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All are welcome: An anthropological study of tourism, cultural identity, and schooling in Jamaica

Gamradt, Jan Armstrong, Ph.D.

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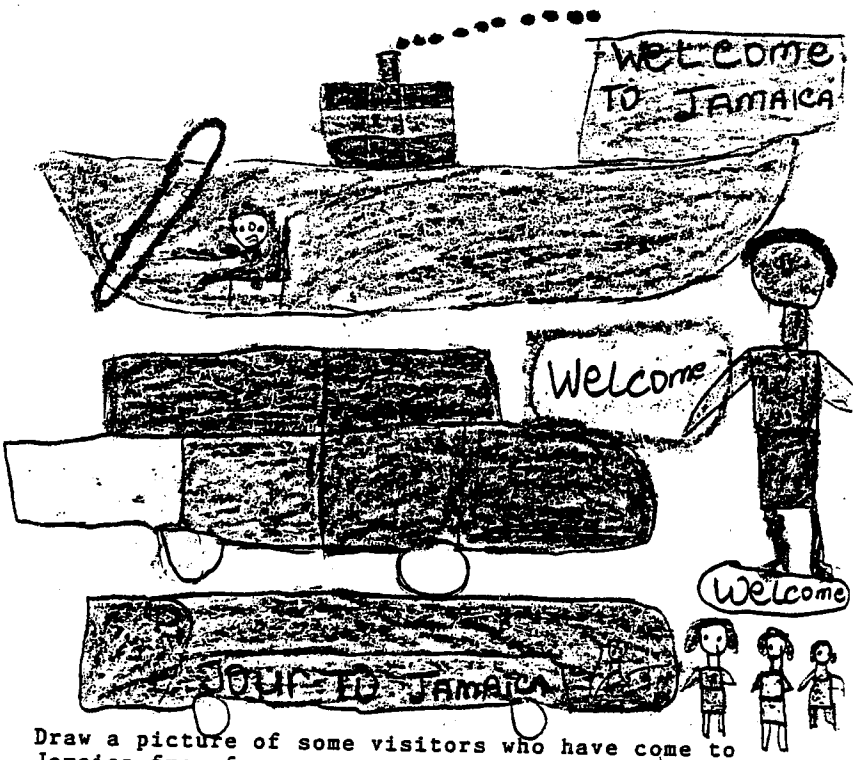
All Are Welcome: An Anthropological Study of Tourism, Cultural Identity, and Schooling in Jamaica

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate School
of the University of Minnesota

By
Jan Armstrong Gamradt

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

July, 1987



Draw a picture of some visitors who have come to Jamaica from far away.

PREFACE

This work could not have been completed without the assistance of Joyce Thompson, Elfina Grant, and Joel Slack of the Jamaican Ministry of Education. I am particularly grateful to them for their enthusiastic support and wise counsel.

Marion Dobbert, Harvey Sarles, Ayers Bagley, Robert Beck, Art Harkins, and Shirley Clark have all contributed in various ways to my growth as a foundations scholar. I thank them, most sincerely, for that. I also want to thank John Cogan and Glenn Hendricks for their help with the design and execution of this project, and the Grant family, for their warm hospitality, generosity, and love.

Thanks also to the many colleagues and friends who have shared their insights with me over the years: Jane Perry, Nancy Schulz, Joyce Cooper, Larry Wells, Mary Ann Pitman, Rivka Eisikovitts, and Ruthanne Kurth-Schai. James and Monica Armstrong deserve special mention for their unfailing kindness and for both moral and technical support; my parents, George and Kathleen Armstrong, for getting there and for being there; and Dean, Angie, and Adam Gamradt, for all the years they've gone beyond the call of duty on my behalf.

Above all, I want to thank the many Jamaican children, teachers, and principals who so generously shared their ideas and imagery with me. This monograph is dedicated to them. I hope it does justice to their efforts.

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Chapter One
INTRODUCTION

Sociostructural theorists view the school as a kind of "pawn" whose historical development and daily operation are largely determined by external factors (Cohen, 1971, 1975, 1983; Inkeles, 1983; Apple, 1979, 1982; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Altbach & Kelly, 1978; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Carnoy, 1974). They argue that schooling has an important impact on the social, psychological, and behavioral characteristics of those who are schooled, but often fail to make explicit the "real world" implications of their theories. That task falls to the educational researcher who (presumably) tries to build an empirical interface between the abstract universe of the model-builder and the flesh-and-blood reality of the schoolroom. This monograph describes one such effort.

The focus of this study is on the relationship between economic structure and patterns of culture acquisition in a developing nation. The study investigates some of the ways in which macrocultural forces operate upon and within Jamaican educational institutions. It also examines the way in which such forces are reflected in the beliefs, values, and imagery of the children who attend these institutions. In so doing, the work "gives voice" to those whose opinions seem only rarely to have been sought by educational

theorists and policy makers in the past.

Unlike many of the empirical studies of education conducted within the sociostructural paradigm, the initial focus of this research was on a particular type of economic activity - tourism - rather than on the more general processes of development and economic stratification per se. Thus, the study compares schools and school populations located in communities that differ in the extent to which they are dependent on the tourism industry.

This chapter first describes the cultural context within which Jamaican educational institutions have evolved and continue to operate. Second, it describes some of the theoretical issues that have guided the design of the study and the interpretation of its results. Finally, the chapter provides a brief description of the empirical strategies employed in this work, and presents an overview of the contents of this volume.

Cultural Context

Jamaica became an independent nation in 1962, but the history of the people who now call themselves Jamaicans is a history of economic, political, and psychological dependence (Cogan, 1982a; Altbach & Kelly, 1978; Foner, 1973). The original Jamaicans, the peaceful and inventive Arawak Indians, were no match for the Europeans who came to the West Indies in search of material wealth or spiritual

fulfillment. By 1655, when England acquired the island from Spain, the Arawak had been completely annihilated. Thus, most of those who call themselves Jamaicans today are the descendants of African, European, or Asian immigrants. And almost all contemporary Jamaicans can trace their "roots" to one of three colonial roles: master, slave, or renegade.

While there is no meaningful way to locate a set of "indigenous" cultural characteristics for colonial societies, Jamaicans share a number of "distinctly Jamaican" qualities that have helped to create a strong, island-wide sense of cultural identity. Although English is the national language, and the language used in Jamaican schools, all Jamaicans are fluent in a native patois, which many prefer to use when communicating with their countrymen. Jamaicans are proud of their "beautiful" island, and schoolchildren are taught Jamaican poems, songs, and folktales both in and out of school. A national school system has attempted to foster a sense of national unity and pride. Religious institutions have played an important role in Jamaica's history and have also fostered a sense of cultural continuity and commonality. The majority of Jamaicans are Christians, either Baptists or Methodists, and daily prayer is a part of every school day.

Jamaicans also have ties to particular regions and communities. Each of Jamaica's 14 parishes has its own unique traditions, local history, culture heroes, linguistic

styles, slang, and so on. Within each parish, every town and village also has its own history, folklore, and social structure. Traditionally, anthropologists have focused on culture at the level of community. In contrast, this study attempts to explore the extent to which the young people who live within different communities are differentially affected by national and international patterns of social change.

Today, Jamaica is beset by many of the classical economic and social problems that plague most of the developing world. Between 1950 and 1973, Jamaica's economy grew rapidly. The aluminum industry and tourism brought substantial economic gains to the nation. But rapidly rising oil prices, accompanied by a world-wide recession in the early 70's brought this rapid economic growth to a near standstill. Although Jamaica's economy has been growing in recent years, the government still must struggle with serious balance-of-payment problems, substantial unemployment (28%), a high birth rate, and significant "underemployment" (US Department of State, 1985). More than 70% of Jamaica's population is under the age of 35, and the mean age of its population is 18 (ibid.). Jamaican political leaders find themselves in an unenviable position: they are confronted with a growing school-age population, a citizenry that believes in the importance of education (Foner, 1973), and (simultaneously) with a mandate to cut

expenditures on social programs.

Many of Jamaica's educators work in crowded, resource-poor, understaffed schools. A few work in schools attended by Jamaica's elite, where conditions are considerably better. Although Jamaica's Ministry of Education continues to make valiant efforts to bridge the educational gap between urban and rural students [the perennial problem of the "Two Jamaicas" (Murray, 1984)], its efforts have been hampered by the government's austerity measures [which were introduced, some say, at the insistence ("with the assistance") of the IMF and other lenders (US Department of State, 1984, 1985)].

One of the consequences of colonialism for Jamaican schoolchildren is that those who live in rural areas are likely to receive a less adequate education than those who live in urban areas. Colonial power was first established in urban areas ; most rural Jamaicans worked on plantations and received little, if any, formal schooling. The educational gap between rural and urban residents remains a problem today (Cogan, 1982b). As part of its austerity measures, the government has closed many rural schools, reassigning students to larger, presumably more efficient (but often already crowded) larger schools. Thus, rural educators must not only contend with high absentee rates and lack of material resources, they must also live with the threat of being "made redundant" (i.e., laid-off).

Another serious problem for rural educators is that Jamaican parents often try to send their children to larger, and when possible, urban schools. They believe (correctly) that larger schools produce more "passers" of high school entrance examinations than smaller schools. (Each year, the numbers of passing students produced by each school are printed in The Daily Gleaner, Jamaica's primary newspaper.) Unfortunately, parents seem to base their ratings on absolute frequencies rather than percentages. This, of course, puts small schools at a great "public relations" disadvantage and results in a situation in which the most academically talented students (and those with the most ambitious or economically well-off parents) are withdrawn from rural schools.

Teachers who work in Jamaica's urban, coastal area schools must contend with a different set of problems. Some of these problems can be attributed directly to the growth of the tourism industry in Jamaica. The tourism industry has grown steadily in importance for the Jamaican economy and there seems to be a concensus that tourism is one of the country's most important sources of external capital. The industry has brought about substantial demographic changes as people have moved from the interior to coastal regions. Within a decade or two, quiet fishing villages have become the sites of high-rise hotels, privately owned beaches, US fast food restaurants, and touristic shopping malls. Local

residents have had to become "boundary role players", able to live in two cultures, simultaneously (Cohen, 1983). Jamaica's urban schools are often intensely crowded and noisy, and teachers who work in tourism-area schools must learn to teach young Jamaicans who live in communities very different from the ones their parents once knew.

Unfortunately, we know very little about the social consequences of tourism for the young people of developing nations. For this reason, the schools participating in this study have been ranked on a kind of continuum, from those that are located in non-touristic rural regions to those located in areas that are highly dependent on tourism. As a whole, the sample represents a regional cross-section of Jamaican primary schools and includes both large and small, rural and urban, coastal and inland, government-run and parochial, and "rich" and "poor" schools.

All six schools are located in the parish of St. Ann, in the north central region of the island. Jamaica's north shore is one of Jamaica's key tourism areas. The region boasts breathtakingly beautiful views of the Caribbean, white sand beaches, swaying palm trees, tropical foliage, abundant sunshine and a friendly, eager, and English-speaking workforce. The bauxite industry was once the region's key economic asset. But the bauxite industry is gone now, and today almost all Jamaicans share the view that Jamaica's future welfare rests heavily on the strength

of its tourism industry. And yet, some commentators believe that tourism is just a "New Kind of Sugar"(Finney & Watson, 1975; deKadt, 1979) and note that Jamaica, like most other Caribbean islands, continues to be dependent on metropolitan interests and metropolitan capital. As Friedman (1983) has put it, tourism economies represent a relatively straightforward structural and psychological shift from "Plantation to Resort". The plantation economy was controlled by a small European elite who channeled Jamaican resources back "home". Today, mass tourism is controlled by "foreigners" (multi-national corporations) and requires a workforce that is dedicated to meeting the needs of an "aristocratic" visiting elite. Which brings us to the theoretical issues and frameworks that have guided the design of this study and the interpretation of its results.

Theoretical Context

Sociostructural theories of education focus on the context within which schooling takes place and on the the way in which societal forces operate upon, within, and through educational policy and practice. Like all theories, sociostructural theories consist of "bodies of logically interdependent generalized concepts with empirical referents" (Paulston, 1976:5). They not only provide a contextualized view of the educational process, but can also be used as a framework within which research strategies can

be developed and through which empirical findings can (at times) be interpreted. Three quite different theoretical models have provided the conceptual framework upon which this work rests: functionalist theories of social evolution and national integration, theories of psychological modernity and the modernization process, and neo-Marxist theories of neocolonialism, dependency, and cultural reproduction. Each of these approaches will be briefly summarized here and discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

Yehudi Cohen (1975) has argued that formal schooling has historically been associated with the rise of nation-states within civilizational networks. He has suggested that one of the important functions of formal schooling is to promote identification with one's country (i.e., nationalism). Cohen claims that this kind of socialization process is necessary in order to ensure the cultural loyalty of those people who must interact with foreigners. Such individuals are often (though not always) members of an elite, and spend their lives at the "boundaries" of their native culture. As a result, the boundary role players of any society are the most likely carriers of social transformation (see Cohen, 1983). This is because members of a nation's elite tend to occupy positions that bring them into contact with members of other cultural groups (e.g., through business dealings,

international travel, education abroad, etc.)

The research described in this volume examines whether tourism-area students and classroom settings systematically differ from their more isolated, rural counterparts along lines that can be inferred from Cohen's model. Thus, the study rests on the assumption that Third World tourism has created a new type of boundary community. It extends Cohen's thesis to a specific setting: one that emerges when encounters between "hosts" and "guests" become an essential economic commodity (Smith, 1977a). Clearly, tourism industry employees spend a great deal of their working lives in contact with foreigners. For this reason, following Cohen's line of reasoning, one might expect schools located in tourism-dependent communities to demonstrate a greater concern for political socialization. In particular, one might expect nationalistic imagery and symbolism to be more salient in coastal area schools than in schools located in Jamaica's rural interior, and that children who attend tourism-area schools may acquire a sense of "cultural identity" (i.e., Brock & Tulasiewicz, 1985) that sets them apart from rural children. This study investigates both possibilities.

Modernization theorists focus on the way in which economic development tends to be associated with specific psychological and behavioral changes within various segments of Third World populations (Inkeles & Smith, 1974; Inkeles,

1983). In particular, modernization theorists have attempted to analyze the way in which social institutions bring about individual changes in world view, cognitive style, values, aspirations, and so on. Those who work within this framework see the factory and the school as important carriers of social transformation. From this perspective, the ability of the individual to do well in a modernizing society depends to a large degree on how well he is able to adjust to the new set of rules he encounters in these kinds of institutions. According to this view, people acquire (psychological) "modernity" by "incorporating within themselves the principles embedded in the organizational practices of the institutions in which they live and work" (Inkeles, 1983:20). As will be discussed further in Chapter Four, modernization theory suggests some of the specific ways in which children who attend rural schools might be expected to differ from those who go to school in more urbanized settings. It also suggests some of the kinds of experiences that may mediate these differences. When viewed from this perspective, the tourism industry seems a particularly interesting "index" of modernization. Hotels and transportation companies are not factories. Rather, they are post-modern, service-sector enterprises. This research investigates whether the presence of tourism within particular communities is related to specific differences in the beliefs, attitudes, and values of schoolchildren, and

examines whether these differences are consistent with a modernization theory interpretation. For example, following the line of reasoning used by modernization theorists, one might expect to find that children who attend schools in urban, tourism-area schools, as well as the children of Jamaica's elite, ought to be more open to innovation and change, oriented to the present and future (rather than the past), optimistic that man can control the forces of nature, and inclined toward consumption (rather than frugality) than children who live in Jamaica's rural interior.

In contrast, neo-Marxist social theorists have addressed a different set of problems, and have developed theories of education and society that are grounded in a rather different set of assumptions. Those who work within this framework argue that schooling is an inherently neocolonialistic process (Carnoy, 1974; Altbach & Kelly, 1974). According to this view, Third World educational institutions tend to promote values and behaviors that meet the (economic) needs of former colonial powers. As a consequence, social and economic stratification are often associated with (and sometimes intensified by) national development. Neo-Marxist theorists have pointed out that the social institutions of developing nations tend to be controlled by a relatively small, educated elite. This elite often has both experiential and economic ties to the industrialized world; as a result, it tends to be committed

to what might be considered a "colonial" value system. The idea of the "hidden curriculum" is clearly relevant here, as is the notion that schools tend to reproduce rather than reduce class differences (Apple, 1979, 1982; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977).

From this theoretical perspective, both tourism and schooling can be seen as neocolonialistic enterprises. Historically, Jamaica's tourism industry has been owned and operated primarily by foreigners and expatriots (Taylor, 1975). The growth of mass tourism tends to be associated with decreased local control and with increased dependency on more developed nations for resources (training, technology, capital). One might therefore expect to find substantial differences in "degree of dependency" between coastal (that is, tourism-dependent) area schools and those located in the interior. Such differences might involve either concrete, material patterns within the school setting (e.g., Johnson, 1985), or less tangible differences in the kinds of "imaginary social worlds" constructed by students (Caughey, 1984). For example, the neo-Marxist perspective would predict that both elite schools and tourism-area schools may contain more extra-nationally manufactured items, and more "symbolic" items (travel posters, value-laden, prescriptive messages, etc.) that reflect "colonial" values. Similarly, the neo-Marxist orientation would predict that upper class and tourism-area students

will tend to adopt world views and cultural identities that are oriented toward metropolitan rather than local indigenous values. The data collection procedures employed in this study were designed to assess both of these potentially important aspects of the socialization process. The following section provides an overview of these procedures.

Research Strategy

Many of the anthropologists who have studied Caribbean cultures have focused on relatively discrete sub-populations. Traditionally, the goal of ethnographic research has been to describe the lifeways of the members of a particular culture, and to come to understand how group members view the world, how they construct social meaning. One of the disadvantages of this approach is that it tends to focus the researcher on internal rather than external factors. For example, ethnographers often fail to provide adequately detailed, systematic, and therefore verifiable descriptions of the social and material context in which their observations are made (Johnson, 1978; Dobbert et. al., 1984). Frequently, researchers who focus on a particular community tend to ignore extra-local forces in their analyses. In other words, they show only a limited understanding of the way in which macrocultural political, economic, and social forces may impinge upon the residents of the communities they study (Steward, 1955; Friedman,

1983). Finally, ethnographic researchers often work with small populations, and this places serious restrictions on the kinds of inferences they can make. For some ethnographers, generalization of one's findings is not only technically difficult, but conceptually misguided (Geertz, 1984).

In contrast, as noted in the previous section, sociostructurally-oriented educational researchers have often included the wider political, economic, and social context in their analyses. They have also obtained their data from large populations. But often, their databases consist of statistical and historical information that is several steps removed from the actual classroom setting. Unfortunately, these kinds of data do not provide any insights into the student's emotional and perceptual reality. And often, the information gathering process itself has been motivated by either a particular political agenda or a desire to make schooling itself more "efficient", to find out "where the bugs are" (which probably also implies a particular political agenda, though often an unexamined one) (Segal, 1984; Epstein, 1983; Lewis, 1981; Paulston, 1976).

The research described in this monograph employs a relatively novel approach to data gathering. The design of the study attempts to capitalize on the strengths of both traditional ethnographic and sociostructural data collection

techniques. Thus, while the study includes a large sample of students (N=270) who completed a four-page "activity book", the researcher also spent several weeks in the field documenting classroom material culture, observing classroom and playground life, and, of course, talking to both adults and children about educational and tourism-related issues. And although the focus of the study is on macrocultural dynamics, the research also attempts to give the outsider an insight into at least some aspects of the students' inner lives. To quote a phrase used by critical ethnographers, the study attempts to "give voice" to those whose voices have historically not been "privileged"

The fieldwork described here was conducted between September of 1985 and June, 1986. The researcher spent a total of six weeks in Jamaica. About one third of this time was spent making initial, orientational visits to the sample schools, distributing the assessment materials to each school, and speaking with the teachers and principals who would be administering these assessments. The remaining time in the field was divided about equally between documenting the material culture of selected classrooms in each sample school, and observing classroom and schoolyard life and talking to both adults and children about educational and tourism-related issues.

The next chapter examines some of the empirical work that has been done on the social consequences of tourism for developing nations. Chapter Three provides a general overview of the history of schooling in Jamaica. Many of the features that characterize contemporary West Indian educational institutions are best understood within an historical framework. Chapter Four takes a closer look at the theoretical propositions summarized above, i.e., theories of social evolution, modernization, and neocolonialism. Chapter Five describes the design of the study and the methodological strategies employed in its execution. Chapters Six through Eleven report the results of the investigation. And finally, Chapter Twelve discusses the implications of the study's findings for educational theory and practice.

Chapter Two

SOCIOSTRUCTURAL CONSEQUENCES OF DEVELOPMENT: THE IMPACT OF TOURISM ON THIRD WORLD SOCIETIES

During the first six months of 1985, 469,203 visitors arrived in Jamaica (Planning Institute of Jamaica, 1985: 39). The majority of these visitors stayed in Western-type hotel accommodations. Collectively, they spent US$438 million dollars. Tourism in Jamaica is at an advanced stage of industrial development. The industry is no longer controlled by local constituencies. Rather, most of those directly employed by the tourism industry work for organizations that are controlled by metropolitan centers in developed nations.

Tourism is growing in economic importance in many developing countries. In the West Indies, the industry provides a significant and much needed source of external capital [1]. But even though tourism has been strongly advocated and supported by West Indian government leaders and businessmen, it has increasingly been viewed as a mixed blessing. Traditionally, the advantages and disadvantages of tourism have been assessed in economic rather than social terms. But critics of the industry have argued that tourism has had (or is likely to have) long-term, negative environmental and economic consequences for the people of developing nations (Bryden, 1973; Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Some commentators have called for comprehensive

"cost-benefit" analyses of the industry, analyses that would take both economic and social factors into consideration (ibid.; Smith, 1977). Within the last decade or so, a number of analyses of the social consequences of tourism have appeared in the literature [2]. As this study is concerned with the impact of tourism on young Jamaicans, this chapter will focus on those studies and conceptual frameworks that shed light on the social consequences of tourism for the members of Third World host societies. The first section of the chapter provides a general description of the nature of tourism as a cultural phenomenon. The second section reviews some of the recent empirical studies that have explored the ways in which the presence of touristic activities within a community can affect its residents.

Tourism as a Cultural Phenomenon

A tourist is an individual at leisure who is engaged in "voluntary, non-recurrent, novelty-seeking, temporary travelling or sojourning" (Nash, 1974). The typical mass tourist is concerned primarily with recreation. While he or she might occasionally learn something about the host society's history and culture, education is usually not a primary concern.

> Tourists are pleasure-seekers, temporarily unemployed, and above all consumers; they are taking their trip to get away from everyday cares. (Nettkoven, 1979:137)

Thus, the tourists's role contrasts sharply with the work-oriented roles being played by those who serve him. This contrast is heightened even further by the fact that travel often has a "liberating" effect on the tourist's spending habits. Many tourists appear to be motivated by a desire to live (if only for a while) as they imagine the wealthy to live all of the time. Tourists who come to visit a society as "guests" and those who act as their "hosts" are often separated by substantial differences in economic status. And yet, a number of cultural and psychological differences may also set the tourist apart from those who serve him. Indeed, some theorists have come to see the tourist as a kind of metaphor for "modern man".

Thus, MacCannel (1976) holds that "the tourist" is "one of the best models available for modern-man-in-general"(1). For MacCannel, the empirical and ideological growth of modern social consciousness is closely linked to modern mass leisure; as a result, the study of tourism can lead to a deeper understanding of the nature of modernity. Urbanization, better health care, literacy, economic mobility, and the growth of nation-states are only the surface features of modernity.

> [The] deep structure of modernity is a totalizing idea, a mentality that sets modern society in opposition both to its own past and to those societies of the present that are premodern or un(der)developed. (7)

In modern societies,

> Leisure has displaced work as the center of modern social arrangements...'Lifestyle', a generic term for a specific combination of work and leisure, is replacing 'occupation' as the basis of social relationship formation, social status, and social action. (5)

Today, consumers desire a wide range of products that " go beyond" the material realm. Increasingly, personal experiences are produced and sold like commodities. Modern man and woman demand products that have the right "style", that reflect their own unique personal tastes; they want ergonomically designed automobiles, stereo systems that are accoustically "near perfect", and, above all, "fun" and "exciting" vacations. Increasingly for modern societies, the value of products is determined by

> the quality and quantity of experience they promise...[Thus,] The commodity has become a means to an end. The end is an immense accumulation of reflexive experiences which synthesize fiction and reality into a vast symbolism, a modern world. (ibid.:22,23. Emphasis in original.)

Marx once argued that social life is shaped by the ways in which material products are produced. In contrast, contemporary social life (in developed nations) appears to be greatly affected by patterns of consumption. Implicit in MacCannel's analysis, however, is the notion that this

orientation toward consumption is a symptom of serious cultural deficiencies. In his view, modern man's alienation from work has created a kind of void, a sense of psychological emptiness that requires an experiential "remedy". Thus, one of the reasons that tourist attractions often portray historical and also work-related activities is that "The only way modern workers can apprehend work as a part of a meaningful totality" is by visiting such sights (ie., the Grand Coulee Dam, the Pyramids, The Ford Motor Company, etc.) and by engaging in "do it yourself" construction projects as a recreational activity (ibid.:6). In a similar vein, Hiller (1976) argues that tourists should be thought of as the victims of an industrial system that has not only created enormous psychological pain, but also profits from modern man's attempts to remedy his plight.

