of the school to maintain their individuality. To the extent that the theories are

important, they provide insight into the relationship between social class and education in Jamaica. It has been seen that the schools in Jamaica do help to reproduce the rigid class.

The second purpose of the study was to test whether the theories of social reproduction and student resistance which were developed in capitalist countries have implications for the newly developing country of Jamaica, West Indies. Several conclusions were drawn which are summarized as follows:

1. Reproduction theory provides insight into how education is distributed in Jamaica.
 2. Educational institutions in Jamaica help to reproduce and keep the social class intact.
 3. The kind of education one receives in Jamaica depends to a large extent on the social class to which one belongs.
 4. Educational institutions in Jamaica are controlled and supported by funds and ideologies of the different political parties in power. The implication here is that each political party in power fosters its own interests instead of the interests of the people.
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5. Lower class resist domination. However, it is a destructive kind of resistance which will not lead them to a productive life in the Jamaican society.

Although only one school was observed, evidences of student resistance were seen in the school. This resistance is in contradiction to the ideas of reproduction theory which maintains that schools are homogeneous institutions which help to control and prepare individuals to fit in an orderly manner in the society. Finally, because the students have not been taught how to liberate themselves collectively, the form of resistance they take will force them to be unproductive citizens in the society.

One disadvantage of observing only one school is that it can be argued that one school cannot provide answers about the role of the school as an agency for examining the social and educational system in any country. Nevertheless, I believe that if I had chosen to observe several schools--both grammar and secondary schools--the results would have been the same.

It may be concluded, therefore, that the theories were helpful in providing insight into the educational system of Jamaica. Additionally, it is evident that these institutions have continued to reproduce the social structure that existed prior to independence. It is also seen that although

independence has given the country national status, Jamaica has not yet begun to build a society in which all individuals can take part in decolonialization and nation building.

Because the schools have proven to be institutions of reproduction, it is feared that this kind of social order will continue. One reason for this is that the poor have not been prepared economically, politically, and with appropriate education to fit into the new economic order. One can assume, therefore, that as the situation becomes unbearable for the poor, they will continue to demand their share in the society. Realizing this, I believe it is important that educators and policy makers who are involved in the process of change in Jamaica, begin to develop an educational system which promotes the development of a new society. Failing to do this, those at the top must be prepared to face the civil disobedience that will inevitably take place in the country.

Faced with these dire consequences, I have attempted to create a theory of possibility for the country's future. In attempting, however, to develop this theory, I will review the present social conditions in Jamaica.

After 300 years of colonial status, the country has had 24 years of independence. Nevertheless, those in power continue to model and shape major policies after the English and the American way of life.

Jamaica has a capitalist system with 3/4 of its major industries in the hands of foreign investors. In 1976-1980, Prime Minister Michael Manley attempted to create a Socialist government. The after-effect of this was destabilization in the social and political arenas of the country. Additionally, there was a "brain drain" from among the middle and upper classes who feared a take-over of the country by Communism. The country was left in a state of chaos as these individuals fled the country for the U.S. and Canada. Those who were left behind attempted to rebuild the country. However, foreign debts, especially from the International Monetary Fund, left a weakened economy, high prices, and high unemployment, especially among the poor.

The past years have seen violent confrontation between the security forces and those who attempt to oppose the system. There is great unrest within the society. Schools continue to reproduce the class system. Although more students are "passing" the 11⁺ examination, studies have shown that those who do well are those who belong to the upper and middle classes. The implication here is that because the grammar schools are the institutions which provide quality education for its students, those who attend other schools do not have a chance of being productive in the society.

The grammar schools continue to legitimate the General Certificate Examination. This is the imported examination from London, England. The implication here is that the government continues to legitimate a foreign curriculum although the country is changing. The majority of students who do not attend the grammar schools do not have G.C.E. passes. While those in the grammar schools are presented with quality education, the poorer schools lack quality teachers and educational materials to promote a quality environment. Therefore, not only is there an economic dependency on foreign industries, there is also a cultural dependency in education.