> ...it suits industrial society to have tourism as an escape valve...[But] even the [tourist's] apparent escape is subordinated to industrial primacy. The escape must represent a reward which stimulates consumption. The reward, in a sense, is the future: it is full of products, indulgences, and experiences toward which the industrial worker aspires; it reflects fulfillment of a process begun when rewards became severed from the substance of man's labor...Consumption feeds production, and yields rewards which maintain the cycle. (1976: 108-9)

Writers like MacCannel and Hiller see the tourist as a metaphor for modern man and argue that tourism embodies a number of structural and psychological attributes that appear to be unique to post-industrial society.

Graburn (1977) has constructed a somewhat different model of the touristic process. For him, the tourist's odessey represents a kind of "sacred journey" similar to the non-westerner's pilgrimage to a religious shrine (see also Moore, 1980). As MacCannel, he contrasts tourism with work in Western societies. A vacation, he argues, represents a cyclical shift "from the profane to the sacred". Thus, tourism involves a very human type of exploratory behavior the nature of which is shaped by cultural factors. This is illustrated by the way in which the goals of tourists have changed over the centuries.

> For traditional societies the rewards of pilgrimages were accumulated grace and moral leadership in the home community. The rewards of modern tourism are phrased in terms of values we now hold up for worship: mental and physical health, social status, and diverse, exotic experiences. (24)

Graburn notes that tourists almost always take home souveniers from the places they visit and holds that the kind of item the tourist selects as "proof" that he "really did it" reflects what he and his society considers sacred. "The Myth of the Holy Grail is the myth sought on the journey, and the success of a holiday is proportionate to the degree that the myth is realized" (28). MacCannel also comments on the souvenier-hunting process, noting that touristic vendors often place a great deal of emphasis on the fact that touristic artifacts are "genuine", "real",

"authentic". As a consequence, even though tourists appear to want to buy "real" rather than a "fake" artifacts, most of the souveniers they buy have been carefully labelled by their manufacturers as "inauthentic". In Jamaica, for example, vendors do not sell the same kinds of hats that are worn by the local residents; they sell hats embroidered with the word "Jamaica". Host societies often make an effort to maintain control over sociocultural "boundaries" when they interact with outsiders. Indeed, as will be discussed shortly, the problem of preserving one's cultural identity, the sanctity of basic social institutions and traditions, and the problem of sustaining a "separate" value system have emerged as central issues for those who have conducted empirical investigations of the impact of tourism on indigenous societies.

Effects of Tourism: The Touristic Encounter

Several theorists have employed Goffman's dramatalurgical interpretation of host-guest interactions. From this point of view, hosts and guests almost always meet on stage, in public settings. Each has prepared for his "role" before the interaction begins. Thus, "Tourists often alter their demeanor when away from home, and their hosts are likely to engage in roles designed to accommodate tourists that they would never play before their peers...a tourist might assume the airs of an aristocrat in a country

where his money goes twice as far as at home."(Nunez, 1977: 213). The problem for the ethnographer is how to get backstage, how to find out the kinds of culturally shaped preparations that are made prior to the individual's "performance" as a host and to find out what the individuals taking part in these encounters "really think" about one another.

Touristic encounters are characterized by a "curious mix of distance and nearness" (Nash, 1981: 467). The relationship between hosts and guests "is almost always an instrumental one, rarely colored by affective ties, and almost always marked by degrees of social distance and stereotyping that would not exist amongst neighbors, peers, or fellow countrymen" (Nunez, 1977: 212). Similarly, Pearce (1982) states that touristic encounters are characterized by "asymmetrical, frequent, transitory contacts" combined with "opportunities for exploitation and considerable cultural differences." Such interactions can cause "considerable tourist-host friction" (84-85).

In fact, touristic encounters can generate a range of reactions on the part of those who act as hosts. Levine (79:31-2) has suggested that host reactions represent a continuum from compulsive antagonism to compulsive friendliness. Thus, Pi-Sunyer (1978) found that the advent of mass tourism in Catalan led to strong, negative feelings on the part of local citizens against the industry and its

participants. Smith (1978) found that Eskimos also deeply resented the presence of tourists within their communities. As a consequence,

> in Kotzebue and Nome, only "marginal men" (the aged and the outgroup) are involved in the tourist industry. (51)
>
> Eskimo women grew tired of answering endless questions about the butchering process. Some erected barricades. Others paid a taxi to drag carcasses of seals and other game for more privacy. Natives felt insulted by boasts about the "great pictures I got" and "interpreted the[se] remarks as ridicule, which cuts deep into the native ethos. (59)

Francilon (1975) has suggested that the Balinese also dislike tourists. There is, he claims, always "a grimace beneath the smile" (quoted in Pearce, 1982). Greenwood (1972) found that his Spanish informants felt "ambivalent" about tourism. They seemed to see tourism as necessary, but as "unpleasant and conflictful". And Urbanowicz (1977, 1978) found that many Tongans seemed to resent the fact that tourism had turned their community into a "cultural zoo".

Tourism as Subversion

A number of researchers have found that the presence of tourism within a community can have a negative effect on local mores. Because of the demonstration effect, residents may use tourists as a reference group for new consumption patterns that are beyond their means. In Tonga, for example, Urbanowicz found that local residents were unable

to meet their "Western-induced desires" for material goods. As a result, "housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are now prevalent crimes in Tonga and are, unfortunately, apparently increasing at a steady rate" (Urbanowicz, 1977: 86,91). In addition,

> Tongan children are now begging from tourists at the major tourist attractions; prostitution and homosexuality appear to be increasing...tourists are harassed as they walk through city streets and villages; and price-gouging, especially for transportation, is a common complaint (90)

Similar problems have been observed in Jamaica. However, Nettleford has pointed out that some of the negative behavior patterns associated with Jamaican tourism actually have a long history on the island. The "gigolo [con-man] mentality", he claims, has been a condition of survival in the whole of plantation structure" Tourism "merely reinforces it and gives us a marvellous opportunity to indulge" (1977: 34). In a similar vein, Pearce observes that in the most densely packed tourism regions (Greece, Hawaii, and the Caribbean),

> the true deterioration in local attitudes is reflected in a new readiness to cheat, victimize, and even assault the tourists...As the number of tourists increases, the easy-going, rewarding tourist-host contacts diminish. Negative aspects of some tourists are noted and this crystallizes into a stereotype which is then uniformly applied...[Tourists come to be seen as] faceless examples of the exploitative outgroup. (1982:84) [3]

Clearly, touristic development introduces a new set of stresses for host societies. While it can bring new levels of economic prosperity, it can also undermine basic cultural values and may increase rather than decrease inter-cultural hostilities.

This brings up the question of how the sheer presence of large numbers of affluent, exhuberant outsiders might affect the young people growing up within tourism-dependent communities. In many nations, about half the population is under the age of twenty. This means that a very large number of youngsters may be affected by what Nettkoven calls "the alienating acculturation process of pleasure-oriented tourism" (1979: 140). He continues,

> They visualize life within the tourist resort as a paradise where tourists lead an enviable existence without work but with abundance...[They] may also develop a disasterous misconception of the idyllic life in the countries of origin of foreign tourists and may be tempted to emigrate. (ibid.)

Nettleford (1977) echoes Nettkoven's concerns: "...there are very few young Caribbean people who can be convinced that white tourists, coming into the Caribbean do not all come loaded with money" (40). Both authors suggest that the young people of host societies are "confused" as a result of their interactions with tourists, and that something should be done to enlighten them. But neither author offers any empirical evidence in support of his claims, and neither is explicit about just how children should be taught (for

example,) that "the gentleman by the pool is a taxi driver from New York" who may have had to "work and save for a whole year for [his] two weeks of completely carefree pleasure" (Nettkoven, ibid.).

Unfortunately, even if it were possible to educate young hosts about the people-behind-the-beachwear, it seems likely that a number of problems would still remain. For example, Nettleford describes a scenario in which respectable, well-off American youngsters come to the Caribbean wearing $50 dollar jeans "which have been deliberately aged - just the sort of thing that we of the backward Third World have been trying to get away from." He suggests that this kind of a situation is likely to lead to confusion and resentment among the young because "we are telling our young people that that is how they must not look" (ibid.:39). Not only are tourists likely to change the material aspirations (and frustrations) of young hosts, but the tourism industry may also tend to promote a sense of personal and cultural inferiority. In this regard, Nettleford suggests that one of the reasons that West Indian scholars have shown little interest in tourism is that the industry is often seen as an "embarrassment" and "as a deadly threat to our national self esteem" (ibid.: 21). Indeed, some observers have found that tourism not only threatens national self-esteem, but may even challenge the existence of the host community's "cultural identity".

Just as tourism tends to convert "spontaneous hospitality" into business transactions, it can also transform important cultural activities - public rituals and ceremonies - into spectator events. According to Greenwood (1977), when culture is "sold by the pound" it often becomes meaningless. And, as he puts it, "Anything that falsifies, disorganizes, or challenges the participant's belief in the authenticity of their culture threatens it with collapse" (131) [4]. He continues,

> We already know from worldwide experience that local culture - be it New Guinea aboriginal art and rituals, Eskimo sculpture, Balinese dancing, bullfights, voodoo ceremonies, gypsy dancing, or peasant markets - is altered and often destroyed by the treatment of it as a tourist attraction (ibid.).

Nettleford (1977) has observed the same process in Jamaica and throughout the Caribbean and claims that

> Nothing is more reprehensible than our bringing into our hotel things like real pocomania meetings...we think this is cute, but this is in fact a deprecation of the genuine expression of our people. Yet many of us are insensitive enough to insist on this, in the name, no doubt, of authenticity or "roots". (30)

Greenwood sums up what appears to be a widespread concensus among those researchers and commentators who view tourism as a serious threat to the welfare of host societies

> Treating culture as a natural resource over which tourists have rights is not simply perverse, it is a violation of the people's cultural rights...culture in its very essence is something people believe in implicitly...Thus,

> commoditization of culture in effect robs people of the very meaning by which they organize their lives. (1977: 136-7. Emphasis in original.)

While many tourism researchers have focused on the negative consequences of tourism, another group of scholars (and many policy makers) seem to question whether maintaining the cultural traditions of the people of "underdeveloped" societies is really in their best interest. They see tourism as a positive force for social change, as will be discussed next.

Positive Consequences of Tourism for Developing Nations

Because the interactions between hosts and guests are almost always characterized by some degree of inequality, tourists can be thought of as carriers of a deeply embedded way of viewing "reality". Whenever members from two different societies interact for prolonged periods of time, a certain amount of "borrowing" takes place. However,

> Tourists are less likely to borrow from their hosts than their hosts are from them, thus precipitating a chain of change in the host community...as a host community adapts to tourism, in its facilitation to tourists' needs, attitudes, and values, the host community must become more like the tourists' culture (Nunez, 1977: 208).

Indeed, tourists may well be "purveyors of modern values" (MacCannel, 1976:5). For this reason, those who favor modernization and "human capital" approaches to development often emphasize the fact that tourism creates new jobs,

strengthens cultural traditions, and fosters modernization and cross-cultural communication (McKean, 1977; Manning, 1979; Pearce, 1982; Murphy, 1985). For example, Boissevain and Inglott (1979) argue that by Malta's own criteria of development, tourism has been primarily beneficial. Further, Boissevain (1979) found that the young people living on the island of Gozo welcomed friendships with outsiders as chances to learn about the world, and to broaden their views of the world. Boissevain also found that the fact that visitors had chosen to visit Gozo, an underdeveloped island, rather than Malta, a more developed one, seemed to enhance local self esteem. Similarly, Cohen (1979) found that Tourism did not appear to harm the upland Thai villages that took part in his study. And Manning (1979) has argued that the development of "Black Clubs" in Bermuda represents a case of "cultural revitalization" rather than cultural imperialism.

Lawrence Loeb (1977) reports that tourism has been an important factor permitting Persian Jews in Iran to maintain their ethnic identities in an Islamic state. Loeb notes that ethnic minorities are frequently associated with the tourism industry. Similarly, in a study of the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Deutch (1977) found that

> massive immigration and mass tourism have not been disruptive. Rather, the contact with Anglo Society offered extended markets that served to heighten artistic productivity and to revive old traditions...Further, the revival of southwestern

> handwork has served to strengthen Indian identity, pride in heritage, and perhaps most importantly, local income as an alternative to out-migration to jobs or joblessness in an urban setting (184).

Similarly, Graburn has found that ethnic tourism, when controlled by the people themselves, can act as an "identity maintenance mechanism" and foster group cohesion.(Graburn, 1969. Cited by McKean, 1977:102). Graburn analyzed the carvings of Canadian, Alaskan Eskimos, the Maori, and the Kamba of Kenya and found that the "production of art for outsiders has heightened self-identity and self-value, and has encouraged appreciation of indigenous craft and creativity" (ibid., 467).

McKean (1977) has also found that tourism can have a positive effect on non-industrial cultures. His work on the Balinese suggests that artistic production has "become far more widespread in the past decade, and a kind of revitalization of folk arts is found in many villages" (105). He concludes that the presence of tourists has enhanced the self-esteem of Balinese young people.

> The identity of young Balinese is formed, in part, by the recognition that their skills are of value to visitors as well as to local audiences. If they carve or dance or perform in a drama sufficiently well, their abilities may become a source of profit to them and their families, and no small source of personal pride and satisfaction...So the younger Balinese find their identity as Balinese to be sharply framed by the mirror that tourism holds up to them and has led many of them to celebrate their own tradition with continued vitality. (105)

Interestingly, McKean reports that the Balinese school system has played a part in this tourism-mediated identity formation process. Carving, Balinese music, and the Ketjak dance have all become a part of the school curriculum. McKean suggests that, in the absence of any other prospects for industrial development, "economic prosperity [in Bali] might be based on cultural production - the establishment of a truly 'post-industrial' service industry, which is at least in part what tourism fosters" (101).

Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, tourism is a multidimensional social phenomena. It can be viewed as

a) a "stage" on which the members of an elite come into close physical (if not always social) proximity to a large, historically disadvantaged group of laborers,

b) yet another example of the world-wide process of metropolitan exploitation of the developing world (ie., neocolonialism).

c) a serious threat to national self esteem, indigenous values, and cultural identity, and/or

d) a much-needed Third World "post-industrial", service sector economic enterprise and, therefore, a possible index of the modernization process.

Tourism differs from most export and exchange activities because it requires that the consumer interact with the producer in order to consume the product. Those who view tourism from a neo-Marxist perspective argue that the

presence of tourism within a community will probably increase individual "alienation", and may increase rather than decrease the degree of social inequality among its residents. As a consequence, these theorists argue that tourism may heighten patterns of "resistance" to authority (ie., Willis, 1977; Apple, 1979; Girioux, 1983), and augment feelings of relative deprivation through the "demonstration effect" (the process whereby the mere presence of affluent outsiders within a community "teaches" residents about new, non-indigenous lifeways. See Bryden, 1973:95; Mathieson and Wall, 1982:143-147).

From this point of view, tourism seems to involve a fairly clear-cut case of "neocolonialism" (ie., Frank, 1967; Furtado, 1983). Hotels, restaurants, and marinas are often owned and managed by foreigners or by members of an elite that is committed to a colonialistic value system. Because the industry fosters interactions between affluent outsiders and comparatively poor hosts, tourism may also provide a mechanism for cultural and psychological dependency (ie., Mannoni, 1950; Clignet, 1971). The industry may tend to promote ideals, aspirations, expectations, and role models that differ from those present within more traditional segments of a host culture. And, indeed, as this review has shown, proximity to tourism often seems to shift the individual (and his cultural group) away from the peasant's idea of the "limited good" (Poggie and Lynch, 1977) and

toward the industrialized world's "psychology of more" (Looft, 1971).

On the other hand, tourism can also be viewed as an important component in the world-wide struggle for economic and psychological equity between nations. From this perspective, touristic activities are viewed not as manifestations of international domination and/or exploitation, but as activities that are likely to promote both cultural and psychological "modernity" (Inkeles and Smith, 1974; Inkeles, 1983). Some of the studies reviewed in this chapter have demonstrated that tourism can at times promote positive social consequences: increased aspirations, enhanced ethnic, cultural, or regional identity, economic opportunity, heightened global awareness, and increased community support for educational and training institutions.

Much of the controversy about tourism revolves around two issues: the question of how power should be distributed among individuals and between nations, and the (closely related) problem of defining the nature of human progress. The two contrasting perspectives on tourism presented in this chapter reflect deeply rooted ideological assumptions about the "way the world works". Chapters 4 and 12 will show that such assumptions can be found not only in discourse about tourism and its effects, but in much of the theoretical literature on the nature of social change in general, and on the relationship between schooling and

social progress in particular. The latter topic - the relationship between social progress and schooling - has long been a concern for Jamaican decision makers. To a considerable degree, the history of education in Jamaica has been shaped by popular beliefs about schooling and society. The next chapter presents a brief, historical overview of this process.

Notes

1. Some of the most "highly dependent tourism countries in the world" are located in the Commonwealth Caribbean (Bryden, 1973:90).

2. For example, Cohen,1972, 1974; Turner & Ash, 1975; Finney & Watson, 1975; Smith, 1977, deKadt, 1979; Nash, 1981; Farrell, 1982; Friedman, 1983; McIntosh, 1984; Jafar, 1985; Murphy, 1985

3. See Turner & Ash, 1975; Urbanowicz 1977 and deKadt, 1979 for additional discussions of the association of tourism with social problems.

4. Like Geertz, Greenwood believes that, "public rituals can be viewed as dramatic enactments, commentaries on, and summations of the meanings basic to a particular culture. They serve to reaffirm, further develop, and elaborate those aspects of reality that hold a particular group of people together in a common culture" (1977: 131).

5. Other reports of the "cultural desecration" of community life appear in Nunez, 1963; Eidheim, 1966; Buck, 1978; and DeKadt, 1979

Chapter Three

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SCHOOLING IN JAMAICA

The six schools that participated in this study are a part of a system of education that has a 200 year long history. Many of the distinctive features of these schools are a consequence of cultural patterns that emerged during the colonial era. And some of the most serious problems confronting Jamaican educators and policy makers today are the result of decisions made long ago. This chapter will show that many of these decisions were made by people deeply enmeshed in "metropolitan" concerns, beliefs, and values. And while many of the individuals who shaped Jamaica's educational system appear to have genuinely believed that their policies were in the best interest of "the people", their choices often had unintended, negative effects.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the historical context within which Jamaican schooling has evolved. No attempt has been made to offer a comprehensive, critical literature review. Rather, the pages that follow describe cultural patterns and conceptual issues that have been the focus of much recent scholarly writing about the history of Jamaican education. What follows, then, is a summary of those historical patterns that seem particularly salient in the literature, and

relevant to the problems, issues, and settings investigated in this monograph.

Education during the Pre-Emancipation Period

Slave owners only rarely concerned themselves with the education of their slaves. In the West Indies, planters feared that education would cause slaves to be less contented with their lot. They also resisted efforts to bring Christianity to the slaves [1]. The Christian notion of equality in the sight of God was incompatible with the economic realities of the time. An infant born a slave in the West Indies was usually put under the care of an elderly slave woman, so that its mother could return to work. A young slave child probably learned something of the African heritage from its caretaker(s) through songs, fables, games, dances, and so on. But because planters did not want their young slaves to acquire the 'habits of idleness', they pressed them into fieldwork at an early age. By the age of six, most West Indian slave children were expected to work in the fields with the elderly (in what was called the "Third Gang"). Soon, they were put to work in the canefields, where they spent most of the rest of their lives. Most slaves were trained only to work in the canefields, and very few learned skilled crafts (carpentry, cabinet making, metal working, etc.).

The plantation became a kind of "total institution", a "peculiar kind of instrument for the re-socialization of those who fell within its sphere of influence." (Raymond Smith, 1967). Plantation life was regimented and controlled by a small staff. A kind of prestige hierarchy developed within each plantation. Thus, the importance of occupation as a basis for discriminating status among Jamaicans can be traced to the plantation economy (Foner, 1973). Those slaves who were most closely associated with the English (house servants, craftsmen, and overseers) were afforded higher status within the slave community (Furley, 1965:232). Light skinned, creole Jamaicans were often preferred by the English, and were more likely than darker-skinned slaves to be awarded these positions. Further,

> A house slave or a craftsman...had more opportunity than a field hand to interact with whites on an informal basis, and was often taught to read and write. Slaves of higher status regarded themselves as superior to field hands and, for the most part, this superiority was acknowledged by their fellow slaves because, in addition to their prestigious occupations, the former more closely approximated the customs, speech, and manners of their masters. (Foner, 1973:38)

As will be discussed later, this separation of slaves into racial and occupational castes has had a number of long-term consequences for education.

During the early colonial period, the children of planters were generally educated at home. Eventually, the

most prosperous planters lived in England, leaving the running of their estates to their overseers, clerks, and lawyers. The planters who remained in Jamaica struggled to create a lifestyle that replicated genteel British life. Thus, much attention was given to the design and furnishing of "great houses", to the kinds of food eaten, to fashion, and to the organization of elegant, and impressive entertainments [2]. All who could afford to do so sent their sons home to England for schooling. Quite often, the education they received prepared them for occupations that were of little use in a colonial setting. Many never returned to the colonies.

Those planters who could not afford to run their estates in absentia were at times accused of being "crude, immoral, unlettered, and oafish" (Gordon, 1962). These less prosperous planters had to depend on the services of private tutors until the 18th century, when it became possible for their sons to attend West Indian schools. For the most part, the first Jamaican schools were "charity schools", free schools intended to provide a Christian education to the growing numbers of poor white and light-skinned children that lived on the island. Such schools were often founded as a result of a bequest from a wealthy planter or merchant. Some of these charity schools flourished and eventually became grammar schools where teaching was provided "for a fee", and therefore no longer available to the poor [3].

Slaves, of course, were not allowed to attend formal educational institutions of any kind. In general, whatever formal education slaves received was a consequence of the missionaries' attempts to "Christianize" them.

The Missionaries

The actual impact of the missionaries who worked in Jamaica prior to emancipation remains unclear. Most attempts to educate slaves prior to emancipation were probably fairly "haphazard". Prior to emancipation, nonconformist protestant missionaries worked primarily with adult slaves. And, as noted earlier, parish schools were generally attended by poor, free white and colored children rather than by the children of slaves. Of the estimated 112,000 West Indian children between the ages of 3 and 12 living at the time of emancipation, only a small proportion could have received any sort of a formal education (Gordon, 1962).

Some authorities have emphasized the role played by missionaries as carriers of an ideology that could only have benefited the planters at the slaves expense. Others have caste the missionaries in the role of culture heroes, struggling to bring salvation and literacy to the masses [4]. Members of both of these scholarly traditions suggest that the missionaries did indeed have a significant impact on life in the West Indies.

The missionaries sought to instill the virtues of industry, loyalty, sobriety, chastity, and obedience in their congregations (Rooke, 1978a; 1980a) [5]. They seem to have been convinced that "the social order would deteriorate if cardinal vices were allowed to flourish" (Rooke, 1978:359.). Further, the missionaries demanded such virtues of all people, freemen as well as slaves, and of all societies. Eventually, their efforts would convince the ruling classses that education could be a vehicle for maintaining (rather than disrupting) social equilibrium. But the extent to which missionaries and planters should be seen as co-conspirators remains unclear.

The animosity toward missionaries displayed by the planters is strong evidence against the "imperialistic collusion" theory. In fact, Jamaican planters were quite

> suspicious of the missionaries and feared they would imbue the slaves with ideas of equality and other dangerous notions, so they opposed their arrival and persecuted them over a long period of time, particularly the Baptist and Methodist missionaries who settled in the towns and had not come at the invitation of the planters. (Furley, 1965:233)

The missionaries were often persecuted for their efforts to help the slaves. It may therefore be incorrect to assume too close a correspondence between the the missionaries' educational efforts and the needs of a plantation economy.

Most missionaries appear to have stayed out of political matters [6]. They had all been given orders not to concern

themselves with civil rights because such matters were outside their duties. And yet, the very fact that they thought slaves worthy of instruction and religious conversion represented a view of slaves that contradicted the one held by planters. Consider, for example, the following comment written by a Presbyterian minister who worked in Jamaica between 1827 and 1868:

> After more than thirty years' experience of the African character...and acquainted as I am with the different tribes - Mandingoes, Coromantees, Congoes, Eboes, Whidoes, Angolas, Macos, etc - I am prepared to say, that they are not only not inferior in intellect, but that I have been a thousand times struck with wonder, at the vigour of their intellect and the acuteness of their understanding. (quoted in Furley, 1965:235)

This minister, and at least some of his contemporaries, believed slaves to have the same intellectual potential as their European masters. In the 19th century, this was a very radical notion. Thus, there is substantial evidence that the missionaries had a tangible impact on West Indian Society. Despite a number of restrictions on their activities, the missionaries (from (1807 onward) often taught reading and writing to slaves. They were "pedagogues whose goals required pedagogical means, systematized instruction, and discrete content"(Rooke, 1978a:357). These are discussed next.

The Missionaries as Pedagogues

There was a trans-global continuity in the educational practices employed by colonial missionaries (Holmes, 1967). And yet, missionaries sought not only to bring Christianity to the slaves, but to make Christian slaves into Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, and so on (Rooke,1980a). Each sect possessed a unique set of beliefs and assumptions about the nature of its mission. As a result, a number of differences in pedagogical methods and materials can be found between various denominations. For example, The Church Missionary Society (CMS) tried to enable its converts to comprehend the Anglican liturgy, the Creed, and the Thirty-nine Articles. In contrast, the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) placed great emphasis on scripture reading. But even though the content of the educational materials might have varied somewhat across denominations, the "mechanical parts of [these] systems were not significantly different" (ibid.:362). They all manifested a firm belief that literacy was essential to the spiritual welfare of the individual.

Both the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church and the British and Foreign School Society (BFSS) sent very large quantities of educational materials to its membership abroad. Since the incentives for providing an education for the slaves paralleled those for educating Britain's poorer classes, it is not surprising that colonial educators used

the same kinds of materials used in charity schools and Sunday schools in England.

> There is little evidence that the materials were adapted to a new set of social or cultural circumstances relating to slaves or even to the West Indies...The Christianization of slaves was seen, in fact, as no different from the Christianization of the lower classes in Britain. (Rooke, 1982a:371) [7]

Thus, the first Jamaican schools were modelled after European systems of mass education, and no attempt was made to distinguish the needs of West Indian slaves from the poor who lived in industrializing Great Britain.

Often, the missionaries relied on schooling techniques that they had learned in British missionary training centers. But some missionaries appear to have used educational methods that were "ahead of their time". For example, missionaries used Pestalozzian techniques in the West Indies before such methods were used on a wide scale in Great Britain (Rooke, 1978a:364). In general, however, the missionaries relied on traditional educational methods. Many West Indian educators managed to teach large numbers of slaves with only limited resources through the use of "monitorial instruction". This involved the use of older and more academically gifted students to act as "substitute" teachers, and was used in Jamaica long after it had been discredited and abandoned by educators in Great Britain (Butts, 1947). Often, teachers relied heavily on oral

instruction, and "catechizing" (the memorization and recitation of scriptural passages. Even today, memorization and oral recitation continue to be important features of Jamaican schooling. In spite of the many restrictions placed upon them, the missionaries managed to teach a small group of colored and black Jamaicans to read. As will be discussed below, the fact that even a small number of slaves and ex-slaves learned to read had important social and political consequences.

The Establishment of Popular Education, 1835 - 1845

The Act of Emancipation of 1834 contained an allocation of British funds for the education of blacks in ex-slave colonies. The Negro Education Grant provided a sum of 30,000 pounds per year for five years, with a decreasing allotment each year until 1845. But in 1835, it was unclear which colonial institution ought to administer these funds. Both of the Governors of the West Indies and the leadership of each missionary society were asked to outline their current educational efforts and to develop proposals for further action. The Reverend John Sterling, an Anglican clergyman who had worked in the West Indies, was asked to review the two sets of proposals and to report his conclusions to Parliament. Sterling's report emphasized the dangers that he felt were inherent in the new situation. In his view, the newly freed slaves were "demoralized below the

European standard...[and] suffering under the combined influences of their barbarian origin and their servile condition" (Gordon, 1962:21). He feared that life in the tropics presented it's own hazards, and expressed a concern that "the cheapness of land compared to labour, and the fertility of the soil, and the warm climate, may reduce them to a thoughtless inactivity". Thus, he reported to the British government on May 11, 1835 that

> About 770,000 persons have been released from slavery by the Emancipation Act, and are now in a state of rapid transition to entire freedom. The peace and prosperity of the Empire at large may be not remotely influenced by their moral condition; the care of this is in itself also a matter of grave responsibility; and lastly the opinion of the public in Britain earnestly requires a systematic provision for their mental improvement.

Sterling went on to make explicit the beleif that the problem of colonial education was analogous to that of educating the poor "at home" in Great Britain.

> ...their performance of their functions of a labouring class in a civilised community will depend entirely on the power over their minds of the same prudential and moral motives which govern more or less the mass of the people here. (ibid.)

Sterling also expressed a notion that has been an ongoing theme in discussions about West Indian education: that education represents an important defensive strategy for those who are committed to the status quo. Thus, he argued that free, but uneducated ex-slaves represented a serious threat to the future welfare of the colonists. He predicted

that without an adequate West Indian educational program,

> property will perish in the colonies for lack of human impulsion; the whites will no longer reside there; and the liberated negroes will cease to be progressive. The law having already determined and enforced their civic rights, the task of bettering their condition can be further advanced only by EDUCATION" (ibid. Emphasis in original.)

Eventually, the British government decided to allocate funds for mass education to the Church of England and several other religious denominations. So began the period of apprenticeship, and the beginnings of West Indian mass education.

The Period of Apprenticeship

The Parliament decided that the first education funds would be used to build schools, and agreed to pay up to, but no more than, two-thirds of the cost of school construction. The religious societies began to solicit their congregations for funds. The London Missionary Society made the following appeal in January of 1836:

> The circumstances of these children, whose character and habits will so greatly depend on their being either educated in the principles and duties of Christianity, or left to grow up in ignorance and vice, point out the importance of immediate and vigorous efforts to enable them to read for themselves the Holy Scriptures - the best and only sure foundation of social order, industry, and happiness. (Gordon, 1962: 25)

Thus, religious organizations capitalized upon the religious zeal and cultural expansionism that characterized Europe's "Great Awakening" (Butts, 1947; 1973).

The British government urged local legistatures to enforce compulsory education. A dispatch from the Colonial Office (October 15, 1835) argued that there could be no reasonable objection to such a mandate in a colony in which the majority of the people

> have not yet generally acquired any acquaintance with the principles and precepts of Christianity, and are,...destitute of the first elements of learning. In such cases it will be a substitution of the name for the substance of freedom if we should hold ourselves bound to acknowledge and respect amongst the Negroes the freedom to choose between knowledge and ignorance. The boon, even if not voluntarily accepted, is yet of too dear and inestimable an advantage to the individual and to the society of which he is a member not to be forced upon him, if necessary by legistlative provisions (quoted in Gordon, 1962:27).

Mass education was thus seen as essential not only to the spiritual welfare of the individual, but to the maintenance of the social order. Early decision makers firmly believed that the inclinations of the individual not only could be, but had to be ignored in the interest of the Common Good.

Jamaica, with it's 311,692 ex-slaves, received the largest grant (7500 pounds) and these funds were allocated to each of four missionary societies according to scale of their activities at the time of emancipation. But Jamaican planters showed little enthusiasm for education. Latrobe's report on educational progress in Jamaica noted that the planters were suspicious of the new system primarily because "so few of the plans hitherto set on foot embrace lessons of

labour or industry..." (Latrobe, Report on Jamaica, 19 Oct., 1837 - Gordon: 30). In spite of the planters' lack of enthusiasm, the first two years of apprenticeship witnessed substantial advances in the development of West Indian educational systems (Gordon, 1962; Latimer, 1964). By 1837, however, the problems inherent in the Grant had become apparent to its administrators. Some missionary societies were unable to continue building new schools because of the expenses involved in maintaining existing ones. Even though the Colonial Office eventually agreed to pay up to one-third of the teachers' salaries, both the Wesleyans and the CMS eventually declined further subsidies. In 1841, the government announced that it planned to gradually reduce its support of West Indian education. The Grant ended in 1845. Local legislatures were to find ways to raise funds for their own educational systems. The British citizenry, apparently convinced that the ex-slaves were financially better off (and therefore better able to pay for schooling) than were British laborers, accepted the decision without protest (Gordon, 1962: 39).

In October of 1845, the British government asked that each colonial legislature submit its plan for maintaining the provision of mass education within its jurisdiction. It urged colonial citizens to take seriously this new responsibility. As always, the establishment of mass schooling was associated not only with the moral integrity

of the student, but with the welfare of the Empire as a whole. An association between schooling and the cultivation of "industry" was also made explicit and continues to be an ongoing theme in contemporary discourse about West Indian education. Thus, the Circular Despatch (10 Oct., 1845) contained "an exhortation in Her Majesty's name" that the "Labouring Population of the several Districts"...

> make every exertion in their power to obtain instruction for themselves and their children; and that they should evince their gratitude for the blessings of freedom, by such present sacrifices for this object as shall make freedom most conducive in the end to their happiness and moral and spiritual well-being.
> ...Her Majesty cannot doubt, that if the Labouring Classes at large should be animated by the same spirit of steady and patient industry, which ought always to accompany good instruction, the boon of freedom will not have been bestowed on them in vain, but will give birth to all the fruits which Her Majesty and other well-wishers have expected from it.

Thus, unwilling and probably unable to finance mass education in the colonies, the ruling class argued that education was not so much a right as an obligation. It was the duty of each individual to seek a better life for himself and his children through education.

Education for the "Two Jamaicas"

After emancipation, the missionaries often tried to protect ex-slaves, who were easily exploited by their former masters. Planters offered extremely low wages yet charged

ex-slaves very high rents for their previous living quarters (Paget, 1964). Because the plantation economy only occupied a small part of the island, many former slaves moved to the island's hilly interior. The missionaries played an active part in acquiring and distributing land to ex-slaves [8]. Once again, the missionaries interpreted West Indian social issues within a European framework. They sought to establish a 'noble, free peasantry' and to avoid the pauperism they had witnessed in Europe by seeing to it that each family was self-sufficient.

When the sugar industry finally went into decline, the importance of the small Jamaican farmer increased. Owning land was required for political citizenship. (The 1840 Act gave the right to vote to any freeholder who was able to earn more than six pounds per year from his land.) The missionary movement to establish ex-slaves in "free villages" in Jamaica's interior thus had two (somewhat contradictory) effects. On the one hand, it made it possible for increasing numbers of black citizens to enter into the political decision making process. On the other hand, it isolated a large segment of the population from the more developed regions of the island and, in particular, from white society. Their efforts to establish ex-slaves on their own property resulted in a kind of educational bifurcation that continues to be a problem even today.

From the 1830's on, free, "colored" (creole) Jamaicans

outnumbered the whites. In 1834, there were 311,100 slaves, 45,000 free persons of color, and only 15,000 whites. But in spite of their numerical majority, creole Jamaicans were unable to do well in agricultural enterprises. Their operations were too small to compete with large plantations for external markets, and internal (local) markets were dominated by the ex-slaves who lived in the interior. As a consequence, many colored Jamaicans moved to towns, and worked as tradesmen, clerks, and shopkeepers. Colored Jamaicans came to value education as an important means by which to enhance their status. Ironically, they often sought an education that emphasized classical subjects, even though such training had little relevance to the kinds of occupations available to them. They perceived (accurately) that education was necessary for upward mobility [9], but they also knew that only certain kinds of learning really "counted". As Foner explains,

> ...proficiency in these [classical] subjects provided them with a claim to status and possible preferment for the few prestigious civil service and professional posts available; an individual who knew Latin, Greek, and philosophy, would, it was hoped, be deemed worthy and able by the whites. (1973:43)

As will be discussed later, popular demand for academic rather than technical training continues to be an important political "problem" even today. On the one hand, white collar jobs are often scarce in developing nations; on the

other hand, the people who manage to obtain such jobs are rewarded with high social status and income. In a society that believes in the ideal of equality of opportunity through education, competition for limited educational opportunities will probably continue to be a part of Jamaican life for some time to come.

The Crown Colony Period

Eventually, as the sugar industry declined, the political strength of black Jamaicans grew. The second half of the 19th century saw a substantial amount of civil unrest. In Jamaica, the Morant Bay riot of 1865 forced the British to dissolve the Constitution and to establish Crown Colony Government in Jamaica. Unrest resulting from high taxation and massive unemployment was amplified by the impassioned speeches of George Gordon, a colored ex-slave, who spoke for the rights of the "common man" in Jamaica. The Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, Underhill, also supported the cause and protested to the Colonial Secretary. The rebellion that followed was, in Furley's words, "a small affair", but was punished in an "excessively harsh" manner by British authorities (1965:240-241). The year 1865 was the year in which the rule of the "plantocracy" was relinquished to the Crown. The Jamaican legislature was dissolved, and Crown colony government was established.

The power of the Governor greatly increased with the establishment of Crown Colony government in 1866. One of the consequences of this governmental change was that the State began to focus more attention on education. Denominational schools were supervised by a government agency. The first government primary schools were built in 1885, and school fees were eliminated. Primary schools, together with the churches and courts, sought to establish a common set of values, values that stressed the importance of "Christianity, of education, respect for the law...the need for moral upliftment, and the importance of using proper language; all factors which emphasized not only the de facto power of the Europeans but also the superiority of English culture" (Smith, 1967: 235). Education was once again used as a "defensive strategy," a means to keep the masses in order. Quoting Foner once again,

> Those who went to primary school learned there that the "admirable man" followed a life style similar to that of the English elite, was white - or light skinned - and had acquired English cultural traits. They were taught that this image could be attained...by success in the educational system...This was tempered by the idea that as descendants of black farmers they were best suited to agricultural work, and that only a few exceptional children could succeed in the educational system and advance occupationally. (1973: 40-41)

Many of the variations in emphasis on purely academic instruction (vs. industrial and technical training) that exist in Jamaican schools today can be traced to 19th

century beliefs about the nature of a "good" (economically useful) education.

In 1885 the franchise was extended to those who held only a little education and a small amount of property. Gradually, the numbers of non-white representatives in the Legislative Council grew. At the end of the 19th century, fewer Europeans were moving to the island to fill civil-service positions, and the Colonial office needed trained people to staff its new welfare programs. But in spite of the expansion of secondary schooling that took place during the first half of the twentieth century, mobility-through-education remained very limited for rural Jamaicans. Colonial officials were concerned about preserving the strength of the agricultural sector, and did not want to "spoil" rural Jamaicans for agricultural work on the estates. As a consequence, educational planners did not create programs that might allow rural students to become "upwardly mobile".

One of the primary ways in which lower-class children were able to obtain occupational advancement was by entering the teaching profession. The children of the more affluent farmers, shopkeepers, and tradesmen often worked as student teachers in local schools. Eventually, such students managed to pass the teacher certification examinations, and became full-fledged teachers. Although this afforded upward mobility for a small number of rural residents, it tended to

lower the quality of education in rural schools. The basic features of Jamaican mass education were established before the turn of the century and few major changes occurred until the end of the Second World War. The next section examines some "new" issues that have emerged during the last few decades.

Jamaican Education Since Independence

Although free elementary education was made available by 1892, secondary education (which had always required that the student's family pay a fee) remained a problem for Jamaica's poor. Then, in the early 1970's, free places and free grants-in-aid places were awarded for secondary school students in Jamaica. In 1973, 4084 free places were provided; only 7 years later this number had risen to 8766.

Education has become a concern for both of Jamaica's major political parties. Each party seems to view education as a legitimate, visible route to economic and social progress. The members of Jamaica's new elite often express "two long-held conceptions: not everyone can succeed in the educational system; those who do succeed are worthy of respect, because in a society without formal restrictions on entering university or secondary school, success is based on ability" (Foner,ibid.:46). Thus, in 1969 Michael Manley explained that equality means "that the society must be so designed...that every man will start with an equal chance",

and that such a society requires "an educational system that puts all the children in one stream where they can compete equally for the benefits of the educational system" (The Daily Gleaner, June 5).

This emphasis on "equality of opportunity" is a relatively recent development in Jamaican political discourse. It has focused a great deal of attention on educational policy and has resulted in efforts to reduce the differences in quality between urban and rural schools. But this has put decision makers in a quandary because there simply are not enough "middle class" jobs available in Jamaica for all those who aspire to them. Thus, even though the government has built a number of new primary schools, invested heavily in teacher training facilities, revised the curriculum to contain more West Indian content, increased the literacy rate, and even created government-sponsored "basic schools" for children under the age of six, it has not been able to achieve economic prosperity.

Junior secondary schools have been created to provide advanced training for those students who are unable to reach the standards of admission for traditional (academic) secondary school training [10]. The government has also tried to remove some of the biases that favored the children of the affluent. But the system remains a highly competitive one. Only primary school children who are able to do well on the Common Entrance Examination are awarded

the free places or scholarships that make it possible for them to attend secondary schools [11].

Many Jamaican citizens still prefer academic (as opposed to technical and/or agricultural) training for their children. As this chapter has shown, bias against "manual" occupations has a long history in Jamaica. Jamaican citizens believe (correctly) that those who manage to obtain higher levels of formal schooling are rewarded with greater economic security, social status, political power, and self-esteem. Thus, as in earlier centuries, educational policy makers continue to be plagued with the question of how increasingly limited educational resources should be distributed. Jamaica's Minister of Education in 1969 explained the problem this way:

> The educational policies of the present government were designed to give citizens an opportunity to occupy the highest, most lucrative, dignified, and influential positions in the land. The reaching of these levels, however, depends on your ability and personality...If I felt that the educational policies I am implementing meant that because the father of a child is a cane cutter or a street sweeper that that child must aim at rising no higher than a cane cutter or street sweeper, I would resign immediately...Not that I disrespect cane cutters or street sweepers. I respect those persons but the educational system must provide for the children of the poorest parentage to become the great members of the society. (From an address to the students of a prestigious secondary school, quoted in The Daily Gleaner, November 12.)

This statement expresses a sincere belief that education can provide citizens with a way to achieve a better life. At

the same time, it also makes explicit the notion that manual occupations - particularly unskilled manual occupations - are something to be overcome rather than accepted [12]. The children of the lower classes must be given an equal chance to rise above their humble origins. And yet, the Minister also argues that educational achievement depends "upon your ability and personality". He expresses the belief that educational achievement reflects internal factors (the individual's innate abilities and willingness to work hard), rather than complex cultural patterns. As in the 19th century, the "blame" for failing to do well in the system is placed on the individual rather than the system itself.

Conclusion

Jamaica's educational system had its origins in the work of the missionaries who came to the West Indies in the 18th and early 19th centuries. The history of education in Jamaica shows some important continuities that can be traced back nearly two centuries. Because those who have had to make decisions about how education would be carried out in the West Indies have, until quite recently, always been "visitors" from abroad, educational decision makers have often viewed Jamaica's social and educational problems as though they were analogous to the European situation. They have often employed the same methods and materials that were used for the education of Great Britain's "labouring

classes", and did not, until recently, make any attempt to tailor the curriculum to suit the West Indian situation.

The missionaries who came to Jamaica from abroad had a "mixed" impact on Jamaican society. Although they solved some difficult social problems, they created others. On the one hand, they were soley responsible for whatever education the slaves received prior to emancipation and for many of the years thereafter. On the other hand, because they helped ex-slaves to establish themselves in the interior, they helped to create the problem of the "Two Jamaicas", a problem which continues to be a serious concern even today.

Jamaican primary schools still maintain many of the pedagogical features that were employed during the colonial era: an emphasis on recitation and memorization, frequent religious devotions, the use of corporal punishment, and an orientation toward "abstract" rather than "concrete" teaching and evaluation methods. Just as the educational planners of a century ago stressed the need for Jamaican education to provide agricultural training for rural students, so today political leaders call for more vocational and industrial training in the classroom. And yet, as they did a century ago, Jamaican parents still realize that their children will not be able to get the "best" jobs without attending secondary schools. They know, too, that their children must be able to pass an <u>academic</u> examination in order to gain admission to secondary schools.

As always, members of the elite send their children to schools that give them a distinct advantage over the children of the poor. Those who attend preparatory schools (which charge tuition) are simply better prepared academically than those who go to government-sponsored (free) schools. But as this chapter has shown, schools located in Jamaica's interior are the product of a long history of social oppression. Substantial differences between rural and urban "common" schools remain. Ever since emancipation, Jamaican leaders have promoted education as something that will help to "preserve the social order". Today, many policy makers view economic development as the key to Jamaica's future social welfare, and they almost universally see tourism as one of Jamaica's only hopes of achieving economic prosperity. And yet, as we have already seen, tourists, like missionaries, bring "mixed" consequences for host societies. The next chapter outlines some theoretical models that have implications for the analysis of both tourism and schooling as societal institutions.

Notes

1. Four Moravian missionaries came to Jamaica in 1754. The Methodists came to the island in 1789, followed by the Scottish Missionary Society in 1800, and the English Baptists in 1814. The Baptist Church was formed in 1784 by American Negroes who had been brought to Jamaica by loyalist refugees from the United States. The planters were generally less hostile toward the Moravian missionaries than other sects. (Foner, 1973: 38; see also Furley, 1965b)

2. See Taylor, 1975 on the origins and history of the Jamaican hospitality industry.

3. For example, Jamaica College (now in Hope) began as a free school in the St. Ann courthouse in 1795. It was sponsored by a bequest for the education of eight poor boys and four poor girls who lived in the parish of St. Ann. Wolmer's school was founded even earlier, in 1736.

4. For example, Furley, 1965a,b

5. Compare Booker T. Washington's autobiographical account of the "moral imperatives" that were imposed upon people of color by the white majority after Emancipation in the United States - Up From Slavery (1901, 1963) NY: Doubleday.

6. See, however, Reckford, 1968, and Rooke, 1978b.

7. There were only a few exceptions to this general rule. For example, an Independent, LMS missionary, John Wray, wrote a catechism specifically for slaves. It includes a section on "Duties of Servants and Slaves to their Masters and Mistresses and Managers" which provides a kind of religious justification for the slaves' non-optional subserviance. Wray taught reading to slaves in Berbice as early as 1813 via the "Lancastrian Plan" (see Rooke, 1978a:370-371).

8. The Baptists helped ex-slaves become landowners by purchasing land in many parts of the island. By 1842, they had created 150-200 free villages (Paget, 1964; Foner, 1973:39). These new settlers engaged in subsistance farming and earned cash by working on nearby estates.

9. According to Furley (1965b), "After emancipation, education became a great racial 'leveller',. A child of any colour, if he was lucky enough to get to school, could fight his way up to the leadership class, and more and more Negroes and Coloureds were able to do this as the nineteenth century wore on, winning full civil rights for themselves in the process (232).

10. In the early 70's, the World Bank financed the building of fifty new junior secondary schools. The schools provided "special curricula" and "included the concept of work-study" (Black, 1983:138).

11. Until recently, the Common Entrance examination was given to children at the age of "11 plus". This system has now been replaced by a system that emphasizes, at least in principle, "corrective feedback" for students prior to the time that they take the examination (which is now given not at 11 plus, but at the age of 15.

12. The minister's statement reflects concerns that have long been part of the discourse on minority education in the United States. For example, Booker T. Washington fought to establish trade schools and manual training institutions for black Americans. He firmly believed that minority groups should <u>not</u> seek reform through political action, but should work instead to attain full economic equality with whites. In contrast, W.E.B. DuBois feared that too much emphasis on industrial education represented a threat to social progress for minority group members.

> It is the fashion of today...to say that with freedom Negro leadership should have begun at the plow and not in the Senate - a foolish and mischievous lie;...two-hundred and fifty years more the half-free serf of to-day may toil at his plow, but unless he have political rights and righteously guarded civic status, he will remain the poverty-stricken and ignorant plaything of rascals, that he now is. (1903, 1969:389)

DuBois articulated the view that Negro education should not be limited to technical training. Education, in his view, should produce "men", not (just) "artisans". He rested his argument on the belief that no nation has ever been civilized "from the bottom upward", and affirmed that

> it is, ever was, and ever will be from the top downward that culture filters. The Talented Tenth rises and pulls all that are worth the saving up to their vantage ground. This is the history of human progress. (ibid., 390)

While DuBois accepted the fact that all people cannot go to college, he fought to preserve the liberal arts as the foundation of education for "The Talented Tenth".

Chapter Four

THEORIES OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION, NATIONAL INTEGRATION, MODERNIZATION, AND NEOCOLONIALISM

Over the past few decades, most sociostructural theorists have operated within one of two contrasting paradigms (Paulston, 1976:7). Those who work within the "equilibrium" paradigm emphasize the cumulative, evolutionary nature of social (and educational) change. In contrast, those who work within the "conflict" paradigm hold that social systems are inherently unstable, and that "progress" is neither cumulative nor trans-cultural.

Early equilibrium theorists, like Durkheim, Parsons, Steward, and White, sought to uncover the basic organic principals that govern societal change. For example, Durkheim argued that educational researchers ought to try to discover the "generic types of education which correspond to the different types of societies". Having discovered these basic types of educational systems, researchers ought to "seek out the conditions on which each of them [has] depended, and how they emerged from one another. One would thus obtain the laws which govern the evolution of systems of education" (Durkheim, 1956:95-98, cited in Paulston, 1976:8). More recently, a number of theorists have tried to relate educational change to social evolution. Within this broad theoretical domain, two theories of educational change seem especially relevant to this investigation:

Cohen's State/Schooling and Cultural Evolution models, and Inkeles' Modernization Theory.

Social Evolution and National Integration

As discussed in Chapter One, Cohen (1971) argues that formal schooling has historically been associated with the rise of nation-states within civilizational networks. He holds that national systems of education make it possible for the State to ensure the competence and cultural loyalty of the elite, inculcate a sense of national identity, encourage the adoption of universalistic values, and provide a religious and ideological justification for centralized authority. In Cohen's view, schools are adaptive mechanisms that are an inevitable consequence of social evolution.

For Cohen, societal change is invariably a consequence not of internal forces, but of extra-societal ones. In "A Theory and Model of Social Change and Evolution" (1983), he argues that in all societies, the individuals who interact with outsiders (ie., with those who belong to other cultural groups) are the most likely to bring about social change. By implication, those who have frequent contact with "foreigners" form a kind of elite whose members require an education that differs from the one that members of the "inside" culture receive. Cohen refers to those individuals who interact with outsiders as "boundary role players".