A new thrust of the 1970s was to further extend Junior Secondary Schools into New Secondary Schools. The main purposes of these schools were to extend the school-leaving age from 15 to 18, and to create a skilled learning environment for students who did not get acceptance to a grammar school. At present, however, these schools have not met many of the goals that were made. There are two main reasons for this: 1) because of the lack of funds in the government sector, these schools have not been provided with teachers nor with materials to facilitate learning opportunities for the majority of their students; and 2) because the New Secondary Schools have never been regarded as quality institutions by the society, they have not been

able to attract many students from the middle and upper classes of the society. The implication here is that these schools, in comparison to the grammar schools, have a higher percentage of failure at the secondary level.

Despite all the negative reports, I do know that there are those who care and those who are truly interested, morally, in bringing about changes in the country. At present attempts are being made through the schools, the churches, special organizations, groups, and even individuals who see the need for change.

Theory of Possibilities

1. One institution where changes must first begin is the school. Because the schools have been to a large extent the major institutions which all must attend in order to be educated, it is important that these institutions should be the first to begin the necessary changes that must take place in Jamaica. One of the ways in which the schools can do this is to create a curriculum that is centered around the cultural history of Jamaica. For example, in Jamaica, the grammar schools have always been the institutions where the future leaders of the country begin their formal education. However, one major criticism against the grammar school is that because of the "foreign nature" of the curriculum, it does not cater to the needs of the Jamaican

society. For example, although Jamaica is an agricultural country, a student who attends the grammar school learns nothing of agriculture. One reason given for this discrepancy is that agriculture and manual work have always been considered labor that belongs to the working class. To avoid this foreign and separate education for those who will be the ruling minority, the curriculum must center around learning which is relevant to the Jamaican society. Additionally, because they will be the leaders, their curriculum must call for involvement and integration of all Jamaicans.

2. Important to this change in curriculum, however, should be a drastic change in what is taught to the working class in Jamaica. One main observation from the field work is that because of the negative social environment of the school, the students in fact were reproducing the environment of their social class. For example, because they were not taught to think critically, they had no power to change their existing conditions. At present, the curriculum for New Secondary Schools is set up by the Ministry and in many cases it does not take into consideration the total experience of the lives of the working class students. The inevitable outcome of this lack of understanding between the Ministry and the schools is a continuous reproduction of the class structure.

3. In order to avoid this reproduction, the curriculum should be developed to give cultural power to the under-class. One of the ways in which individuals can have cultural power is to present them with a knowledge of their own history. The curriculum in Jamaica has never stressed the deep impact of the working class in the struggle for emancipation and independence. What has been stressed instead are the dominant views of those in power. A curriculum of this kind then, must take into consideration such heroes as Marcus Garvey, Paul Bogle, The Maroons, etc. By focusing on the work of these men who came from the working class and who also played a significant part in the building of Jamaica, it can be shown that the working class also took part in nation building.

One main purpose of the New Secondary School was to replace the elite curriculum set down by the Ministry with a practical curriculum. So far, this idea has not been very successful. During my stay at the school the staff complained that they received no materials from the government. Their main source of material, they stated, was through begging or taking money from their own pockets. Consequently, their attitudes toward the students and the school were very negative.

4. In order to avoid this hopelessness and negativism from the teachers, the government needs to emphasize not only the elitist education of the grammar schools but also the importance of skilled labor for nation building. Additionally, if the government has no money for materials, a continuous ongoing program should be set up between the community and the schools for the students to do practical work outside the school environment. Students need to take the theoretical work that they acquire in the classroom to the practical world.

5. Furthermore, in order to provide equal learning opportunity for all individuals, a comprehensive educational system should be a priority of the government. It is hoped that through this system traces of the static social system which has existed over the years in the society will gradually diminish. Through this system it is hoped that all students will be provided with environment that promotes liberation.