The terms "boundary-role player" and "boundary culture" were first used by Robert Murphy (1964). Murphy observed that almost all societies are dependent upon other societies. He believed that the common area or interface between cultures represents a distinct social entity. In Cohen's words, the boundary culture (as well as the non-boundary or "inside" culture) is comprised of "the harnessed energy, institutions, modes of thought, ideologies, and the total range of customary behavior characterizing those who share it" (1983: 169). Boundary cultural activities include not only international trade activities, but also "warfare, mobilizations of labor in other habitats, exchanges of information and knowledge among the members of different societies, and combinations of these" (Cohen, ibid.). But, Cohen goes on,

> ...relations between societies do not occur by themselves, like two masses of air. Instead, they are mediated by designated individuals whose boundary-cultural roles are ordinarily highly specialized and differentiated...In the modern industrial world they are representatives of multi- or transnational corporations and of agencies of interdependent national entities. Additionally, there are individuals who mediate relations among groups within societies...(ibid., 169-170)

Thus, in Cohen's view, those individuals who help to promote the exchange of goods, capital, and information across national boundaries play a unique role in all societies; the "boundary community" provides the key to understanding the

mechanisms that bring about social evolution.

> There is a striking, albeit prosaic fact of all social and cultural life; it underlies all adaptive or evolutionary change: Because every group lives in a milieu lacking some necessities - or what are perceived as necessities - that are available in other habitats, the flow of imported goods and resources that supplements those available in the group's own habitat may be regarded as a society's lifeblood. It is carried by external trade or other means of exchange, which is the society's jugular.

Cohen's model makes it clear that societies cannot afford to become isolated from the outside world. Although he does not use the term "entropy", the concept is implicit in his analysis:

> Exclusive reliance on locally available resources, goods, and skills immobilizes a group's technological development at the level of the products in its own milieu...the viability of every social unit rests on its maintenance of open boundaries...[Therefore,] transformations within a culture are products of activities conducted by some of a society's members <u>outside</u> the unit's boundaries (<u>ibid</u>.: 167-168. Emphasis in original.)

Thus, Cohen holds that <u>all</u> cultural change is a consequence of the activities carried out by boundary role players. In his words, "evolutionary changes in organizations of social relations are <u>exogenic</u>" (<u>ibid</u>., 164. Emphasis added.).

Cohen's neo-evolutionary model provides a useful framework within which to view situations in which different cultures come into contact (as when tourists interact with "natives"). When applied to the present investigation, the model would predict that children attending schools located

in tourism-dependent areas (as well as the children of parents who work for multi-national corporations) should manifest distinct patterns of cultural transmission (ie., socialization). Because such children live within boundary communities, they might, for example, reveal a greater degree of commitment to the nation-state, or show a distinctive sense of national identity [1]. Cohen hints at only a few of the possible psychological consequences of cultural evolution for those who are at its cutting edge. A more extensive investigation of the consequences of "becoming modern" has been carried out by Alex Inkeles and his associates.

The Modernization Process

Modernization theorists assume that societies fall within two contrasting categories: traditional and modern. The modernization process involves the gradual transformation of traditional, undifferentiated, static societies into modern, highly differentiated, bureaucratic, dynamic ones. As noted in Chapter One, Inkeles and his associates believe that people learn to be modern "by incorporating within themselves the principles which are embedded in the organizational practices of the institutions in which they live and work" (1983:20). Thus, factory work, exposure to bureaucratic organizations, participation in agricultural cooperatives and, especially, school attendance

have all been empirically associated with psychological modernity (Inkeles & Smith, 1974; Inkeles, 1983).

For Inkeles, becoming modern has two aspects: an "external" component that involves "urbanization, education, mass communication, industrialization, and politicization" (ibid.:33) and a complex web of psychological traits. A partial list of these traits appears below. According to Inkeles and his associates (1983), modern people are more

a) open to change and innovation

b) opinionated; and more "differentiated and democratic" about differences of opinion

c) oriented toward the present and future (not the past)

d) optimistic that man can dominate the environment

e) likely to have a strong sense of "personal efficacy"

f) confident in the "calculability", lawfulness, and manageablility of people and institutions; better at planning

g) prone to believe that reward should be proportionate to skill and performance (i.e., distributive justice)

h) inclined to value education

i) aware of and respectful of the dignity of other people

j) interested in acquiring consumer goods rather than in being frugal

Modernization theorists hold that the values and psychological patterns that characterize traditional societies are both an indicator of and a continuing cause of underdevelopment. In order for development to come about,

the people of a nation must learn to become (more) modern. Inkeles' framework specifies some of the ways in which children who attend rural schools might be expected to differ from those who go to school in more urbanized settings [2]. In reference to this investigation, the model suggests that children who live in tourism-dependent communities should differ from rural children along the dimensions listed above.

Both Cohen and Inkeles have developed models that emphasize cultural evolution and the mechanisms by which societies maintain social equilibrium. In contrast, social conflict theorists hold a very different set of assumptions about the nature of social change.

Critical Theory, Reproduction, and Resistance

Social conflict theorists reject the notion that social systems are self-regulating mechanisms. They also deny the desirability of social equilibrium and are critical of the liberal's attempts to obtain more "harmonious" relationships between social subsystems. "Critical theorists" argue that the "main functions of schools are the reproduction of the dominant ideology, its forms of knowledge, and the distribution of skills needed to reproduce the social division of labor" (Girioux, 1983: 259-60). Thus, from this viewpoint, schools are not (as equilibrium theorists assume) a means to cultural evolution or an indicator of social

progress, but are "central agencies in the politics and processes of domination" (ibid.: 260).

Conflict theorists view formal education as part of an ideological structure that makes it possible for ruling elites to maintain power over the masses. They link schooling to economic production and its accompanying social relations, and view educational inequities as forms of differential socialization that shape the workforce to meet the needs of the State (Apple, 1971, 1979; Bowles & Gintis, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977)[3]. Thus, as part of a much wider system of domination, schools expose children to a "hidden curriculum" that serves to maintain rather than reduce social and class stratification. Bourdieu, for example, argues that social inequities are partly reproduced and mediated through a process of "symbolic violence" whereby a ruling elite "impose[s] a definition of the social world that is consistent with its interests" through an implicit exercise of "symbolic power" (1979: 30). Through this process, young people come to believe that "the economic and political interests of the dominant classes are not arbitrary and historically contingent, but [are] necessary and natural elements of the social order" (Girioux, 1983: 267).

In recent years, neo-Marxist analyses have demonstrated increasing respect for the "autonomy" of individuals and institutions. Apple, Girioux, and many others have called

for more intensive, case-study analyses of "counterhegemonic" phenomena. Studies of "resistance" suggest that those who work in schools, and those who attend them, are not the "pawns" that were posited by earlier theoretical models (Apple,1982; Girioux,1983). Another group of conflict theorists have argued that the patterns of belief characterizing individuals who live in developing regions are best understood within a historical and global context, as will be discussed next.

Dependency and Neocolonialism

Dependency theories focus on the way in which radical imbalances of power between developed and underdeveloped nations are perpetuated by social institutions that have their origins in the colonial world system of the 18th and 19th centuries. Dependency theorists view traditional and modern cultures not as two phases of human development, but as consequences of a world-wide economic system. According to this view, the economic and social problems that characterize the Third World are a consequence of First World capitalist social relations (Arnove, 1980; Friedman, 1983). In the 20th century, former colonial relationships have been replaced by equally exploitative, "neocolonial" ones. Hence, dependency theorists argue that Third World poverty must be viewed within a global context and cannot be explained by internal factors alone.

The dependency thesis was first proposed by Lenin in the ninteenth century. The theory later re-emerged among Latin American scholars in the 1950's and was promoted by A.G. Frank in North America and Europe during the following decade (Frank, 1967). Economic dependency theory maintains that poor countries have been made poorer because of foreign capital investments. Foreigners have invested in agricultural and mining enterprises rather than manufacturing. As a result, developing nations have had to import products at costs that exceed profits made on exported natural resources. This has made it impossible for Third World countries to accumulate capital and has led to economic "underdevelopment". McLean has summarized some of the social implications of the dependency thesis.

> Metropolitan capitalist interests operated in each peripheral country through the medium of a national bourgeoisie. The latter exploited the labour of the mass of the mainly rural population through semi-feudal relationships. Such arrangements helped foreign capitalists to control and export surpluses and they used their influence to maintain the power of local elites. The national bourgeoisie identified culturally with the metropolis rather than with the mass of the population. These cultural links strengthened metropolitan influence yet intensified the socio-political division between the elite and the majority. (1983:21)

The theory, McLean notes, helps to explain why Third World countries have remained "poor, agricultural and traditional at a time when there has been growth in the developed industrial countries and increasing economic links between

the rich and poor nations" (ibid.:21). Conflict theory acknowledges the importance of one segment of the population (the bourgeoisie), but unlike equilibrium theory, it holds that elite groups bring about increased oppression and class stratification rather than social "progress".

Educational dependency theorists have applied economic dependency contructs to the educational domain. Most notable among these theorists are Martin Carnoy (1974) and Altbach and Kelly (1978). These writers note that poor countries often depend upon more developed countries for educational training, materials, and practices. Through these resources a "metropolitan" value system is transferred to the recipient country.

> Money determines the path of educational development, and that money comes in part from outside the nation. This has meant that school texts, books, curriculum, language of instruction, and even school teachers, are imported from abroad and are accountable not primarily to the parents of students or to Third World nations but in part to either the United States, French, Soviet, Dutch, or British governments or the Ford, Rockefeller, or Carnegie foundations. (Kelly and Altbach, 1978: 41).

Even though many former colonial powers have granted independence to their colonies, they have not relinquished all of their control. The patterns of training, cultural expectations, and elitism that characterized colonial education remain. Third World countries cannot change their educational systems substantially without risking "major

social revolution" because the citizenry of these nations associate education with upward mobility (Kelly and Altbach, 1978:41). Nor can they afford to generate their own educational resources. As a consequence, they find themselves dependent upon developed countries (and often their former colonizer). Local elites become alientated from the masses because they tend to identify with the metropolitan world view. As a result, the cultural gap between the upper and the lower classes widens.

Altbach and Kelly (1978) view this stratification process as an outcome of colonial education. In colonial societies the schooling provided to natives was invariably of lower quality than that of the colonizer. Further, post-primary education was located in metropolitan areas only, and access was effectively controlled by means of entrance examinations. Indigenous students were placed at a disadvantage both by the use of a non-native language of instruction and by a curriculum that often emphasized practical, work-related skills rather than academic subjects. As a result, schooling limited the ability of such students to acquire the academic credentials necessary for economic success in the workplace. As Cogan explains,

> Even when colonized learners were able to break from this bondage and achieve some secondary schooling, or in rare cases even some higher learning, they found little opportunity for entrance into the desired sectors of work and production, for the most desirable positions had already been secured by the educated

> Europeans...The colonizer controlled all facets of colonial education from the structure and content of schooling to the jobs people could achieve if they did manage to scale the system. Education under colonialism degraded the indigenous people's own heritage and at the same time denied access to the benefits of the metropolitan system. (1982a:172).

Cogan (1982a,b) and others (Foner, 1973; Brock, 1982, 1985; Watson et.al., 1982) have traced many of the educational problems that confront Third World decision makers to the initial patterns that were set in place under colonialism.

> One of the primary problems in the neocolonial relationship is the difficulty of breaking with past patterns of behavior...most difficult to deal with is the social-class stratification imposed on the colonized and designed to afford power, status, and privilege to the colonizer at the expense of the colonized. Colonial education has served as one of the vehicles for maintaining class structure. (Cogan, 1982a: 170)

In reference to this investigation, the conflict theorist would point out that during Jamaica's colonial period, the children of wealthy landowners were sent to schools that resembled the "metropolitan" schools of Europe. In Jamaica, as elsewhere, schooling and status maintenance have always been closely related. "Common" children attended primary schools that taught them to admire and value English ways and to believe that schooling would bring about upward mobility for those who deserved it (Foner, 1973: 40). But the "common schools" of colonized nations are invariably inferior to those of the elite, and often

stress practical, labor-related subjects rather than academic training. This "curriculum of subjugation" made education an unlikely route to upward mobility (Foner, 1973). Today, a similar dichotomy exists between Jamaica's elite preparatory schools (attended by about 10% of its primary school students) and the government-sponsored school system which trains the majority of the nation's young (Murray, 1984).

The social conflict model (like the equilibrium model) would predict differences between urban and rural students, but would attribute these differences to long-standing economic differences rather than to the rural population's lack of exposure to modern lifeways. Thus, rather than focusing his or her attention on differences in national integration or psychological modernity, a conflict theorist would seek evidence for varying degrees of psychological and cultural dependence on metropolitan values and resources within these two populations.

Conclusion

This chapter has described two very different paradigmatic approaches to the study of education and development in the Third World. One approach assumes that all cultures embody an inherent tendency to evolve toward increasing levels of social and institutional complexity. Advocates of this approach argue that the various segments

of a culture comprise an integrated system of sub-parts, each of which helps the society achieve a state of equilibrium, a state that is, from this point of view, both natural and desireable. Such advocates often view schooling as an "adaptive mechanism", one of the ways in which a society can be made to "work better". Within this framework, the needs of the individual are often assumed to be closely linked to the needs of the system-at-large.

While conflict theorists do not deny the existence of psychological differences between modern and traditional societies, or those that might exist between upper and lower class (or urban and rural) students, they suggest that these differences need to be interpreted within a "contextualized", non-ethnocentric framework. For example, a conflict theorist might accept the notion that urban students are more "universalistic" in orientation than rural students [5], but s/he would then go on to ask what role the school might have played in imparting this way of viewing the social world to the child, and who (i.e., which societal groups) stand to benefit from his or her adoption of a universalistic world view.

If we accept the notion that schooling does not necessarily always promote social welfare (i.e., social equality, individual employability, national development), it becomes clear that educational researchers need to move beyond macroscopic studies of schooling and develop research

agendas directed toward the microcultural level of analysis. Such studies might include the study of everyday classroom life, the impact of particular economic factors on schooling, and the "subjective" expectations and interpretations of those whose lives are affected by economic and institutional policies over which they have little control [4]. This investigation approaches the question of how tourism might affect the lives of Jamaican schoolchildren from this point of view. In order to achieve this end, the study utilizes research questions derived from both equilibrium theory and social conflict theory.

Thus, one of the central questions under investigation is derived from Cohen's Model of Social Evolution - *i.e.*, how might tourism affect Jamaica's schools and schoolchildren? In particular, do children who live in close proximity to tourism appear to be more "integrated" into the nation-state than rural children? Are they more patriotic? Do their classrooms contain more nation-oriented symbolic "messages"? Do they, perhaps, tend to view their nation within the broader, international context to a greater degree than rural children? The study also investigates the extent to which Jamaican classroom environments reveal varying levels of "national integration" (Johnson, 1985; Safa, 1971), and employs the concept of psychological modernity as both a conceptual and an interpretive framework.

In addition to this set of equilibrium paradigm research questions, the study also explores a number of questions derived from the social conflict perspective. From this perspective, the relevant issue is whether the processes of neocolonialism, center-periphery, and cultural dependency have tangible referents either in the schoolroom, or in the perspectives of the study's participants. For example, do private, preparatory school classrooms contain more materials manufactured in industrialized nations or more symbolic materials that convey "neocolonialistic" messages? Do preparatory school students idealize First World media figures or show interest in "foreign" consumer goods and/or cultural productions (television programs, movies, music) to a greater degree than government school students? In other words, do their attitudes reveal a greater degree of "dependency" on metropolitan values, role models, products, and art forms? Do tourism-area children hold attitudes and beliefs that serve the interests of a metropolitan elite - an elite that owns, promotes. and controls the tourism industry?

Thus, the study makes use of insights gleaned from two very different paradigms, and from three sociostructural theories of education. But the road that leads from theory to empirical inquiry is one fraught both technical and ethical complexities. This is because all social theories carry with them a set of ideological assumptions, and this,

in turn, has important implications for those who do empirical work in developing nations. The next chapter begins with a discussion of some of these implications, and then describes the data collection procedures used in the investigation.

Notes

1. See, for example, Helen Safa's "Education, Modernization, and the Process of National Integration," in M. Wax et. al. (Eds.) Anthropological Perspectives on Education (1971).

2. Much of the empirical work that has been done on the children of Third World countries has been anchored to this paradigmatic framework. See, for example, V. Rubin and M. Zavalloni's We wish to be Looked Upon (1969).

3. In contrast, see A. Inkeles (1969) on "Socialization for Competence." Harvard Educational Review 36 (3): 265-283.

4. See Foley (1977) and Masemann (1982) for discussions of the advantages of ethnographic methods in comparative research.

5. i.e., Dreeben (1967) "The Contribution of Schooling to the Learning of Norms", Harvard Educational Review 37 (2): 211-237.

Chapter Five

THE DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

The purpose of this chapter is twofold: to discuss some of the theoretical and empirical concerns that have guided the design of this work, and to provide an overview of the procedures used during the data collection process. The first part of the chapter presents some concerns that need to be taken into consideration by those who choose to do research in the West Indies. The second part of the chapter provides an overview of the research methods and tools that were employed in the investigation and describes the school populations that were its focus.

Research in the West Indies: Theoretical and Empirical Concerns

Sociostructural theorists of education - whether they emphasize social equilibrium (like Cohen and Inkeles), or the conflicts that result from inequitable power relations between people and nations (like Altbach and Kelly) - share an interest in the study of education as a social institution. The great strength of their approach to education lies in it's contextualism. Sociostructural theorists view formal education as part of a complex network in which the policies and practices of all component institutions are systematically interrelated. As a

consequence, the approach tends to be more "holistic" than alternative approaches - almost all of which have emerged within an intellectual tradition that has assumed rather than explored the reality of psychological individualism. Non-structural theories invariably place the locus of culture within the individual. Structural theories avoid this bias, but sometimes err in the other direction by placing the locus of culture within an abstraction (i.e., "society", "economic structure", "class", "modes of production"). Thus, the great strengths of the structural approach - contextualism and holism - are associated with it's great weaknesses: ethnocentrism and epistemological (though not philosophical) idealism [1]. This section reviews some of these shortcomings and discusses some of the implications for those who plan to do research in the Caribbean.

In a review of six recent books on the Caribbean, Aaron Segal concludes that ideological bias has had a negative impact on Caribbean research by restricting the focus of investigation to a limited number of topics.

> The one-sidedness [of Caribbean research] results in seeing these societies in terms of class, international migration, foreign private investment, dependency, imperialism, neocolonialism and related labels. Utterly missing are religion, popular culture, gender, fertility, science and technology, language, and other variables consigned by Marxists to the "superstructure" and derived from economic determinism. Can we be so sure that religion and sex do not matter in understanding the Caribbean?

(Segal, 1984:30)

Segal believes that radical Caribbean scholars are guilty not only of unbalanced presentations and biased research, but they also tend to "shun empirical research in favor of inventing or borrowing labels". As he puts it, "The hard work of research based on data generation has been replaced by armchair theorizing in which facts may be irrelevant" (ibid.).

Clearly, the macroscopic view afforded by sociostructural theories can provide the researcher with a useful starting point. But social scientists who have studied developing societies at the micro-cultural level of analysis have found that people who are confronted with "external" economic and social forces do not react to them in a uniform, passive manner (Smith, 1977b; Nash, 1981; Cogan, 1982b; Friedman, 1983. For a discussion of methodological implications see Foley, 1977; J. Nash, 1981; and Massemann, 1982). For example, Friedman's study of tourism in St. Lucia led him to conclude that individual responses to an extra-locally controlled tourism industry were

> based on their particular circumstances as well as their common position in export economies or, in the case of St. Lucia, in an economy dependent on tourism. There are no single, uniform responses to conditions imposed from outside forces. Rather, the variety of local conditions generates a variety of responses to forces which may lie outside the reach or control of individuals. In St. Lucia, people respond rather creatively to outside forces in a multitude of ways. (1983: 8)

Gordon Lewis has argued along similar lines, calling for "much more work on the daily work experience in factory, farm, co-operative, school, and business office...[and on] a whole new generation shaped...by US-oriented mass media" (1981: 45-46). Lewis concludes his discussion of "what we should study in the Caribbean in the 80's with the following words:

> There is a type of Caribbean scholarship that sees slavery but not the slave; imperialism but not the emancipated...we need to hear more of the reports of the victims themselves of the general system. And we need to hear more of it in their own rich street idiom and less of it as we filter it through the social sciences academic jargon, in which frequently obscurity is mistaken for profundity (ibid.:48)

The preceding analysis suggests that the most productive approaches to the study of social institutions in the West Indies will incorporate both macrocultural and microcultural levels of analysis. The long range goal of such research efforts should be to "link the study of individual actions and behaviors to the set of constraints or inducements which so often influence the form of these actions" (Friedman, 1983: 8). In order to achieve this end, researchers must

> a) employ data collection procedures and interpretive schemes that are as free as possible from implicit assumptions about the nature of progress, development, etc.

b) avoid the use of a single theoretical approach as the SOLE interpretive schema used in data collection and analysis and,

c) collect concrete, representative, and comprehensive data about the everyday lives of the people who comprise their research "sample".

These, then, are some of the general axioms that have guided the design and implementation of this study. The next section discusses the design itself and the methods used in its execution.

Field Entry and Sample Selection

The government schools that took part in the study were selected with the assistance of several members of the (now closed) North Regional Office of the Jamaican Ministry of Education. Access to the parochial school was obtained independently by the researcher. All of the schools in the sample were located in the Parish of St. Ann, in the north central region of the island. A brief description of each school is provided below. Information about parental and primary caretaker occupations was obtained from the principal of each school and should be regarded as informal rather than "official" data. Enrollment, capacity, and attendance figures are from a Jamaican Ministry of Education Directory of Educational Institutions for the 1983-1984 school year (JME, 1985).

The small, tourism-area school: School ST (i.e., the "small, tourism-area school") is located within one of Jamaica's highly developed tourism areas. Most of the parents of the children who attend this school are employed directly or indirectly by the tourism industry (as housekeepers, room attendants, shop clerks, groundskeepers, hotel guards, taxi drivers, etc.). Many parents are unemployed because of "poor business" in the hotels. Seasonal unemployment is very common. A few parents work as fishermen and some make craft items.

School ST was built to hold 250 students and employs eleven teachers. Between 1983 and 1984 its average enrollment was 434; its average daily attendance was 278. A new school building has been built nearby (on the school's grounds) and was scheduled to open in 1987.

As will be discussed in Chapter Seven, one of the unique attributes of School ST was the abundance of nationalistic, patriotic, and "motivational" symbolic material present in the school's classrooms

The large, tourism-area school: School LT is the largest of the schools that took part in the study. The school's average daily attendance was 1,636, considerably above its capacity of 1,150 . The school's average enrollment was 2,060. Forty-four teachers are employed at the school.

The school is located in a major, "urban" tourism center on the coast. A number of international hotel chains have built hotels in the area, and the school's community is heavily dependent on mass tourism. The town is densely populated and housing is expensive and "scarce". Many of the parents of the children attending LT are employed directly or indirectly by the tourism industry (as were the parents of students in School ST). Other parents work as clerical workers, tradesmen, and as construction workers. Seasonal and long-term unemployment are a problem for the community in which this school is located.

Although classrooms are very crowded at the school, the school has achieved what one education officer described as a "fine reputation" for producing a large number of common entrance examination "passes".

The small, rural-area school: The smaller of the two rural schools in the sample, school SR, is also the most geographically remote. The nearest town is several miles away and only rarely do tourists pass through the area. Most of the parents of SR students are farmers or agricultural workers; some work as domestic helpers or seamstresses; a few do carpentry or make craft items.

School SR is one of two schools in the sample with a capacity greater than its daily attendance. The school was built to hold 260 students, but had an average daily attendance of 142 students during the 1983-4 school year.

Average enrollment was 277 during this period. The school building is in poor condition; the school has no electricity, and has frequent water supply problems. Parents often send their children to the school for three or four years, then send them to a larger school several miles away to "get them ready for the Exam".

The large, rural-area school: School LR, too, is located in Jamaica's agricultural interior. 593 students are enrolled in the school and the school's average attendance of 435 greatly exceeds its capacity of 170. The school operates on a "split-shift" system, reducing class sizes for the school's 15 teachers. Most LR parents are farmers or agricultural workers; some do craftwork; some do domestic work or sewing.

LR is located near what was until recently a teacher training college. Although the college has been closed, it is often used as a training facility for educators and administrators. Thus, the school is often visited by workshop participants who observe and interact with LR students. A new, very large school building was under construction at the time of the study and was scheduled to open in 1987. A large, student-tended garden is planted on school grounds.

The "mixed economy", bootstrap-community school: School MC is located in a rural region about 11 miles from the major tourism center in which school LT is located. It is a small school with an average attendance, 178, that falls far short of its capacity of 300. (The school's average enrollment is 271.)

Many MC parents are farmers or agricultural workers; but many also commute to the coast to work in shops, restaurants and hotels. Some are vendors who sell goods in a newly constructed community market; others take food and craft items to markets in the coastal towns below. Thus, MC parents represent a "mixed" occupational group.

School MC is located in a community that has achieved national publicity for its success with grassroots development projects. Its citizens have obtained financing for and built a post-office, community center, and produce market without government help. Other projects were being planned at the time this research was conducted.

The school and town also has a wealthy local benefactor who has provided substantial and salient support for the school and community by donating a satellite receiver and a computer to the community center. The "dish" had not yet been licensed and was not fully operational when this study was conducted, but according to the principal, he and some of his students had begun to to listen to broadcasts "from all over the world" with the receiver. The computer had

arrived, but was also not operational at the time of the study. A very large garden has been planted on the school grounds and is tended by students (with the principal's assistance). Produce from the garden was to be used in the school's feeding program; surpluses were to be sold to members of the community.

The Elite Preparatory Academy: School EP is the most prestigious primary school in the region. It is sponsored by the Catholic Church, but admits children of all faiths. The school is located near the commercial and administrative center of the parish. Many, though not all EP students come from affluent families. Many EP parents are employed as managers for large corporations in the area; others own their own businesses or are in the professions. The school principal noted, however, that some of the school's parents worked as "teachers or policemen" and were not well-off financially, but were "willing to make the sacrifices necessary" to send their children to EP.

About 250 students attend EP, and class sizes are quite small (35-40) by Jamaican standards (55-60+). The school's classrooms are less crowded and are better equipped than those of the other schools in the sample. Teachers often use textbooks published in the US or Great Britain. (In contrast, all standard common school textbooks have been developed by the Jamaican Ministry of Education and are

published in Jamaica.) Although working conditions at the school are better than those in the other schools in the sample, at least some EP teachers feel that they are not financially better off than their government school counterparts. ("We make the same as the government school teachers, but with no benefits. So we are really worse off.")

The Assessment Booklet

One of the major research tools employed in this investigation was a four page booklet called the Mind's Eye Project Activity Book (MEP). The purpose of the MEP booklet was to make it possible for a large, cross-regional sample of Jamaican children to express their ideas, attitudes, and beliefs about tourists and tourism, their personal aspirations and expectations for the future, and their notions about the qualities that make Jamaica "unique" as a nation. The design of the items included in the booklet were guided by the empirical studies and theoretical models discussed earlier. The booklet was developed after the researcher's initial "field entry" trip to Jamaica. The content and style of the survey were developed in consultation with a Ministry of Education officer who worked as a visiting scholar at the University of Minnesota during the 1985-86 academic year. As an experienced (former) Jamaican primary school teacher, this individual was an

invaluable source of information and insight.

The booklet contained the following five sentence completion items:

a) When I grow up, I am going to...

b) Someone I really admire is _____ because...

c) If I had a lot of money, I probably would...

d) What people from other countries should know about Jamaica is that...

e) Here is what I think about people who visit Jamaica...

In addition, the last two pages of the booklet asked the student to draw four pictures. The "instructions" for each of these drawings are as follows:

a) Draw a picture of some visitors who have come to Jamaica from far away.

b) Draw a map that shows Jamaica. It can be any kind of map as long as it includes Jamaica.

c) What was life like for Jamaican people 200 years ago? Close your eyes and see if you can imagine a scene from the year 1786.

d) For this one, you can really let your imagination run wild! What do you think Jamaican life will be like 200 years from now? Please explain your drawing in the "comments" area. You may even want to lable the parts of your drawing.

Each of these items contained a space for the student to write his or her comments about his drawing.

The researcher met with each school principal and explained the purpose of the research project, the steps that would be taken to protect the anonymity of participating schools and students, and the roles that s/he and the classroom teacher would be asked to play in administering the MEP survey to the class. The principal and the teacher of each school were also given letters outlining the procedures to be followed in administering the booklets and asking them to refrain from giving students any suggestions that might bias their answers in any way. The teachers were encouraged to administer the booklets over a two or three day period, as their schedules permitted. Drawing materials (several large boxes of crayons) were provided to each classroom in order to ensure an equal distribution of resources across subsamples.

The school principal of each participating school was provided with a typed set of "instructions" to read when s/he explained the nature of the project to the class. S/he was encouraged to put the information into his/her own words and to be sure that students understood that their participation in the study was completely voluntary. The instructions indicated simply that a "researcher" was interested in learning about Jamaican young people and their ideas.

After completing the survey, participants were allowed to choose a small gift as a "thank you" for their help. In

addition, each school received a box of school supplies as "fair return" for its help with the study.

Classroom Material Culture Documentation

The purpose of collecting information about the material environments of the schools was to discover whether such abstract constructs as national integration, cultural dependency, and neocolonialism might have concrete, "real world" correlates in the material items present in the sample schools. Classroom material culture is an important, but often overlooked component of the "hidden curriculum". The material culture of a classroom includes all of the tangible items present: instructional materials, furniture, wall decorations, personal effects, and so on. Material culture analysis usually involves both content analysis and a comparative analysis of classroom spatial patterns (Johnson, 1980, 1982, 1985). Thus, proper documentation must include not only a careful cataloging of classroom artifacts, but also a description of their location within the classroom. The material culture of one first-, and one sixth-grade classroom from each of the six schools in the sample was documented. The first few hours of the researcher's visits to each school were spent drawing maps of each classroom, describing all of the items within the researcher's view, and making note of each item's location within the room. In most cases, this was done while classes

were in session, and the task was integrated with ethnographic observation of the teachers and children as they (presumably) engaged in their normal daily activities.

General Ethnographic Observation

It is axiomatic that anthropological research strives to create a holistic representation of "everyday life" as it is lived by particular actors within particular social settings. Thus, anthropologists often spend a great deal of time in one community, in a single school, or even in a single classroom. Often, the process of "really" beginning to understand how individuals view their social universe takes several years, and can rarely be achieved in less than one. Although much of the analytical focus of this investigation is on inventories rather than interviews, the researcher devoted a great deal of time to the general task of learning about Jamaican schooling from the "inside". Thus, she observed and spoke with as many children, educators, and laymen as possible during a six week fieldwork period. Abbreviated fieldnotes were taken after the end of each observation or interview. These notes were used as a framework upon which to construct a more detailed account at the end of each day's work.

Conclusion

Segal, Lewis, and others have emphasized the need for investigations of Caribbean social life that are empirically rigorous and grounded in the experiences and beliefs of real people rather than in theoretical abstractions. As noted in Chapter Four, this investigation rests on a trans-paradigmatic framework. This has made it possible to capitalize on the strengths of the sociostructual approach to the analysis of education while at the same time avoiding some of its most serious limitations. The study collects information from a large sample of participants, but also emphasizes the importance of historical, cultural, and environmental context. Hence, the investigation includes a systematic analysis of classroom material culture as well as an ethnographic observation and interview component. The work described here is therefore neither micro-cultural nor macro-cultural it is micro-cultural and macro-cultural. The next chapter is the first of six chapters that report the findings of the investigation. It is based on the researcher's fieldnotes and will hopefully give the reader a better sense for some of the ways that tourism has affected the lives of the children who live in tourism-dependent communities.

Note

1. The problem of ideological bias as an aspect of comparative educational research and theory development will be discussed further in Chapter Twelve. At this point, however, it must be noted that educational theories are never ideologically "neutral". As C.A. Bowers (1980) has pointed out, many of the ideas that have shaped the way contemporary theorists view schooling can be traced to the Enlightenment. Enlightenment thinking tended to be abstract, progress-oriented, and culturally naive (non-pluralistic). As a consequence, contemporary views of schooling and society are shaped by reified concepts and metaphors that reflect the "deep structure" of Western thought. Theories of education contain assumptions about time, causality, freedom, and progress that are not culturally universal. Thus, Bowers claims, Marxism, humanism and technicism are all "carriers of Western ideology".

Chapter Six

THE BOY BY THE ROAD: ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS OF JAMAICA'S YOUNG HOSTS

One of the aims of this chapter and Chapter Seven is to provide those readers who are not familiar with Jamaica some background on social contexts within which this project was conducted. The chapter provides a summary of the "qualitative", ethnographic component of this study. About one-third of the researcher's fieldwork time was devoted to watching, listening to, and talking with Jamaican schoolchildren, educators, parents, hotel and transportation industry workers, and others. What follows is a description of some of the people who were willing to share their ideas, concerns, and everyday lives with me. The descriptions provided here are derived from the researcher's fieldnote entries. Direct transcriptions from fieldnotes are presented as block quotes. All of the proper names that are used in this chapter are pseudonyms.

As noted in Chapter Two, some of the features of anthropological fieldwork are essentially "touristic". This seems particularly likely when the fieldworker works in a tourism-dependent culture, and when racial differences make the anthropologist's status as a outsider highly salient. Many of the children and adults that I met in Jamaica assumed that I was "another tourist" and because of this, I took part in a number of "touristic encounters". In this

monograph, the term "touristic encounter" refers only to interactions involving monetary or material transactions between Jamaicans and visitors. It includes transactions that were merely proposed as well as those that actually took place, and transactions that were initiated by both "hosts" and "guests".

This chapter contains four parts. The first part describes a "classical" example of a touristic encounter that I observed between an adult American "guest" and a Jamaican "host". The incident illustrates the complexity of the cultural dynamics that characterize such interactions. The second part of the chapter provides some "ethnographic" accounts of touristic encounters with Jamaican children. It begins with a description of the way that one group of Jamaican preschoolers responded to me when I visited their school, and ends with several examples of child-initiated contacts that took place in the schoolyard of school LT. The third section of the chapter describes two young adolescent Jamaican boys and the various effects that tourism has had on their lives. Finally, the chapter concludes with some observations on the "costs and benefits" of tourism for these two boys and their families.

A "Classical" Touristic Encounter Between Adults

The following interaction took place between a hotel guest and a young man named Samuel who works at a small, privately owned hotel in town LT. Samuel is a security guard at the hotel. He spends most of his work-day standing in the hotel's courtyard or on its sea-level terrace, arms folded, waiting, watching. Every morning, Samuel clears spiny urchins from the hotel's swimming area, and sometimes he chats with other hotel employees, but from what I could tell, Samuel spends most of his day standing, watching, and waiting.

One day, while Samuel stood on the terrace, a heavy-set, middle-aged, badly sunburned American man sat on the terrace's stone wall, drinking a bottle of rum "cooler" and smoking cigarettes. When he saw me trying to take a picture of some swimmers, he told me to take the shot from another angle "Otherwise," he explained, "with a little camera like that, they're going to look like little dust specks on the water". I did so (hoping that he would be leaving soon). Instead of leaving, he began telling me about himself. He described his complete itinerary to me, how he had "really needed a break from his 'pressure cooker' job", and how he had three computers in his "computer room" at home. He explained that he "could probably afford to buy just about every piece of software there is if I wanted to, but I'd rather pirate the stuff". Samuel stood nearby,

watching, waiting, looking out at the sea.

After a while,

> the heavy-set man walked over to Samuel and asked,
> "What would make a good day, a really good day for you? Huh?"
> Samuel just stood there with his arms folded, smiling slightly.
> The fat man then held a pastel-green, "walkman-type" radio out toward Samuel.
> "Here. This is for you. Take it."
> Samuel reached out, and took the radio, grinning.
> "The batteries are going to keep you broke," the fat man said over his shoulder as he returned to sit at his spot on the stone wall. He said (to me)
> "All he does all day is just sit around - but I should have bought another color. They had lavender, green, and pink. This is sort of a wimpy color. I shoulda got the lavender instead of the green." (He later repeated this comment to Samuel, who just smiled. The man went on,
> "This is the second one I've given away this week. I paid $8.99 for the thing, and you know how much they pay down here? Samuel said they get $250 - $300 dollars for them." And then, to Samuel,
> "Hey, Sam, now I'm gonna have to go without any music for a whole week!" Samuel, now wearing the radio's earphones as he looked out at the sea, just smiled.

This situation illustrates a number of important aspects of the "tourism problem". Clearly, the fat man seemed to feel compassion for Samuel - whose job requires him to "just sit around all day". But in Jamaica, waiting around seems to be taken for granted, a part of the normal course of events, particularly for those who are employed in the tourism industry. Middle class Americans, however, are not accustomed to prolonged periods of low stimulation. Thus, the "fat man", moved by the pain that he imagined

Samuel must be experiencing, tried to do something to make Samuel feel better. Too, it must have been "self-evident" to this particular American that having a Walkman is preferable to not having one.

Thus, the "guest" interpreted his "host's" needs according to his own personal experiences and cultural values. His "solution" to the problem (as he perceived it) was to make the host happy by, essentially, making him more like himself. The American recognizes that technological dependence has a price ("the batteries will keep him broke"), but apparently assumed that the pleasure afforded by technology in this instance will be worth the cost. After all, Americans spend a lot of money on their technology-mediated pleasures, and <u>they</u> think its worth it.

This incident provides a graphic illustration of the "tourism problem". Guests are often motivated by a combination of concern, compassion, and perhaps guilt to "be good" to those who are less fortunate than themselves. Their generosity often involves a transfer of goods or cash - which in turn sets up a complex chain of events. It seems likely that the same processes underlying the incident described above may also characterize interactions between tourists and interactions between tourists and Jamaican children. The following section describes some the ways that young Jamaicans reacted to my presence in their

schools. The observations below suggest that - in tourism dependent communities - even very young Jamaicans know something about how to initiate and take part in social transactions with "guests".

Touristic Encounters with Jamaica's Youngest Hosts

PRESCHOOL ENCOUNTERS OF THE TOURISTIC KIND

I spent several hours in one of community LT's church-sponsored basic (nursery) schools. The school is located near the entrance to a high-rise, beach-side hotel, in the heart of the town's tourism district. Every day, tourists walk past the school's fenced in play yard on their way to the nearby restaurants, craft markets and shops. One of the teachers who worked in this school told me that "tourists sometimes see the children outside and just come right in to watch our classes. We are used to having visitors," she told me with a smile.

The children at this school showed a great deal of interest in me. Whenever they were not occupied with classwork, they crowded around me, eager to show me their papers, books, and other "treasures". Once, while I was out on the playground,

> ...surrounded as usual, by a tightly packed group of preschoolers, I knelt down to talk with a little girl who was trying to say something to me. She tried to hand me something, and, thinking that it was a stone, or a pencil sharpener, or some other small item of that sort, I reached out to take it from her. It was only then that I

> realized that she had handed me a coin. I made a comment about how she "really had a lot of money there" and tried to hand it back to her, but she wouldn't take it. Seeing me holding a coin out toward the girl, a little boy thrust his hand out and said " 'me money too!" He was soon joined by fifteen or twenty of his classmates, all pushing and shoving one another, trying to get near me. It took me some time to explain that I didn't <u>have</u> any money, and that the coin was not mine, but belonged to the little girl. Not easily disuaded, the little boy who had initiated this small riot asked me "You have bubble gum?", whereupon the little girl tried to hand the coin back to me again. This time, I heard her say something about "gum" and concluded that she wanted to <u>BUY</u> some gum from me. I explained that I just didn't have any gum, and watched as they turned to run back into the school building.

This incident illustrates that even very young Jamaican children are a part of the "tourism system" (Jafari, 1985). Unfortunately, I was never able to interview the teachers to find out whether visiting tourists had ever given the children money or sweets. It seems clear, however, that the young children who took part in this incident had already learned something about how to initiate and take part in a "touristic encounter" as a way to get something they need (and/or want), and that they were strongly motivated to do so. Primary School children showed a correspondingly greater degree of skill in such interactions.

TOURISTIC ENCOUNTERS WITH PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

I spent between 2 and 15 hours on the playgrounds of each of the six schools that took part in this study. The variation in the amount of time that I spent in various schools should make it clear that the following analysis is NOT based on a "random sample" of observations. Rather, the purpose of this section is simply to describe the kinds of interactions that some of the children initiated with me when they were not in class. All of the incidents described below took place in the schoolyard of school LT.

When I visited school LT, the children who approached me made it clear they thought me a tourist. The rural children tended to be quite reticent, it is not possible to say what they made of me at first. For the most part, even though I spent time in each school's playground area, the rural children never initiated any encounters that could be identified as clearly touristic in the sense that this term has been defined here. While students at schools ST, MC, and EP sometimes initiated conversations with me while I stood in their schoolgrounds, they never initiated any "transactions" like those described below.

School LT was located only a few miles from my living quarters, and I spent more time at this school than at any of the other schools in the sample. On the days that I observed school LT, I always made it a point to stay after school to watch the children as they played on the school

grounds. The following incidents occurred during the 15 hours or so that I spent mingling with the children during recess and after-school time. The following exerpt from my fieldnotes shows two different kinds of child-initiated touristic encounters. They show that such encounters can involve quite different purposes and strategies.

10/25/85

> Whenever the children playing on the schoolgrounds at school LT saw my camera, they ran over to pose for a picture. Today, a sixth grade girl walked up to me and asked to see the picture that I had just taken. I explained that I didn't have that kind of camera, and that the pictures would need to be developed. Another sixth grade girl then asked, "You take my picture and write letter to me?" I told her that I would be taking some pictures of her classroom later and that I would send her picture to her teacher along with the other pictures.
>
> A while later, a fourth-grade girl who had been watching me for a few minutes walked over to me and said in a high-pitched voice,
>
> "Oh, I've lost my busfare!" She then dug her hands into the pockets of her school uniform and began searching for the lost money.
>
> "Oh? That's a shame, I hope you will be able to get home alright," I said, watching her search and trying to decide how to proceed. There had been something about the girl's approach that had not quite rung true, something in her tone of voice, the emphatic way she searched her pockets (which one usually does <u>before</u> concluding that money has been lost, not after). Nonetheless, the girl's strategy was effective. "What if she really did lose her money?" I thought, suddenly feeling uncomfortable. With some difficulty, I decided to let her make the next move. I continued drawing the map of the school grounds that I had been working on when she approached me. She waited, looked up at me, then down at the ground. She scuffed her foot back and forth a few times, then, in a small voice, she said
>
> "Lady, you give me some busfare money?"
>
> (I kept working.)

> "Lady, I go now", she said, and skipped off across the schoolyard.

The girl in the first incident wanted to establish a potentially long-term relationship with an "outsider". I met a number of Jamaican adults who had established connections with First World residents. For example, a hotel maid explained to me that she relied on an American friend to send her new shoes for her children. (In order to keep import duties low, the friend always saw to it that the bottoms of the shoes were soiled so that the shoes would look used.) Teachers, too, have learned that friendships with outsiders can be useful. Thus, one teacher explained that she had met a vacationing American teacher who had later sent her some American science and math textbooks that had been "discarded" by her school. And another teacher counted on an American friend for things like markers and (recycled) computer paper. It is not surprising, then, to find that even primary school children have learned that connections to the outside world can be useful. For those who live in resource-poor countries, "friendliness" can have important material and economic payoffs.

The second girl wanted money and employed a rather sophisticated strategy in her attempt to get it. Other children used a more direct approach, as the following incident demonstrates.

2/24/86

A third grade boy named Danny walked up to me while I stood in the schoolyard during recess and said,
"You have a dollar for me?"
"I only have one dollar, and I need to use it for the robot (taxi)", I explained.
He moved his body from side to side, both hands in his pockets, then looked up at me with his head tilted to one side.
"Do people give you money sometimes?" I asked.
"Yes."
"Where?"
At first, he didn't answer. Then, he pointed toward the town.
"In the town?" I asked.
"The Craft Market", he said.
"Oh, I see."
"My mother work there."
"Does she? Maybe I know her, what is her number? (ie., stall number)
"115."
"I might have talked to her before , but I'm not sure. Do you ever go to see her at lunchtime?"
"No", he said, looking toward his classroom, no longer showing a great deal of interest in our conversation. He walked back into the school.

Not all children showed the same degree of finesse in such encounters. Some never quite came right out and asked for anything. Nonetheless, one gets the sense that such a request was made - albeit implicitly - during the course of the interaction.

2/24/86

A second grade boy who had stood by me earlier while I watched some boys playing with marbles then came up to me. (I had asked him earlier if he ever played marbles and he had said no.)
"I would play marble, but I don't have the money to buy one."
"Oh. Do marbles cost a lot of money?" I asked.

"No. Just 20 cents," he said, looking at the boys (who were still trying to hit the butterfly). He glanced up at me, then picked up a stone and ran over to join the boys.

Generally, whenever a child approached me with a request for something (other than conversation), I expressed an interest in his "problem", but made it clear that I didn't have any resources to offer him. Once I had disqualified myself as a donor, the children who initiated such encounters lost interest in me rather quickly, and went on their way. The following incident shows this pattern, and also shows that the children didn't always make one-sided requests. Sometimes, they made "business propositions" in which they offered a service (in the following case, "entertainment"), for a fee.

10/25/85

While I was drawing maps and photographing the school grounds, two sixth grade boys ran over to me and asked me to take a picture of them. When I said I would, they walked a few feet away and posed, smiling. After I took the picture, one of the boys said,
"Want to see me break dance?" I said "Sure". The boy hesitated, then said,
"People give me money to breakdance."
"They do, huh? When?"
"At the International" (one of the town's major hotels).
"You do, huh? And they let young people into the hotel to break dance?"
His friend entered the conversation,
"'Got to look good. Wear nice clothes, have your hair all nice" (He touched the sides of his

head for emphasis.) "Not like some ol' nigger."
His friend nodded his agreement.
We talked for a few minutes, and I explained that I would really like to see the boy breakdance, but that I couldn't give him any money. After a few minutes, The boys ran off to join some other friends.

It is hard to say whether these boys actually do "work" down at the hotel. What is most important is that they know that some young people do make money by breakdancing for tourists. They also show that they have learned that access to the hotel's property is restricted to those who look a certain way - "Not like some ol' nigger", as the one boy put it.

On one occassion, after a particularly gruelling day of classroom observation, I gave in to a child's request for a "handout". I discovered that the child who initiated the encounter described below knew exactly what he wanted, and how to manage the situation accordingly.

2/26/86

As I walked toward the town from the school one afternoon, a little boy fell into step beside me.
"Hi!" I said, "Are you in Mr. Stafford's class?" (The fourth-grade class that I had visited that day.)
"Mr. Jones", he said.
"Ah, I must have seen you when I visited your room." I noticed that he had a cut under his eye and asked what had happened.
"The wire hit me."
"That must have hurt. Does it still hurt?"
"No. You buy a bun for me?"
I didn't understand what he had said and had to ask him to repeat it, twice. When I finally understood him, I looked in my bag, then at him, and said,

"Hmmm. I must have left my buns in my other bag."
"You can buy them."
"Oh, really?"
"There," he said, and pointed at some street vendors who were selling their goods a few hundred yards ahead.
"Well, OK," I said "show me where."
He led me to a stand laden with fruit and packaged bakery goods. I picked up a package of 'sweet muffins'. He shook his head. I picked up a package of 'biscuits'. He shook his head. I asked him to show me what he wanted. He walked around to the side of the stand and picked up a loaf-shaped bun wrapped in a plastic bag. After I paid the vendor, the boy said "Thank you, Miss", and trotted across the street eating the bun.

The incidents described above must be interpreted with caution. Clearly, some LT children have learned that asking tourists for things sometimes pays off. This is hardly surprising. It is also clear that the children who took part in these interactions showed a wide range of strategies and levels of skill. This is not particularly surprising, either. What is surprising is the fact that I encountered these kinds of situations only at school LT. However, as already noted, I spent varying amounts of observation time at the schools, and spent more time at school LT than at any of the others. It is therefore impossible to know whether the children in school ST, for example, might also have approached me had I spent more time observing them after school. In any case, these incidents show that "friendliness" and skill in social interaction can be economically advantageous for children who live in tourism-dependent communities.

The Boy by the Road

Jamaican roadways are busy, noisy, often dangerous, and sometimes lucrative places. Tourists often travel on the road that leads from Montego Bay to Ocho Rios and then on to Port Maria. And in Jamaica, wherever there are tourists, there are vendors trying to make a living by selling "souveniers": straw baskets, bags, hats, needlework, jewelry, artwork, shells, shirts, shorts...and so on. Sometimes, vendors live in houses built within a few feet of the roadway and sell their goods from attached wooden "stalls". Matthew lives in one of these roadside dwellings.

Matthew spent a part of nearly every day five feet or so from the north coast highway, sitting on a worn-out folding aluminum chair, guarding his wares, waiting for someone to stop and buy something. Matthew is 14 years old and had come "from the country" to live with his uncle and aunt. He wore the same ragged shorts and torn tee shirt almost every day. I once saw Matthew clinging to the trunk of a tree, perhaps sixty feet above the ground, harvesting breadfruit. And once I saw him sweeping leaves from the area in front of the stall. But for the most part, like so many Jamaicans, he seemed to spend a lot of time waiting, waiting for tourists to stop, look, and buy. Matthew helped me get across the treacherous, winding highway by motioning to me when it was safe to cross. He never failed to do so. And whenever he saw me, he always smiled his gentle smile and waved. Sometimes, we talked.

Matthew speaks in a low voice, slowly, carefully. One has the feeling that he is choosing his words with great

care, perhaps trying to remember what he's been told to say to strangers. There is a aire of gentleness about him that is strangely at odds with the noisy, chaotic world around him [2]. Matthew hopes one day to become a mechanic. His face glows when he talks about it ("I like cars, I always want to fix things and take them apart"). But his uncle wants him to learn how to carve wood and become an artist, like himself.

Matthew insists that he goes to a local secondary school, that his favorite subject is mathematics, and that he goes to school every day. He is able to give a persuasive account of his daily and weekly schedule of classes, "On tuesdays and thursdays, at ten o'clock, we have mechanical arts...", and it seems likely that he has attended secondary school in the past. But Matthew's bare feet and ragged clothing and the fact that I saw him day after day, sitting on his chair by the roadside all suggest that he rarely, if ever, went to school during the weeks that I lived in Jamaica.