6. Because the New Secondary Schools cater more to the local interest, efforts should be made to create and organize materials that are used on a local level. Because these schools (unlike the grammar school) have the tools to do these things, efforts should be made to link the locality to the school to create a more enriching experience for the students.

7. The theory of possibility would also involve the teachers. The developing countries, like any other country, have always looked to the "person of knowledge" for answers. The person of knowledge has always been the teacher. In rural areas, the teacher is lauded and respected and turned to for help. Because of this, teachers need to recognize their responsibility. They need to see how ideologies and cultural capital are maintained to the detriment of those who are oppressed. One of the ways in which this can be brought into focus is to develop a curriculum which would call for studies grounded in the Philosophy of Education, Sociology of Education, History of Education, and critical thinking and cultural power.

8. A theory of change for the teachers engaged in nation building must seek to understand the dialectical relationship between the oppressed and the oppressors. The work of Paulo Friere (1982) would be a central contribution to this understanding. As teachers, they must be helped to understand the significance of theories of reproduction and resistance and see that individuals do not become poor because they want to, but it is the educational institution with its connection to the social and political order that creates oppressive environments for individuals--especially the poor.

9. Those who teach at the Junior Secondary Level are predominantly those with a two-year teacher's certificate. The changing nature of the Jamaican society is demanding individuals who have more than two years of training. On the other hand, family responsibilities and lack of finances to take off two years to study at the University continue to keep these individuals at the same position every year. What the government could do is to offer ongoing teacher education programs for New Secondary staffs during the summer months. These programs could be offered at the University for those who live in the city. There are 15 teachers' colleges spread all over the island--meeting places could be at these. These credits could go towards the Bachelor of Arts degree in teacher education.

10. The government continues to cater to the needs of students who go to the grammar school--much to the exclusion of the mass of individuals who go to the New Secondary Schools. Because this continues to happen, the society has not fully accepted the New Secondary Schools. What the government can do is to uplift the standards of the teachers by providing them with a continuous support system. Because of their level of education, these teachers are the ones who get the least pay. Unfortunately, they also must live in a society where they must deal with the high cost of

living. Until their pay is raised to a level where they can live comfortably in the society, their attitudes toward those whom they teach will be matched by the same contempt as that of those who pay them.

11. The University of the West Indies and teachers' colleges which take part in teacher training must now begin the change of de-colonization. Embedded in a class-conscious society that has used education as a means of separation, education from the major institutions of learning for the future should include a curriculum that forces the recognition of why, for what purposes, and in whose interests the rigid class system still exists in Jamaica. Additionally, teaching institutions should be made to see what part they play in the continuation of this existence. This would call for a pedagogy that would inevitably stop "blaming the victim" of the poor. Additionally, what must come out of this new change from teacher training institutions is a pedagogy that confirms the importance of each individual and each group in the Jamaican society.

12. The church also has a mission to the poor. The church, which has become the "way of hope and salvation for the poor" must begin to create an environment that stresses the humanity of the poor and their importance in nation building. Many times because of its importance, the church

unwittingly engages the poor in alienation and hegemony, while engaging in its own glorification. It is important now that the church, because of its importance to the poor in underdeveloped countries, assume the missions to engage not only in salvation but also in liberation. Because it is to the church that the poor turn for relief, it is now the church's mission to create environments that speak to the sensibilities and needs of the poor.

In conclusion, I know that many of the changes will not take place, in light of the many realities that must be faced. The obstacles against much change are tremendous, because what I am asking for is a re-organization of a society that has had a) 300 years of colonialism, b) power in the hands of external industries, and c) wealth in the hands of a few individuals. However, I believe that it is important that we begin to establish a new pedagogy that must take into consideration not only a few individuals but all Jamaicans regardless of whether they are black or white, rich or poor, women or men.

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