The Boy on the Hill

Another boy, I'll call him Sean, lives on the hill just above Matthew's home. He lives with his mother, Delita, who works for the Ministry of Education as an education officer, and his aunt Sarah, who once worked as a cook in a nearby hotel. A twenty-year-old cousin, Mark, slept in Sean's house nearly every night, and often came for dinner. He works as a chef in the same hotel that employed his aunt for nearly 20 years [3]. Although Sean is close to Matthew in age, Sean's mother told me the two boys "never play together". Sean and

Matthew seem to live in two very different worlds. Unlike Matthew, Sean has been able to "make it" as a student. Sean's future will depend to a great degree on his ability to do well in school.

During the school week, Sean stayed with a friend of his mother who lives near his high school. Every Friday afternoon, Joseph (Delita's brother-in-law) picked Sean up and brought him home. Early every monday morning, Joseph drove him back to school. (The drive takes about an hour and a half.) When Sean came home for the weekend, he played football and cricket with his friends, built and repaired kites, and watched television. But because Sean wants to become an engineer, he also spent 4-6 hours every weekend studying. Delita often coached him, and seemed to keep careful track of his academic progress.

Foner (1973) has written about the willingness of Jamaican families to make great sacrifices in order to secure a "good education" for their children. Sean's family provides a striking illustration of the fact that Jamaican families continue to make such sacrifices. Sean's success in school has come about because of his family's commitment to the idea that a good education is a "necessity". Even greater sacrifices will be needed if Sean is to go to college. Delita told me that she will probably have to leave her job with the Ministry of Education when her son goes to college because she will need to "find something that pays better". If Sean is able to go to the United States for his post-secondary education, his mother will try to find work there.

The Benefits and Costs of Touristic Development

In an important sense, the tourism industry has made it possible for both Sean and his mother to "get ahead". Sarah and her sister (Joseph's wife) both worked as hotel cooks and supported Delita when she went to the teacher's college. Joseph, too, worked as a chef at a "four-star" restaurant for many years, and is still employed by the tourism industry. (He drives a taxi.) Another brother is a fisherman who also carries tourists up the river in his boat for a small fee. And Sarah's son works as a night auditor at a hotel in New York [4].

And yet, even though tourism has provided Sean's family with a number of benefits, these benefits have not been without cost. Some time ago, a "Great House" (night club) was built in the neighborhood. Another, less prestigious "club" is also closeby. Seven nights of every week, from nightfall until 2 or 3 in the morning, Sean's home is filled with the sound of "disco" music. Usually, there are two nights of the week when both clubs are open. On these nights, Sarah and Delita find the noise particularly disturbing. They often have trouble falling asleep at night, and they sometimes wake up during the night because of the noise. Delita told me that they called the police about the problem once, "but they said there was nothing they could do about it". Both of the women seemed to be bothered by the noise, but resigned to it.

And then, there is the beach, or rather, the fact that there is no beach where Sean, Matthew and their friends can swim. Hotels own all of the coastal property near Sean's home. Residents are "allowed" to swim near the mouth of a nearby river, but this "recreational site" is inaccessible and is "not safe". Sarah, who is perhaps 50 years old, told me about what life was like when she was a child. And some of her warmest memories seem to be of "walkin' down every mornin' and every night to tek a bath in the sea... an' the watah so wahm an' nice!" When I asked her what had happened to the people who had lived near the shoreline, she had explained that "They come and give them money so they can go up in the hills and build a nice, modon house - like this one." She talked about who had once lived down by the water, and where they had gone, what they had done. Some didn't really want to go, but eventually everyone had to leave. She looked toward the seacoast and shook her head and said in a voice that sounded neither angry nor resentful, "They tek it away. They tek it all, all, away. Tek it all away".

One afternoon, I went across the highway to see the beach where Sarah and her sisters and brothers used to bathe. I walked past the doorman and the desk clerk, through the hotel's elegant dining room and out onto the terrace, past the pool, and down the stairs that led to the beach. I walked past the sign that proclaimed the beach "For Hotel Guests Only", and down to the water's edge. For a long time, I stood there, looking at the staggeringly beautiful view. Sarah had spent twenty years working in the hotel's hot kitchen, but would probably never see this view again. And

ever since that day, whenever I encounter a particularly lovely view of the sea, I hear Sarah's words: "An' the watah so wahm an' nice!"

Conclusion

For many of those who live in LT, the tourism industry has provided increased income, more modern living quarters, better roads and public services, and tangible, personal connections to the First World. The industry has also created a situation in which large numbers of people must compete for the tourists' dollars. In such a situation it would be surprising if young Jamaican children, surrounded by adults whose livelihoods depend on getting money from tourists, did not approach visitors as though they were potential sources of income. The encounters described above demonstrate that some LT students have already begun learning to see visitors as "benefactors" by the age of 3 or 4. As they grow older, some LT students continue to develop and practice their methods for persuading tourists to share their bounty.

Taken as a whole, these observations suggest that the tourism industry can affect many different aspects of life in a "host" community. The way that tourism affects the individual who lives in LT is determined to a considerable degree by his or her economic status. Matthew's story is probably typical of many of those who have decided to move from Jamaica's rural interior to the north coast. He has entered the industry "at the bottom" and must work to earn his keep. He has not been able to continue his education;

and without an education, his prospects for upward mobility will be limited. In contrast, Sean's educational future appears bright. But his success is, in part, due to the support he has received from his family and, therefore, to the tourism industry that has provided jobs for almost all of his kin.

While tourism has brought many apparent benefits to the town, even this brief analysis reveals some of the prices that residents have had to pay for development. They've lost some of the things they probably took for granted when LT was a small fishing village: quiet nights, uncrowded roadways, access to the coastline.. But the young people of the town have never known any other way of life, and it is their perceptions and beliefs that are the focus of this inquiry. In particular, one of the hypotheses investigated in this work was that proximity to tourism might have a concrete effect on the school's role as a socialization agent, as will be discussed next.

Notes

1. They were, however, very eager to be photographed and ran over to pose whenever they saw my camera (as did the children of all of the other schools, including school EP).

2. Matthew is, I think, the gentlest person I've ever met, and, like most of the rural children I met, was rather shy.

3. During the weeks that I lived with this family, I noticed that whenever Mark was unable to spend the night, another 20-year-old male cousin came to stay. Although it was never stated explicitly, I suspect the two boys acted as "security guards" for the family.

4. The fact that Sean has a close relative who lives abroad is significant. It has provided the family with access to "First World" material goods and technologies. For example, Sean is the only Jamaican I met who owns a personal computer. His cousin sent him a Tandy Color Computer and a cassette data-recorder for Christmas.

Chapter Seven

ALL ARE WELCOME: CLASSROOM MATERIAL CULTURE, NATIONAL INTEGRATION, AND DEPENDENCY

The goal of this part of the study was to examine the way in which the material environments of a sample of Jamaican primary school classrooms might mediate the macrocultural processes of national integration, cultural reproduction, and neocolonialism discussed in Chapter Four. Classroom material culture is an important, but often overlooked component of the "hidden curriculum". The material culture of a classroom includes all of the tangible items present: instructional materials, furniture, wall decorations, personal effects, and so on. Material culture analysis usually involves both content analysis and a comparative analysis of classroom spatial patterns (Johnson, 1980, 1982, 1985). As discussed in Chapter Five, the material culture of one first-grade and one sixth-grade room from each of the six sample schools was documented and analyzed. This chapter reports the results of this analysis. The first part of the chapter presents a general description of the variations in material culture patterns that characterized the sample. The second and third parts of the chapter explore two different theoretical interpretations of these variations.

Classroom Material Environments: General Findings

The coding taxonomy that emerged as a result of an inductive analysis of the content of the twelve rooms included in this sample is shown below:

All items were coded by ORIGIN:
- Manufactured
- Teacher Made
- Child Made
- Natural

Symbolic items were coded by LOCUS/ORIENTATION:
- Local
- National
- International
- School
- Religious

Other items were coded by FUNCTION or TYPE:
- Instructional materials
  - paper, posters
  - other
- Prescriptive messages
  - value-laden written signs, poems, etc.
- Tourism-related messages, items
  - travel posters, signs
- Business-related messages, items
  - company logos on calendars
- Administrative
  - school bells, attendance rosters, straps used for "flogging"
- Decorative
  - tablecloths, curtains, cushions
- Personal Effects
  - lunch boxes, school bags, money, purses
- Electrical Devices
  - lights, clocks, fans

All of the items present within each classroom were classified by "origin". Some items were commercially "manufactured", some were "teacher-made", some "child-made". Plants and flowers were listed as "natural" in origin. The distribution of items by origin is shown in Table 7-1, below.

Table 7-1. Origin of material culture items by school and grade level. (Percent of total number of items present within each classroom)

	SCHOOL					
	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP
ORIGIN (First Grade)						
Manufactured	39	20	19	100	17	90
Teacher-made	57		80	77		66
Child-made			3			5
Natural	4					5
Total items:	28	15	31	3	6	20
	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP
ORIGIN (Sixth Grade)						
Manufactured	29	12	38	59	50	100
Teacher-made	71	38	61	41	50	
Child-made		50				
Natural						
Total items:	14	26	13	17	7	3

The material environments of the 12 classrooms showed a great deal of heterogeneity in both the quantity and type of items present. For example, one inland first grade classroom (LR-1) contained only three codable items: an

electric ceiling light, children's lunch boxes, and a "letters of the alphabet" display positioned above the chalkboard [1]. In contrast, another inland first grade classroom (ST-1) contained 31 codable items, including 24 teacher-made items, 14 of which were "instructional wall displays" (ie., posters).

Some rooms conveyed a sense of order: tables were spaced out evenly; wall displays were in good repair and firmly secured. But in other classrooms, seating patterns were asymetrical and wall decorations were precariously anchored, damaged, torn, and sometimes unreadable. Given the fact that Jamaican classrooms are quite breezy most of the time, and that teachers have access to only a very limited quantity of paper each year, the maintenance of a well ordered and complex visual environment suggests a high degree of teacher involvement.

As noted in Chapter One, many Jamaicans have moved from rural areas into towns and cities. Urban schools have not been able to keep pace with this rapid growth in population. This has created crowding problems for many urban schools, particularly those located in tourism-dependent areas [2]. Many of the classroom environments reflect these strains. The classrooms of schools LT and LR were very crowded and often contained several make-shift tables and benches (usually boards placed over large rocks or cement blocks). On the other hand, the

smaller rural schools, SR and MC, had enrollments that fell short of their capacities [3]. As a consequence, the classrooms were far less crowded than those of the larger schools. The next sections will take a closer look at cross-school differences in material culture, and will interpret these differences within two different theoretical frameworks.

Neocolonialism and Cultural Imperialism

Conflict theorists hold that the process of neocolonialism is mediated by members of a relatively small, educated elite who have acquired First World beliefs, values, and behaviors (Altbach & Kelly, 1978; Altbach, 1977). Material goods may provide a means by which the First World indirectly imposes it's value system on developing nations. Thus, it is important to examine the material culture of this sample of classrooms for distinctive spatial patterns or qualitative differences in the types of objects that comprise the students' daily school environment.

In fact, there were striking differences between the elite school classrooms and the other classrooms in the sample. These differences involved a) the school setting itself, b) the style and spatial arrangement of furniture within the classrooms and c) the relative quantities of commercially manufactured (vs. teacher-made) objects present

in the classroom environment. Classroom material culture may thus be one of the ways in which the "outside world" selectively shapes the lives of young Jamaicans. Conflict theorists argue that colonial powers maintain their dominance over less developed nations through "indirect" mechanisms of this kind.

The prep school (EP) is located in an idyllic setting. Landscaping is formal, symmetrical, immaculate. The school grounds and buildings are tidy, in good repair, and enclosed by a substantial looking fence. The setting conveys a sense of order, serenity, security.

A statue of Columbus stands near the entrance to the school yard. Four engraved metal plates mark the historical importance of this particular spot on Jamaica's north shore. Here, "On this estate by the order of Diego son of Christopher Columbus was erected the first Christian church in Jamaica". On this spot, in 1503, Chistopher himself wrote that "...the world is not so large as vulgar opinion makes it". How could EP students not feel a sense of "connectedness" to the wider world, a relationship fostered by history, place, the manifest power and affluence of the Church? But connectedness to <u>which</u> world? Clearly, not to the world of the Arawak or the Carib or the African slave, for another inscription explains that

> The whole history of the Americas stems from the four voyages of Columbus and as the Greek city states looked back to the deathless gods as their founders so today a score of independent nations...unite in homage to Christopher the Christ Bearer who carried Christian civilization across the ocean sea.

This was, indeed, a far different environment than the crowded, noisy, resource-poor world of the government schools (ST and LT) a few miles away. A prep school first grader sits at his <u>own</u> desk with 30 classmates, uses his <u>own</u> crayons and markers, and reads from American and British textbooks. For the most part, <u>all</u> of the instructional materials he or she sees has been commercially manufactured.

In contrast, a government school student in the Parish of St. Ann is likely to sit on a 36 inch old-style wooden bench, shoulder to shoulder with three (or more) of his classmates. His face is one of a sea of faces; he may have 55 or even 65 peers. It's easy for him to "drop out" simply by sitting at the back of the room. Unless his teacher has acquired a set of out-of-date American or Canadian texts, his only texts are those published by the Ministry of Education (with the help of the "Private Sector" - Esso Standard Oil, Citibank N.A. - and the U.S. Agency for International Development. A list of donors appears on the back of every recent Jamaican textbook.) Neither he nor his teacher have ever been able to take markers or crayons or even paper for granted. Virtually <u>all</u> of the instructional

materials that he will ever see will have been "handmade" by a teacher or a student. Thus, the nature of his visual environment will depend heavily on his teacher's skills, inclination, and ability to obtain needed materials.

Altbach's analysis of the relationship between the Third World and the industrialized nations employs three analytical constructs: neocolonialism, dependency, and center-periphery. Each of these constructs refers to a social processes and phenomena that may have concrete material referents. For example, the process of neocolonialism involves "the conscious policies of the industrialized nations to maintain their influence over the Third World" (Altbach, 1977: 471). It is "the latest phase in a history of dominance begun under colonialism" (ibid.: 477). The developed nations often promote their own interests through foreign aid programs: by providing "experts" as consultants on curriculum design and teaching practices, and by providing textbooks, films, curricular materials, and educational hardware at very low (or no) cost. Foreign assistance programs tend to compete directly with efforts to express non-Western values and to meet the needs of indigenous populations. Altbach has stressed that it is very difficult to "prove" the existence of educational neocolonialism. The phenomenon is associated with the other two concepts (i.e., dependency and center-periphery) and "also implies an international policy of controls and

exploitation through a web of inter- and intranational elites (ibid.: 471).

The classroom material culture of this sample of schools contained one rather clear neocolonialistic "message", and two possible examples of neocolonialism. The list of international "sponsors" that appears on the back of each government school textbook seems to fit Altbach's definition of neocolonialism rather well. Regardless of the contents of the books, the agencies involved seem to have used these books as a means of self-promotion through "advertising". The fact that the elite school used textbooks and workbooks that were published in Great Britain and the United States suggests a possible example of neocolonialism, but without more information about how these books were obtained, it is impossible to know whether this is a consequence of intentional neocolonialism, or of "educational dependence" (which will be discussed shortly).

And then there is the curious phenomenon of lunchbox neocolonialism. The most vivid and visually complex symbolic imagery present in many of the government school classrooms were those that appeared on the plastic lunchboxes that many of the children carried to school each day. The images on these lunchboxes were almost always popular American cult-heroes: The Incredible Hulk, The "A" Team, Ronald McDonald, Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck, Rainbow

Bright, My Little Pony, and, of course, the cast of Sesame Street. While this observation provides no evidence that American businessmen have deliberately set out to promote identification with "metropolitan" media figures, one might argue that the effect of their economic actions is the same as if they had done so. In any case, this observation provides a clear example of both cultural dependency and the center-periphery problem.

As noted in Chapter Four, dependency suggests a psychological orientation on the part of Third World citizens toward the methods, values, and models of the industrialized world. Like neocolonialism, it is an historical by-product of colonialism; its manifestations are almost always associated with an imbalance of power relations between metropolitan "centers", and the "periphery". Altbach has pointed out that industrialized nations tend to control both the production and distribution of new knowledge. Publishing centers, the mass media, and advanced training facilities are all located in industrialized metropolitan areas. Further, these centers are economically and socially linked to the metropolitan centers of the Third World (largely because Third World elites are often trained abroad and therefore adopt "metropolitan" methods and values).

To a considerable degree, the material differences between school EP and the government schools can be

interpreted within the dependency/ center-periphery framework. For example, the fact that each EP student is assigned his or her <u>own</u> desk and that these desks are arranged so as to spatially seperate each student from his peers may be one of the ways that this school environment fosters "individualism". In contrast, the design of the old-style, bench-type desks used in most of the government schools - while not necessarily fostering communalism - does little to pronmote a sense of personal ownership. Government school students did not, as far as I could tell, ever leave personal belongings in, or under, their desks at the end of the day. Further, the fact that government school children are expected to sit in very close proximity to one another suggests that mass education may promote a very different sense of personal space than that acquired by the children of the elite.

Too, the substantial amounts of commercially manufactured wall decorations and curriculum materials present in the lower grade EP classrooms suggest links to the "metropolis" that are not available to government school teachers. For the preparatory school student, it is "normal" to be surrounded by commercially manufactured products and to be instructed by a teacher who selects and distributes these products, but who doesn't <u>create</u> them. In contrast, as already noted, the government school student is instructed by a teacher who has had to produce almost all of

his or her instructional materials. The next section examines classroom material culture from a rather different, though not necessarily incompatible perspective.

National Integration and the Boundary Culture Thesis

Yehudi Cohen has suggested that one of the important functions of formal schooling is to promote identification with one's country (i.e., nationalism). He has argued that this kind of socialization process is necessary in order to ensure the cultural loyalty of those people who must interact with foreigners. Such individuals are often (though not always) members of an elite, and spend their lives at the "boundaries" of their native culture. As a result, the boundary role players of any culture are the most likely carriers of social transformation (Cohen, 1983).

One important implication is that prep schools ought to be concerned about political socialization to a greater degree than government schools. This is because members of a nation's elite tend to occupy positions that bring them into contact with "foreigners" (i.e., through business dealings, international travel, education abroad, etc.). Further, as noted earlier, this study makes the assumption that Third World tourism has created a new type of boundary community. Clearly, tourism industry employees spend a great deal of their working lives in contact with foreigners. Cohen's boundary culture thesis would therefore

suggest that schools located in tourism-dependent communities ought to demonstrate a greater concern for political socialization than schools located in more remote parts of the country.

School administrators and teachers reveal their concerns about the political socialization of students by creating nation-oriented symbolic visual displays. Johnson, for example, has demonstrated that American classrooms often contain decorations that express political values (1980, 1982, 1985). The following analysis investigates whether there are any differences between the classroom environments provided by the three coastal area schools in this sample (ie., EP, LT, and ST) and the three inland schools (LR, SR, and MC). In particular, it examines the ways in which different classroom environments might reflect variations in concerns about the political and national socialization of students.

"Concern for political socialization" has been assessed by closely examining the kinds of materials present in each classroom, and looking at the extent to which these items reflect either a local, national, or international orientation. Items were considered "local" in orientation if they symbolized people, places, or activities that were clearly a part of the community environment (for example, a picture of "Farmer Brown" or of "The Country Bus"). The following kinds of items were considered "nation-oriented":

maps of Jamaica, pictures of, or quotes from, national heroes, national symbols (such as the national fruit, flower, etc), the Jamaican flag, pledge of allegiance, and so on. International items were those items that were clearly manufactured abroad (for example, a "Mickey Mouse" lunch box, or that contained symbolic references to other nations (ie., a map of the world). The empirical approach taken here closely parallels Norris Johnson's pioneering work on the material culture of US classrooms (1980, 1982, 1985). Three additional dimensions were also noted: whether the symbolic materials contained "messages" that were oriented toward the "church", toward the "school", or toward "individual" behavior and attitudes. The latter category included prescriptive, value-laden messages that seemed directed toward improving the individual's behavior. For example, just above the chalkboard in the sixth grade classroom of school MC are a number of small signs that say "Be helpful", Be tidy", "Be punctual", "Be quiet", "Be pleasant", "Be nice", etc. Similarly, the first grade classroom of the same school contains a teacher-made poster that says "Care Your Body" that includes pictures of a toothbrush, toothpaste, soap, etc. Such items have a clear intent: to influence the individual's personal conduct.

Table 7-2 shows the frequency with which the six orientations appeared in the first and sixth grade classrooms of each school. The orientations are listed in

order of overall frequency within each grade level.

Table 7-2. Orientation of symbolic items by school and grade level. (Frequencies)

	SCHOOL						
ORIENTATION (First Grade)	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP	TOTAL
Individual	7	1			1		9
International	2	3	2			2	9
National	5		1				4
Local	3		1				4
Church	1					5	6
School			2				2

	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP	TOTAL
ORIENTATION (Sixth Grade)							
International	1	4	2	3	1	1	12
National	4	1	1				6
Individual	1	1	1		2		5
Church				1			1
Local				1			1
School							0

Combining the totals for both grade levels and all six schools gives the following distribution:

orientation		freq.
international	-	21
national	-	14
individual	-	14
church	-	7
local	-	5
school	-	2

As Johnson found in his analysis of American classrooms, the schoolrooms in this sample contained few images of or messages about "local", or community life. But, unlike Johnson's sample, many of these Jamaican classrooms also contained little,if any, nation-oriented material culture. For example, the first grade classrooms of schools LT, LR, and MC and the sixth grade rooms of LR, MC, and EP contained no nation-oriented materials. Room LT-6 contained only one nation-oriented item: a wooden cut-out map of Jamaica hung on the wall in the rear of the room. SR-1 contained a hand drawn picture of a policeman; a published map of Jamaica hung in room SR-6. If classroom material culture is indeed an index of national integration, as Johnson has suggested, then many Jamaican schools have not yet become fully involved in the nation-building process.

The first grade classroom of school EP, on the other hand, provides a striking contrast with the other schools in the sample. This room contained an abundance of highly salient national imagery [4]. A row of "Our National Heroes" was displayed on one wall. A large, commercially manufactured poster nearby identified "Our National Symbols": the Jamaican flag, flower, fruit, tree, and so on. Curiously, however, no nation-oriented items were displayed in the 6th grade classroom. In fact, this sixth grade room contained few codable items of any kind (an electric wall clock and ceiling light, a lesson plan book, and student

school bags) [5].

For the most part, the government schools seemed to place little environmental emphasis on national political socialization. However, there was one important exception to this general pattern. As Cohen's model predicted, this school was located in the "heart" of the tourism industry. School ST contained more nation-oriented artifacts than any other school in the sample, including school EP. The sixth grade classroom of this school contained three hand-drawn maps of Jamaica and a poster from the (national) Family Planning Board that read "Before you be a mother, be a woman". The first grade room of this school contained an even richer collection of nation-oriented symbolic items. Pictures of major Jamaican political figures, Paul Boggle, Alexander Bustamante, and Norman Manley, were prominently displayed in ST-1. Printed below each photo was an inscription (For example, "To be for the people is to act with the people for the benefit of the people"; "His rebellion marked the people's first fight for justice, access to land, and racial equality," etc.).

ST-1 also contained more value-laden, prescriptive messages (ie., "individual" orientation items) than any other room. The room contained signs that read "If at first you don't succeed...", and "I must love my classmates and teach them well", and, simply, "Self Awareness Self Confidence Self Reliance". Similar signs appeared in other

classrooms and in the teacher's lounge area, suggesting that the pattern should be viewed as a school-related rather than simply a classroom-related phenomenon.

These findings tend to confirm the notion that schools in developing nations show varying degrees of integration into the national political process. In this regard, it is signicant that ST showed other signs of involvement at the national level. For example, the school has a long history of participation in the singing and dancing competitions that take place during "National Heroes Week". The school's reputation for doing well in these competitions seems to be well known throughout the region. Photos of Prime Minister Seaga and his predecessor, Michael Manley hung in the lounge area outside the principal's office. And information about the National Teacher's Association elections was also posted in this area.

Clearly, school ST had many "connections" to the nation-state. The school fits Cohen's macrocultural model very nicely. And yet, the very fact that this school was so unique also demonstrates the way in which macrocultural forces are mediated by individual personalities. School material environments are created by the adults and children who inhabit them. Thus, they reflect assumptions and beliefs about what a classroom <u>ought</u> to look like. We know very little about the way that macrocultural forces act upon individuals, but clearly, someone at school ST was concerned

about fostering a strong sense of national identity among students. The impact that this richly symbolic environment may have had on students will be considered further in subsequent chapters [6].

Returning to the data at hand, it is noteworthy that local imagery and symbolism were quite rare. This is compatible with Johnson's findings in U.S. primary schools. But one of the classrooms that I visited in school LT (one not included in this sample), proved to be an interesting exception. This room contained ten or twelve large, child-made paintings of "local" scenes. But the nature of these items raises some serious questions of interpretation. Should paintings of passenger ships, white sunbathers, and hotels with airplanes flying overhead be considered local images? These images are both local and transnational; the children who created them live in communities that are at the economic and cultural boundary of their society. From the macro-cultural perspective, localism, nationalism, and internationalism are all-of-a-piece in tourism-dependent communities. In such settings, cultural imperialism, economic development, and cultural survival seem inextricably intertwined.

Conclusion

The material world can be a source of mystification or of revelation. Its messages are powerful, but often subtle. We need to view the material world as an important aspect of the cultural transmission process. Children learn from the everyday spatial and visual features of the classroom just as they learn from their social relationships with others. We also need to think of the material world as an index of the societal context within which each school must function.

The following, final example is a case in point: Painted high on the wall at one end of school MC is a three foot high owl. Above the owl the word "Welcome" is painted in letters so large that the message spans the breadth of the wall. When I first visited the school, I made note of the owl and its message, and thought it a typically warm, friendly, Jamaican sort of message. I didn't think much about it until I spotted the same message (on a smaller scale) in other government schools. In particular, I noted a few child-made drawings and "seed-paintings" that contained the words "All are Welcome". I asked several people about the expression. No one could tell me where it had originated. One person thought it was an expression used in certain churches.

It wasn't until I read Frank Taylor's work on the history of tourism in Jamaica that I began to "see" the significance of the expression (Taylor, 1975). Taylor notes

that early European colonists were famous for their hospitality. One of the reasons for their cordiality, he argues, was that they were forever seeking new recruits, new white settlers. Indeed, for these lonely colonists - most of whom would eventually return to Europe - all were welcome. Taylor goes on to argue that black Jamaicans gradually absorbed the slave owner's attitudes toward outsiders. Hence, the myth of the friendly Jamaican, and the idea that Jamaicans have always been "for" tourism.

From what I observed, many Jamaicans are indeed friendly. They must remain so. The economic future of their nation depends on it (or so they're told). As Jamaica's tourism industry grows, will the expression "all are welcome" appear with even greater frequency in Jamaican classrooms? Such is the power of the material world to mystify, and to reveal.

Notes

1. Codable items included all items except furniture, chalkboards, windows, and books. The latter items were mapped, but were not counted. It should be noted that my coding method counted each display of related items as one item. Thus, in the example above, the display included 26 seperate 5x9" alphabet cards, but was coded as one "item".

2. For example, as noted in Chapter Four, one of the schools in my sample (LT) had an official capacity of 1150 students, but had an enrollment of 2060 and an average daily attendance of 1636. Some non-tourism area schools are also crowded, however. School LR was built to support 170 students but had an average daily attendance of 435 during the 1983-4 school year. The school is now on a split-shift system.

3. It is interesting to note that even though classrooms in these two schools contained a lot of "extra" floorspace, students were still seated "shoulder to shoulder". Extra floorspace tended to surround rather than seperate desks.

4. As each "display" of items was counted as only one item, Table 7-2 underemphasizes the contrasts that actually existed between the schools.

5. I noted that the third and fourth grade classrooms of school EP contained an abundance of nation-oriented material. Perhaps 6th grade teachers feel certain that their students already know these "facts".

6. Clearly, additional fieldwork ought to be directed at the problem of how schools acquire their distinctive environmental patterns. We also know very little about the long-term effects of political imagery on school residents (both teachers and students). This, too, deserves further investigation.

*** A special thanks to Adam Gamradt for his help in the preparation of this chapter.

Chapter Eight

SAFE HARBORS: PERSONAL AND MATERIAL ASPIRATIONS

The focus of this chapter is on the personal aspirations of the participants who completed the MEP booklet. As discussed in Chapter Two, a number of experts believe that the presence of tourism within a community can have a major impact on the basic values of its residents. According to this view, such changes are a consequence of the "demonstration effect", the fact that tourists can act as powerful role models for hosts [1]. Many commentators have noted that the residents of tourism-dependent communities often acquire new material desires and changed aspirations as a result of interactions with affluent visitors. It is unclear, however, whether the children who live within tourism-dependent communities are affected in a similar manner. This chapter examines this issue by comparing the children's responses to the following three MEP sentence completion items:

a) When I grow up, I am going to...

b) Someone I really admire is...
I admire him or her because...

c) If I had a lot of money, I would...

The children's responses were first transcribed into a data-base management format. They were then inductively

sorted into categories. Next, categories that were essentially identical or very closely related were combined. An initial frequency analysis was completed at this point, followed by further combining of smaller, related categories into larger ones. The final results represent a careful attempt to summarize the key patterns evident within the data while at the same time preserving as much "detail" as possible.

General Findings

PERSONAL FUTURES ("When I grow up, I am going to...")

This item was constructed so that the children could write about specific things they plan to do as adults, or about more general aspirations. However, almost all of the children who answered this item listed one or more occupations. The responses to this item are summarized by school subsample and for all school subsamples combined in Table 8-1. For the group as a whole, the most popular occupational choices were in the professions (22%), in public service (17%), and in the travel industry (14%). Most of those who listed professional occupations wanted to become doctors or nurses [2]. Over half of those who chose public service occupations said that they planned to go into teaching; the rest expected to become policemen or soldiers. Nearly all of the children who mentioned travel-industry jobs planned to become air hostesses and pilots.

Table 8-1. Distribution of personal futures responses (Within school subsamples and for the sample as a whole, in percentages)

	SCHOOL						
ASPIRATION	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP	SAMPLE %
Professional	25	17	23	26	17	26	22
Public Service	19	12	10	23	19	12	17
Travel industry Air hostess, pilot	8	24	2	15	19	14	14
Travel, see world	25	2	2	3		2	7
Arts, performing	3	9	4	6	4	14	6
Clerical/retail		7	19		2	5	5
Technician, mechanic		3	17	11	2		5
Business, owner		9	8	2		7	4
Scientist, engineer		3	4	6		10	4
Hair dresser		5			9	2	3
Transport.,sea,land	4		2	2	6	2	3
Agriculture	4		2		4		2
Artist	3			2	4	5	2
Trades, skilled	1		4	2	6		2
Travel industry Hotel, food, agent		3			8		2
University, attend	7			2			2
Other		5	2	3	2		2
Total # responses	72	58	48	66	53	42	339

In addition, 7% of the responses to this item mentioned travelling to other countries, and 6% of the sample responses refer to becoming a performer (ie., a singer, actor, musician, athlete, or model). It is noteworthy that only 6 students (2% of the responses) specifically mentioned agricultural occupations or activities and that an equally small number said that they planned to one day work in hotels or restaurants.

PEOPLE ADMIRED ("Someone I really admire is...because...")

Table 8-2 summarizes the responses to this item. The children most often mentioned one or both parents as their "most admired" person (35% of the responses). They also frequently mentioned friends (26%) and other family members (16%). In addition, while only 3% of the sample responses listed "media figures" (i.e., performers and political figures), 11% cited teachers and principals.

As Table 8-3 shows, when explaining their reasons for admiring the person that they most admire, many of the children referred to the individual's positive personality characteristics (35%). The children most often mentioned "kindness", "friendliness", and "goodness" as the qualities that they valued in these individuals. 28% of the responses refer to an "affective attachment" between themselves and the admired person (i.e., "I love her"). 20% of the responses cited the individual's competence, skill, and/or intelligence and cleverness, and 12% referred to the admired person's physical appearance and/or beauty.

Table 8-2. Distribution of most admired person responses (Within school subsamples and for the sample as a whole, in percentages

	SCHOOL						
ADMIRED PERSON	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP	SAMPLE %
Family - parent	62	17	51	17	17	65	35
Friend	26	37	7	45	21	9	26
Family - other	8	9	5	26	38	6	16
Teacher, principal	3	13	17	10	19	3	11
Occupations, misc.	3	13	15				5
Performers		9				15	3
Other		2	5	2	5	3	3
Total # responses	39	46	41	58	42	34	260

Table 8-3. Distribution of reasons given for admiration (Within school subsamples and for the sample as a whole, in percentages)

	SCHOOL						
EXPLANATION	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP	SAMPLE %
Personality	43	40	29	31	45	24	35
Affective bond	33	9	44	34	16	32	28
Competence, ability	8	34	24	13	14	32	20
Appearance, beauty	10	15	2	19	16	6	12
Generosity, $ support	6	2			3	10	6
Total # responses	51	53	41	70	51	50	361

MATERIAL ASPIRATIONS ("If I had a lot of money, I would...")

The various kinds of material aspirations listed by the participants are presented in Table 8-4.

Table 8-4. Distribution of material aspirations (Within school subsamples and for the sample as a whole, in percentages)

	SCHOOL						
EXPENDITURE	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP	SAMPLE %
Agriculture	3		2	1	2		2
Bank, put in	12	14	2	9	28	11	13
Build house		2	19	3	8		4
Buy							
Car, bus	22	14	17	16	17	6	16
House	13	14	13	20		7	12
Food, clothing	1	5		1	7	6	3
Other	3	10	6	19	7	13	9
Commerc. investment	12	3	19	3	2	11	8
Community, help			2			4	1
Give to							
Poor, handicapped	19	16	8	7	5	26	14
Family	2	11	2	1	13	6	6
Friend (s)		2	2	7	2		2
Relocate, move		2		1		6	1
Training	1		4	3	2	4	2
Travel	13	5	2	6	8		7
Other		3	2	3		2	2
Total # responses	103	63	48	70	60	54	398

Buying a motor vehicle (a car or bus) and either buying or building a house were the most common material aspirations listed by the participants (16% each category). The children also listed helping the poor and handicapped (14%) and putting money "in the bank" (13%) as important

priorities. Although 8% of the responses mentioned using the money for "a business", only a small percentage of the responses (2%) specifically mentioned investing in agricultural enterprises.

Cross-school comparisons

As in previous chapters, this section will focus primarily only on differences that are very salient within the data. In certain cases, the absence of particular types of responses may also be of importance and will be duly noted. Finally, some responses were unique or quite rare, but may nonetheless reflect important underlying patterns when viewed in combination with other, equally "subtle" differences. For example, only one child of the 260 or so who took part in this study said that the person that he most admired was "my Self". It is worth noting that this child was an EP student. Similarly, only three children stated specifically which type of car they would get if they "had a lot of money". And it is intriguing that all three of these children attended government-sponsored, tourism-area schools. (They described their "dream vehicles" as, "a Volvo", "a Love Bug car", and "a Knight Rider car".) Often, some very interesting responses had to be relegated to the "other" category. For example, one LR boy stated that when he grows up he is going to "wash my face and eat breakfast". And then, there is the MC student who explained

that when he grows up he is going to "be a pilot marrying a air hostess having two children and a sweet heart". Thus, even though the analysis that follows will focus primarily on very salient, "robust" cross-school differences, it will also touch at least a few interesting, but statistically "non-significant" patterns.

PERSONAL FUTURES

As Table 8-1 shows, the number of different aspirations listed by each subsample ranges from 42 (EP) to 72 (ST). Because the total number of responses varies across schools, this analysis will refer to the differences in the relative emphasis each school placed on different aspirations. Thus, Table 8-1 shows the distribution of different aspirations appearing within each school subsample.

The aspiration to enter into a profession is evident across all six schools. For example, 25-26% of responses given by LR, ST, and EP students and 23% of the SR student responses referred to professional occupations. LT and MC students placed somewhat less emphasis on the professions (17%, each school).

EP students listed occupations in the performing arts and professional athletics about as often as they mentioned plans to become an air hostess or pilot (14%, each category). EP students were less inclined toward public service work and more inclined toward working as scientists,

engineers, and inventors than were other students. None of the EP students expected to become a technician (mechanic or electrician) or to go into a skilled trade (ie., baker, shoemaker, tailor, etc.)

It is interesting to note the relatively high percentage of SR students who are interested in clerical/secretarial work and in becoming technicians (19% and 17%, respectively). LR students were also interested in becoming technicians (11%) but, unlike SR students, expressed no interest in clerical/secretarial work. The relative isolation of the SR students is reflected in the fact that only one SR student (2%) listed an airline career among his plans for the future. In contrast, 15% of the students attending school LR listed airline work as a future occupation. Airline careers were especially attractive to LT students (24 %). And, as noted above, 14% of the EP responses refer to airline work. It is therefore curious that only 8% of the responses generated by school ST are of this type.

Unfortunately, the figures reported for the ST subsample on this item may not accurately reflect the students' actual expectations about the future. Many of the ST responses to this item not only contain the same content, but list various occupations in the same order. This is not true of all of the responses, but is evident in a substantial number of them. This suggests that the

classroom teacher or school principal probably "guided" some of the students' answers to this item. In a sense, then, the ST responses may reflect what an adult thought would be a desireable answer to this item. In light of the school's distinctively nation-oriented material environment. The fact that professional work (nursing), public service occupations, and travel abroad were very common responses is worth noting. Such careers suggest high aspirations to become a part of the "wider world".

MC students were as likely to list airline work as public service work (19%, each category). In addition, MC students were more likely than other students to mention hotel and restaurant occupations.

PEOPLE ADMIRED (Someone I really admire is...because...)

Students attending the three smallest schools in the sample (ST, SR, and EP) most often stated that the person they most admired was a parent (usually the mother). Students enrolled in the two largest schools (LT and LR) most often said that they most admired a "friend". MC students most often listed a close relative - a cousin, sibling, uncle, or aunt (see Table 8-2.)

Only EP and LT students listed internationally known celebrities (the "performers, political figures" category). The people they listed included:

School LT:
- Michael Jackson - 2 students
- Diana Ross - 1 "
- Donna Summer - 1 "

School EP:
- Bruce Lee - 1 "
- Chuck Norris - 1 "
- God - 1 "
- John Travolta - 1 "
- Queen Elizabeth - 1 "

Although school size seemed to be associated with who the children most admired, the reasons they gave for why they admired this individual tended to vary depending on the location of the school they attended. As Table 8-3 shows, rural students (schools SR & LR) most often referred to an "affective bond" between themselves and the admired person ("She care a lot for me", "I love him", "He treat me very good"). In contrast, urban students (ST, LT, and EP) most often cited certain personality traits possessed by the admired individual ("kind", "good", "obedient", "Patient", "caring", "helpful", etc.). Interestingly, MC students, who live in a "mixed economy" community, were equally likely to offer either of these two types of explanations.

EP and ST students were the most likely to mention the individual's generosity and/or wealth. Six percent of the EP responses and 6% of the ST responses referred to this attribute.

In addition, rural students were much less likely than other students to mention physical appearance or beauty as

the reason for their admiration.

MATERIAL ASPIRATIONS

ST students were particularly interested in obtaining a vehicle (22%) and in helping the poor and handicapped (19%) (see Table 8-4). Thirteen percent of the ST reponses referred to travelling; the same percentage mentioned buying a house. In addition, an equal percentage of the responses written by ST students mentioned putting money in the bank and investing in a business ("getting a business") (12%, each category).

LT students were interested in building or buying a house and in helping the poor (16% each category). Putting money in the bank and buying a car were also listed fairly often (14%, each category). In addition, a number of LT students said that they would give some or all of the money to their parents and other family members (11%).

Rural students were the most likely to express a desire to own a house as one of their material aspirations. 32% of the SR responses and 23% of those generated by LR students referred to owning (either "building" or "buying") a home. Rural students were also interested in buying a vehicle (16-17% for both SR and LR). Interestingly, SR students were more likely than other participants to refer to using their imaginary windfall for a business enterprise (ie., "commercial activities"=19%). LR students, on the other

hand, were more likely than other participants to refer simply to "buying things" (other than houses or cars).

MC students were clearly the most "frugal" of the subsamples. Twenty-eight percent of the material aspirations listed by MC students referred to saving money or putting money in the bank. Like other students, MC students were interested in getting a car or bus (17%). And like LT students, a number of MC students said that they would give their windfall to their parents and other members of their families (13%). It is interesting to note that both SR and MC students tended to write about <u>building</u> a house while other students generally referred to <u>buying</u> a house. This linguistic difference may reflect very different ways of thinking about the nature of "prosperity". SR students live in an isolated, rural region in which houses have not yet become commodities. But this is probably les true of the area in which MC students live. However, as noted in Chapter Five, community MC is strongly oriented toward "grass-roots" development. Perhaps this commitment has tended to produce (or preserve) a "do it yourself" orientation among the young who live in this community.

EP students were the most likely to say that they would donate their money to help the poor and handicapped (26%). In addition, 13% of the items produced by this group referred to buying "other" things [3]. In addition, a

number of EP students said that they would put the money in the bank and use it for commercial investments (11% each category). EP students showed less interest in buying either houses or vehicles than did other subsamples.

Discussion

Is there any evidence that the children who live in tourism-dependent communities have acquired a "new" value system - one that is not shared by children who live in rural regions? Has "development" (in this case, proximity to tourism), brought about a change in the occupational or material aspirations of the children who live along the coast? Has it affected the kinds of people that Jamaican children respect, admire, and presumably strive to emulate?

In a "classic" investigation of the beliefs and attitudes of West Indian youth, Rubin and Zavalloni (1974) found that young Trinidadians often aspire to "unrealistically high" occupational statuses. They also found that the children who expressed the highest occupational aspirations were often those that came from the least advantaged social classes and ethnic backgrounds. As sixth graders, many of the children who took part in this project plan to become doctors, nurses, teachers, policemen, soldiers, and airline personnel. These occupations were popular with children from all of the common schools in the sample. The more affluent EP students, however, were less

interested in "public service" occupations and more likely to write about becoming a performer, professional athlete, or a scientist or inventor than were common school children. As children's occupational aspirations tend to be strongly related to the occupational aspirations their parents hold for them (Poole, 1983:112-113), it seems likely that these "class-related" differences reflect varying degrees of awareness of occupations, as well as class-related parental expectations and values.

It is somewhat ironic that the children who are probably the most likely to actually become medical and airline employees and to own "big, nice" houses and cars were the least likely to list them as personal material aspirations. Rubin and Zavalloni found a similar pattern with their respondents and attributed it to the fact that the children of the elite tend to "take such things for granted".

As in Rubin and Zavalloni's sample, very few of the children who took part in this study expressed an interest in agricultural careers. Most of the rural participants expressed an interest in non-agricultural occupations. Further, they often cited those occupations that have traditionally provided lower class and rural Jamaicans with a means to achieve upward mobility (public service work - especially teaching - the trades, and clerical work) (Foner, 1973). Rural children listed occupations that they are

familiar with. They planned to become teachers, mechanics, policemen, soldiers, tradesmen. This finding is somewhat troubling because (baring a radical departure from previous demographic patterns) many of the children who live in rural areas will one day have to rely at least in part on agriculture for their livelihoods.

The relatively large number of participants who want to become airline pilots and "air hostesses" may also be cause for concern. LT students appear to have been very attracted to airline careers, as were ST, LR, MC, and EP students (to a lesser degree). In contrast, only one SR student expressed an interest in airline work. Given the fact that advertisements for airlines appear very often on Jamaican television, it seems likely that many young Jamaicans have learned about airline work from the media. (SR students, as a whole, were <u>probably</u> the least likely of all participants to live in households that owned a television set.) But television advertisements often present an idealized picture of airline work. They invariably portray airline workers as attractive, happy people engaged in important, glamorous, exciting, and nearly "effortless" work activities. Although lower class West Indian young people may have a greater chance of working for an airline than getting into a medical school, most of the people who work for airlines load bags, sell tickets, prepare meals, clean cabins, and other non-glamorous tasks.

On the other hand, we know very little about the long-term effects of such "occupational fantasies". It may be that high aspirations - however "unrealistic" - provide an important source of motivation for Third World children. This appears to have been the case for the academically successful secondary school students who took part in Rubin and Zavalloni's study. Furthermore, the notion that disadvantaged youngsters ought to aspire to "realistic" occupational goals seems to be based on intuition rather than empirical evidence. As far as I know, there is no substantial evidence that frustrated social ambitions pose a threat either to individual happiness or the social order. They may simply be a normal part of growing up.

For the most part, the data presented above provide some support for the notion that children living in urban areas are more likely to adopt First World role models than are those who live in more isolated regions. The "admired person" MEP item is very restrictive: it asks that the participant state who he/she most admires. The fact that even a few participants named First World celebrities as their most admired individual is significant, as is the fact that only tourism-area and elite (LT and EP) students did so [4]. (It is possible that some ST students may also have done so, had their responses not be "guided".)

However, the responses to the "admired person" item reveal that the size of the school attended by the

participant may also have an important influence on the identification/role-modelling process. As noted in Chapter Seven, large Jamaican schools are physically and experientially very different environments. It is unclear why attending a large school might lead young people to admire friends over family members (and, in particular, parents).

The finding that rural and urban students tended to offer different explanations for why they admired the person they listed is also difficult to interpret. But the fact that rural children spoke of intimate, experiential relationships, that urban children listed personal attributes, and that MC students offered both kinds of explanations is intriguing. These findings may reflect the shift from a "particularistic" to "universalistic" world view that Inkeles and his associates (1974, 1983) and other equilibrium theorists (i.e., Cohen, 1975; Dreeben, 1967) have attributed to the modernization process.

Although these data support the notion that one of the consequences of (tourism-mediated) development is the inculcation of different criteria for judging individual worth, other interpretations are possible. For example, at least some of the differences in the responses made by rural and urban participants may be a consequence of different degrees of verbal fluency, different linguistic patterns, or even differing tendencies to engage in "abstract" thought

processes [5]. It is also important to note that the children's explanations were undoubtedly shaped by the individual they listed as their most admired individual. Most rural children listed family members - people with whom they have formed close affective bonds. Family systems are inherently particularistic (Dreeben, 1967).

The young people who took part in this study hope to obtain a number of basic necessities when they grow up. They also feel a strong need to help the poor and the handicapped. While a few of the children envisioned the joys of affluence in graphic detail, most expressed very "down tc earth" material aspirations. Their responses focus primarily on building secure, "safe harbors" for themselves, their loved ones, the poor, and the handicapped. If they, collectively, "had a lot of money", they would buy a house and a vehicle, give some to the "needy", and put some "in the bank". Their responses provide little evidence for the notion that youngsters living in tourism-dependent communities have acquired "new" longings for First World commodities and life styles. None of the participants said that they would use the money to buy a "Walkman", TV, camera, or computer. While some said that they would use their windfall to buy "nice clothes", to entertain friends, and to travel, responses of this kind were made by both urban and rural students. On the other hand, the language used by MC and SR students when they wrote about owning a

home suggests that some Jamaican children may tend to think of home ownership as a process rather than a purchase. While this response pattern is a subtle one, the ramifications are clearly important and should be investigated further.

Conclusion

To summarize, the personal aspirations expressed by these 6th graders are in many ways similar to those that have been described by Rubin and Zavalloni. Some aspirations seem to be strongly associated with proximity to tourism (i.e., airline work); others reflect the class backround and social status of the participants. Very few of the participants expect to go into either agricultural or (non-airline) tourism industry occupations. Although a few of the children expressed a strong admiration for internationally known celebrities, all of those who did so attended urban, tourism-area schools. None of the children listed national heroes, media personalities or political figures as their "most admired person". This suggests that those children who adopt non-family role models may tend to identify with international (metropolitan) rather than national (local) figures.

Finally, there is little evidence that proximity to tourism has fostered new desires for particular kinds of commodities or lifestyles among those who took part in this project.

This chapter has investigated the possibility that tourism has affected the personal and material aspirations of some of Jamaica's young "hosts". The next chapter examines whether those participants who attend schools located in close proximity to tourism have different perceptions of and opinions about people who "come to Jamaica from far away" than their more isolated peers.

Notes

1. There are also theoretical reasons for expecting school (community) related differences on these dimensions. As discussed in Chapter Four, modernization theorists suggest that one of the psychological consequences of development is an increased preference for "consumption over frugality". And, as is often the case, conflict theorists seem to agree with the modernization theorists' predictions, but offer a different interpretation. For the conflict theorist, development is associated with increased materialism and individualism because increased alienation and economic dependency serve the interests of the elite.

2. One child wanted to become a university professor; two hoped to become vetrinarians and four, lawyers.

3. Of all the students who took part in this study, only EP students said that they would use their money to buy "toys".

4. The fact that only tourism-area students specified that they planned to own a particular type of car (Love Bug Car, Knight Rider car, etc. is also relevant here.

5. As subsequent Chapters will show, rural children tended to draw much simpler drawings than did their urban counterparts. It seems likely that many of the rural children who took part in this study have had less academic training than urban students and that this may have made it more difficult for them to express themselves in the MEP booklet.

Chapter Nine

FRIENDLY, KIND, AND RICH: CHILDREN'S PERSPECTIVES ON TOURISTS AND TOURISM

This chapter examines the way that the children who took part in this study view the "visitors" who come to Jamaica each year. Tourism affects a number of different aspects of child-life in Jamaica. Many of Jamaica's young people live in families that are directly involved in the tourism industry. Still others have relatives whose livelihoods depend on tourism. It seems likely, therefore, that most Jamaican children will have acquired knowledge of, and may even have formed strong opinions about tourists and the tourism industry. This chapter examines data from the following MEP items:

a) Here is what I think about people who visit Jamaica... and,

b) Draw a picture of some visitors who have come to Jamaica from far away.

The word "visitor" was used instead of the word "tourist" in order to allow participants to draw non-tourists if they wanted to do so. Not all of the "foreigners" that spend time in Jamaica are tourists. Some are Peace Corp workers, exchange teachers, consultants, people who work for religious organizations, and so on. For this reason, it seemed important to construct these items in such a way as to permit a wide range of interpretations.

Findings

OPINIONS ABOUT VISITORS

Table 9-1 shows the distribution of responses to this item within each school and for the sample as a whole. The total number of different responses to the "opinions" item ranged from 34 to 65 responses per school. Because some schools were more prolific than others, the following analysis focuses on the relative emphasis each school subsample placed on various themes. Thus, Table 9-1 shows the percentage of the total number of reponses generated within each school that referred to "personality traits", "generosity/wealth", etc.. It does not show the percentage of students who made particular kinds of comments.

For the most part, students expressed very positive views of Jamaica's "guests". Most often, the children chose to list various kinds of character or "personality traits". As Table 9-1 indicates, 41% of the responses produced by the sample as a whole (i.e., all six schools), listed postitive personality traits. The most common terms used included "friendly", "nice", "kind", "thoughtful", and "loving". For example, an LT student explained that "They are kind, generous, and thotful". An EP student wrote that "They are polite, kind, and helpful", and a student from school LR responded that visitors are "nice. They show us love and encourage us to love one another and be kind".

Table 9-1. Opinions about visitors. (Within school subsamples and for the sample as a whole, in percentages)

	SCHOOL						
COMMENT	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP	SAMPLE %
Positive traits	55	45	50	33	23	32	41
Generosity, wealth	40	5	18	16	15	6	18
They like it here	3	23	16	8	38	18	16
Appearance, behavior		13	5	21	5	24	11
Good wishes, advice	2			3	5	18	4
Negative traits		2	5		3	3	2
Other		9		8	10		5
Unclear		4	7	11	3		4
Total # responses	65	56	44	63	40	34	302

Only six responses (2% of the responses generated by the sample as a whole) referred to (presumably) undesireable personality traits or actions. These six reponses are listed below, followed by the school subsample code.

"They all enjoy the island. Some of them are mean." (SR)

"They are unkind." (SR)

"Some of them are bad." (LT)

"The[y] are quiet and nice and conformatitive [?]. Some of them bring dangerous decease [disease]. (LR)

"Some are proud" (MC)

"They are kind, and good-hearted. They sometimes push, but they mean no harm." (EP)

The final comment, generated by an EP student, contains references to both positive and negative attributes, and was coded accordingly. Clearly, this student has tempered his/her reference to "pushing" by explaining that "they mean

no harm". Nonetheless, the comment shows that this student is aware that visitors sometimes behave "badly". Similarly, the LR student's comment is also "mixed". Visitors are, on the one hand, "quiet and nice", but, some of them bring "dangerous diseases".

A fairly large percentage of the comments generated by the sample as a whole referred to the visitor's wealth and/or generosity. For example, an ST student explained that "they spend a lot of money in our country and they gave my father work", and an MC student observed that "They are rich and have plenty of money". An SR student simply commented that "I think they give $2 to people". Some of the children referred to the willingness of visitors to "share". For example, an SR student explained that visitors are people who "love to share thing with others". And, an ST student, evidently speaking from personal experience, said that "they sometimes give us Rigles [Wrigley's] gum."

A very large number of students in school ST referred to the fact that tourists bring "foreign exchange into our country". In fact, so many students used this term in this particular school, that it seems likely that the children's answers might have been "guided" by the school principal or classroom teacher. This may account for the fact that the two government-sponsored tourism area schools, ST and LT show very different distributions of themes. It seems likely that the LT responses more accurately reflect what

tourism-area students actually think about visitors. The ST responses, on the other hand, may reflect (in part) what an adult believes students ought to think about tourists.

It is important to note, however, that it was not only ST students who mentioned that tourists are a source of "external capital". For example, an MC student noted that "they are helping our country", and another MC student explained that "they bring US money to our country, they are helpful". SR students, too, showed an awareness of this notion: "They help our island with their money". But the sample contained only one clear reference to one of the region' s important sources of "external capital": the sale of marijuana to foreigners. The comment was made by an LR student who explained that "They carry Drugs from othe[r] countries and excange [exchange] it for ganga".

Another large number of students referred to the fact that visitors like coming to Jamaica. Jamaican's often ask visitors "How you like it in Jamaica? How you like it here?" And many of the children wrote comments that said that, as one LT student put it, "They enjoy it here very much and they don't want to go back." Even SR students seemed to have a clear idea that visitors have a good time in Jamaica: "They enjoy the beautiful places, especily the caves, and the betty sots [beauty spots]. They enjoy our food - such as chicken and jerk pork". Other students explained that visitors love Jamaica's sunshine, beaches, coconut water,

waterfalls, hotels, flowers, and so on. 16% of the total number of reponses to this item were of this type.

Some students made comments that referred to specific things that visitors do and/or to how visitors look (i.e., the "Appearance, Behavior" category on Table 9-1. For example, an LR student commented that "They are polite, friendly, and speak inteligently", and one of his classmates was aware that "Some don't eat the food we eat". Some students commented on the way that tourists look and dress. "They wear all kind of clothes", one LR student explained. And another LT student said "They are very prety [pretty] and they give me money some time". EP students tended to describe the places that tourists go rather than how they look. For example, "They come to look at the mountains and rivers", and "They go to the beaches, waterfall, riding, and on tours".

As Table 9-1 shows, EP students were the most likely to give touristic advice, commentary and/or good wishes (listed as "good wishes,advice" on Table 9-1). Some of these comments simply described places that tourists can visit in Jamaica. Other comments suggest that EP students were more likely than other students to express the notion that tourism involves a process that needs to be <u>managed and promoted</u>. For example, "They enjoy the tours and the beaches we provide them", "I say they have chosen the right place", and "I hope they enjoy their visit and have all the

excitement they can". Another EP student explained that "It is fun to visit because it helps the tourism industry", and another noted, shrewdly, that "They were smart to pick Jamaica."

DRAWINGS OF VISITORS

Table 9-2 summarizes the results of a content analysis of the drawings produced by each school subsample and by the sample as a whole. Each drawing was assigned one descriptive "code" based on the thematic content of the drawing i.e., "beachlife", "hotels", "land travel", and so on). Thus, Table 9-2 shows the percentage of participants within each school who drew drawings about "beachlife", "hotels", etc.. Sample drawings are included at the end of this section. The response rate for this item was quite high (97% of the participants completed the item). However, 26% of all of the drawings produced by the participants showed "people only" - drawings of people with limited thematic content (Figures 1, 5, 7). Although "people only" drawings sometimes lacked graphic detail, they often provided valuable insights into the students' perceptions of tourists. For example, Figure 4 suggests a kind of meek dependence on the part of the host: "They [tourists] are the people who help us get our little money". A student from the same class, on the other hand, drew a very tall Jamaican wearing a red, white, and blue uniform pointing at a very small stick figure (Figure 5). The man from America

portrayed in Figure 7 seems to be a pleasant character who has a balanced, reciprocal relationship with his Jamaican hosts. [Tourists are not always happy, however, as Figure 3 shows.]

Table 9-2. Themes present in drawings of visitors. (Within school subsamples and for the sample as a whole, in percentages)

	SCHOOL						
THEME	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP	SAMPLE %
People only	3	15	81	19	31	6	26
Beachlife	50	19		17	9	3	17
Long distance travel	3	12	2	22	3	41	14
Entertainment	11	10	9	2	17	6	8
Friendship/affiliation		4	7	14	20		8
Land travel	24	4		10		3	7
Commercial activities	3	8		3		29	7
Hotels	3	17		2		6	5
Other	5	12		10	20	6	9
Total # responses	38	52	43	58	35	34	260

Students attending schools ST and EP drew relatively few "people only" drawings. School SR students , however, drew a very large number of drawings of this type (81% of all of the drawing produced by school SR students). Because these students live in a relatively remote part of the parish, and attend a small, resource-poor school, it is likely that they have had limited drawing experience. It may therefore have been particularly difficult for SR students to express their ideas in drawings. Between 15 and 31% of the drawings produced by the other three schools

showed "people only".

After "people only", the most common themes appearing in the drawings produced by the sample as a whole focused on "beachlife" and "long distance travel" by airplane or ship (17% and 13% of the sample, respectively). Eight percent of the children drew pictures that showed people being entertained (i.e., "entertainments". These drawings showed people engaged in a wide range of activities - eating and drinking, riding horses, going to movies, attending cricket games, playing tennis, and sunbathing. Another 8% drew pictures that showed people involved in "friendships or affiliative relationships. These drawings often showed people dancing together, holding hands, or embracing (Figure 2). For example, an MC student drew a picture of a man holding a camera and saying "Hi darling! Jamaica is beautiful" to a female companion. Some children drew pictures of people greeting one another, smiling and shaking hands.

In addition, 7% of the participants drew pictures of people standing near or riding in cars and busses ("land travel") and another 7% drew pictures that showed various "commercial activities" and institutions. Only 5% of the participants drew pictures of hotels. The children also drew a number of drawings that were classified "other" (9%). For the most part, these drawings depicted people and showed some "context", but did not "fit" into any of the

established categories. Some examples of "other" drawings would include "a man standing under a coconut tree", and a drawing of "A Mixcan [Mexican]".

As Table 9-2 shows, there were a number of cross-school differences in the thematic content of the drawings. For example, a large proportion of the EP students drew pictures that showed people (usually standing near or carrying luggage) in airports or on passenger ships ("long distance travel"). Forty-one percent of the EP drawings were of this type. EP students were also more likely to draw pictures that showed people buying and selling things. 29% of the drawings produced by this school depicted these kinds of "commercial activities" and institutions (See, for example, Figure 8).

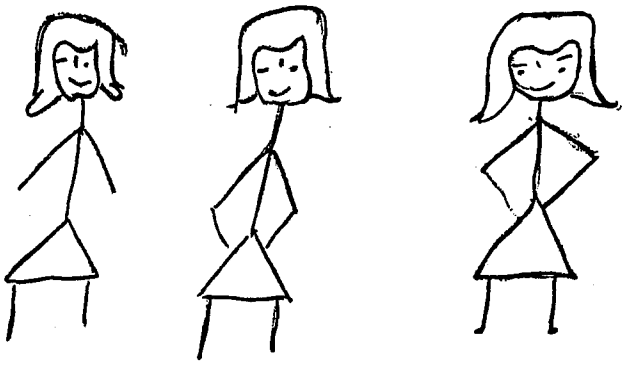
In contrast, students who attended schools ST and LT tended to draw large numbers of drawings showing "beachlife". These two schools produced 67% of all of the drawings of this type appearing in the sample as a whole. In addition, ST and LT students drew 77% of all of the drawings of "hotels" produced by the sample as a whole. [It is interesting to note, however, that only EP students drew pictures of the <u>interiors</u> of hotels. (See Figures 11 and 12.) All of the hotel drawings produced by government-sponsored school students showed <u>exterior</u> views of hotels.] ST and LT students also contributed 41% of the drawins that showed people being "entertained".

As noted earlier, rural students drew a number of drawings of "people only". Schools SR, LR, and MC drew 84% of the "people" drawings appearing in the sample. They also drew a disproportionate number of pictures showing "friendships and affiliations" (Figure 2). Ninety percent of all drawings of this type were produced by students attending these three schools. In general, rural students drew very few pictures of commercial activities or of hotels. However, LR students drew several pictures that showed people engaged in "long distance travel" (as did EP students), and also drew several "beachlife" drawings (as did the tourism-area common school students). SR and MC students drew no beachlife drawings and only two drawings showing long distance travel.

There is a striking contrast between the drawings produced by tourism-area students and those created by the other students in the sample. But the difference does not so much involve differences in thematic content as the way that the drawings were contructed and in the degree of detail evident in the drawings. For example, some ST and LT students drew very graphic, detailed drawings showing the kinds of things that tourists do. (Compare Figures 1, 2, 4, 5, and 7 to Figures 9, 10, 13, 14, and 15.) Often, these drawings seemed to depict particular events or experiences. For example, an ST student drew a picture that shows "a tourist lady and her son preparing for an afternoon with a

couple" (Figure 13). An ST student drew a picture that showed "people selling things - tourist floating on a floater and reading and some people looking in the water" (Figure 9). And another ST drawing shows "a group of tourist on the beach" who are busy swimming, diving, riding in boats, sitting at umbrella-covered tables, and playing what appears to be a game of badminton".

Another attribute that is not reflected in Table 9-2 is the fact that ST drawings often contained "nation-oriented" symbolic material (i.e., drawings of the Jamaican flag.) Only twelve (of 280) students drew pictures that contained "nationalistic" icons. Eleven of these students were ST students; one attended school LT (Figures 9, 14, 15, 16). Many of these "nationalistic" drawings showed the Jamaican flag either being flown by a boat or on a flagpole at "the beach". One ST student simply drew a Jamaican flag on a tall flagpole with a "tourist looking on the Jamaican flag and pointing on it". While the possibility of adult-suggestion cannot be ruled out, this finding is intriguing in light of the fact that school ST itself seemed to be materially the most "nation-oriented" of all of the schools in the sample.



Draw a picture of some visitors who have come to Jamaica from far away.

Figure 1. "They are so thin and tall. They are beautiful." (By an student from the small, rural school, SR)

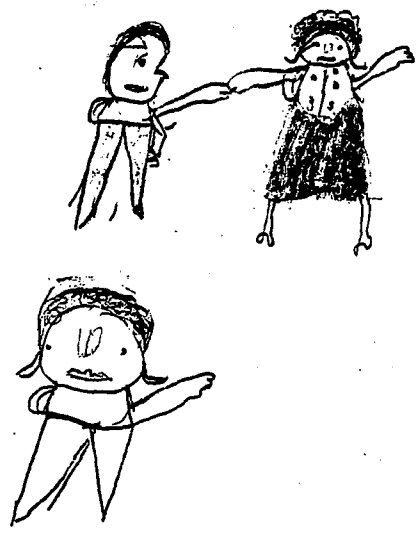


Figure 2. "This drawing showing a man holding a lady hand dancing." (School SR)

Figure 3. "Tourist enjoying a cool red stripe. The other tourist is vexed because the bar run out and he didn't get any." (MC)

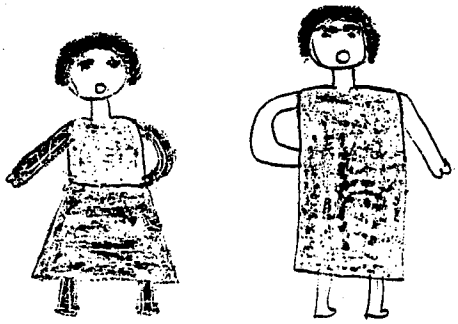


Figure 4. "They are the people who help us get our little money." (Large, rural school)

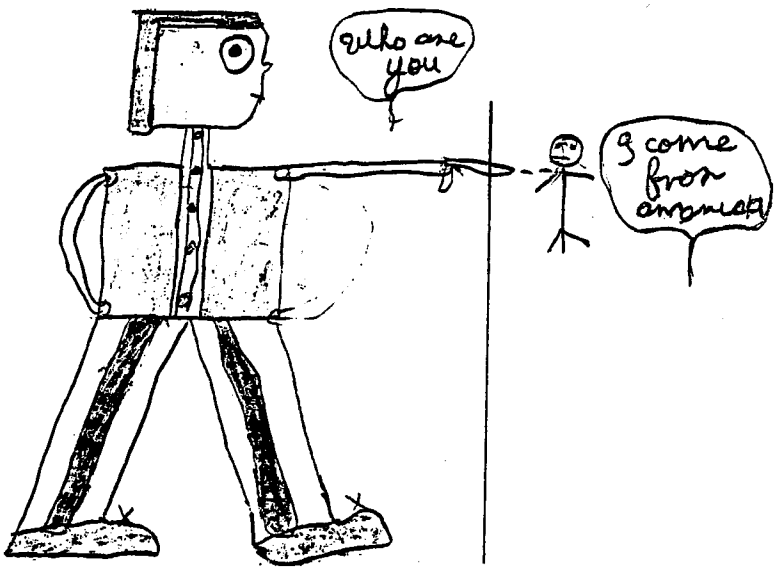


Figure 5. Dominance. Compare to Figure 4, above. (Same school.)

Figure 6. "This is a white lady going to beach." (Large, tourism area school, LT)

Figure 7. "This is a rasta man that comes from America. He is kind to the people and the people are kind to him. He is carrying a camera." (MC)

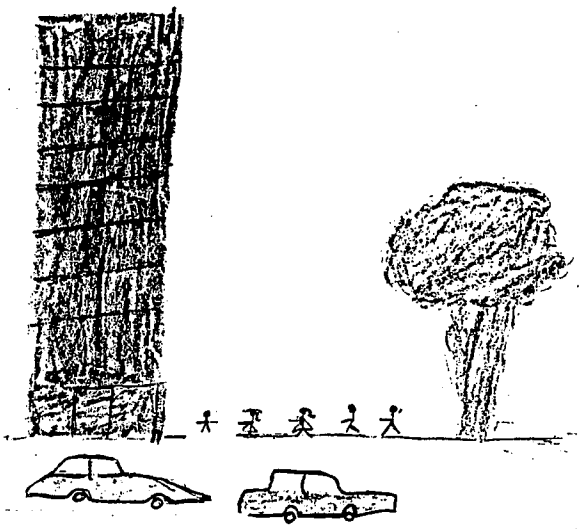


Figure 8. "This is a picture of tourists in a city visiting a sky scraper." (Prep school, EP)

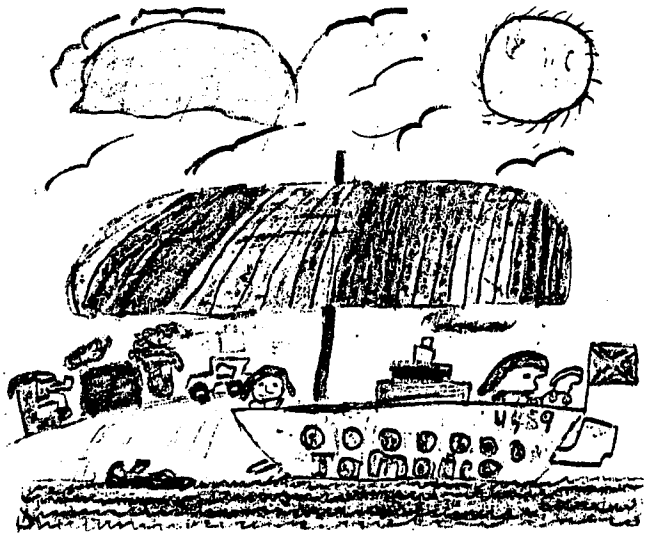


Figure 9. "This picture is about the tourist cruising around the world, people selling things, tourist floating on a floater and reading and some people look in the water." (Small, tourism-area school.)

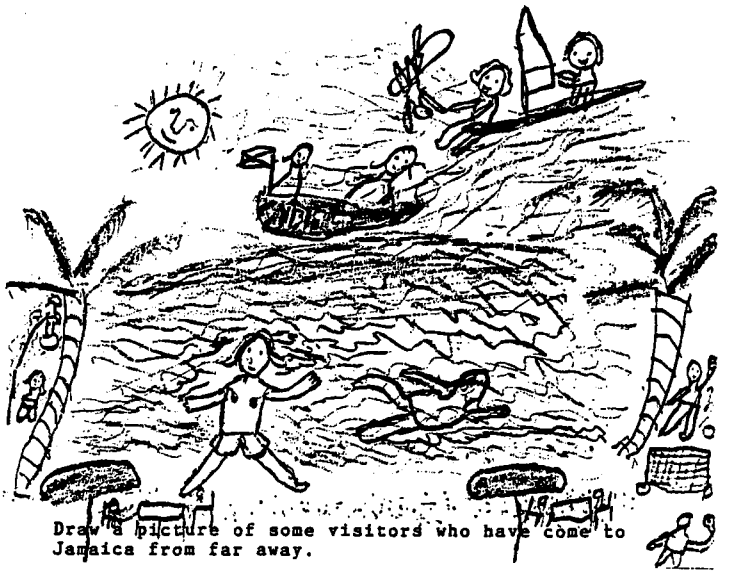


Figure 10. "A group of tourist on the beach." (ST)

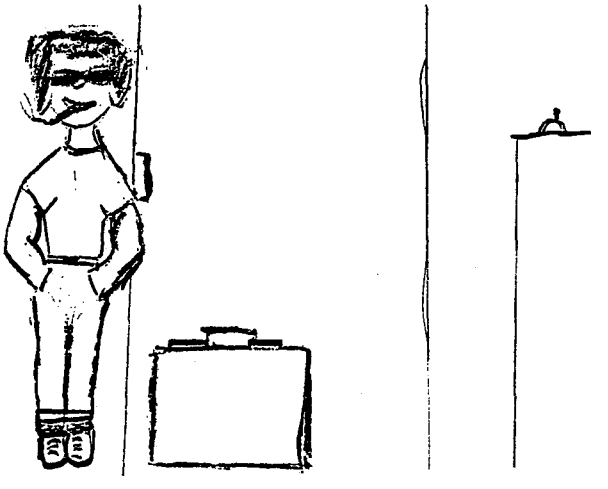


Figure 11. Interior view of hotel drawn by a preparatory school student.

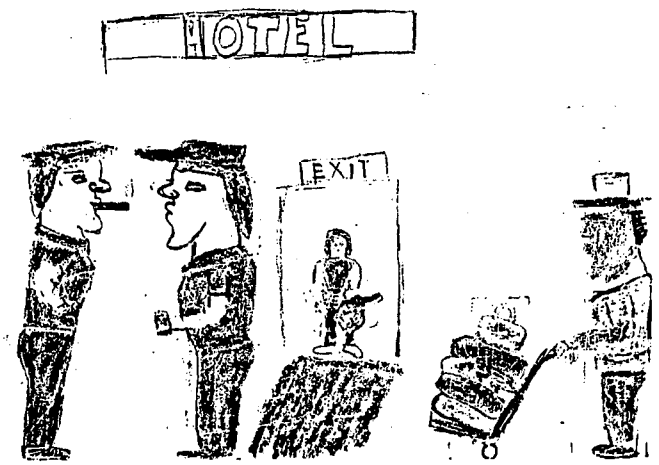


Figure 12. Another EP student's drawing of a hotel interior.

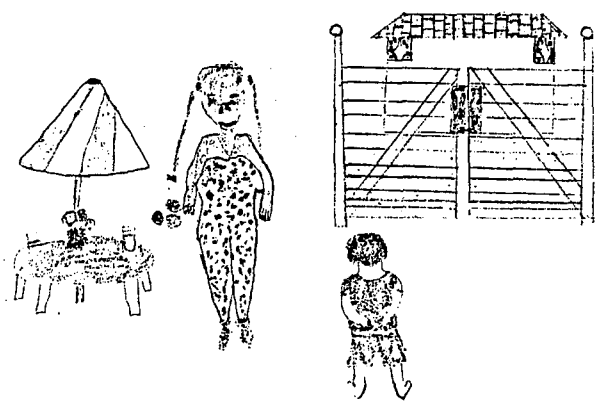


Figure 13. Inside or outside of the tourist's world? "This just a picture to show a tourist lady and her son preparing for an afternoon with a couple."

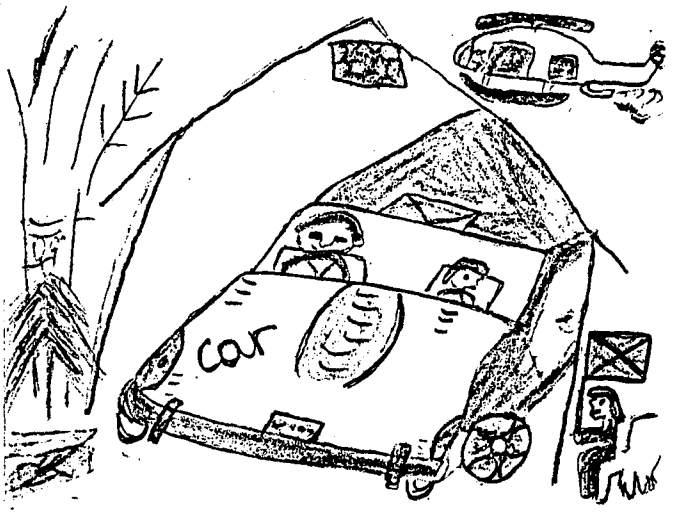


Figure 14. Nationalism and the touristic enterprise. "Visitors enjoying there ride. They will be be happy. They are going to the beach." (Small , tourism-area school, ST)

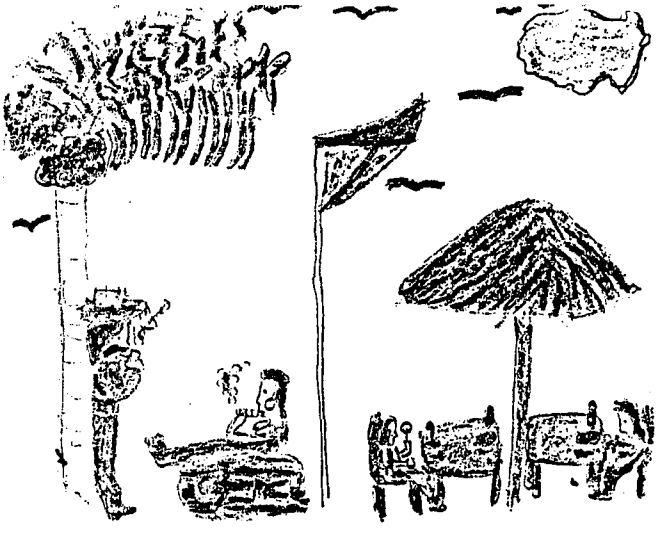


Figure 15. Nationalism and tourism on the beach. "Visitors enjoying themselves at a beach." (School ST)

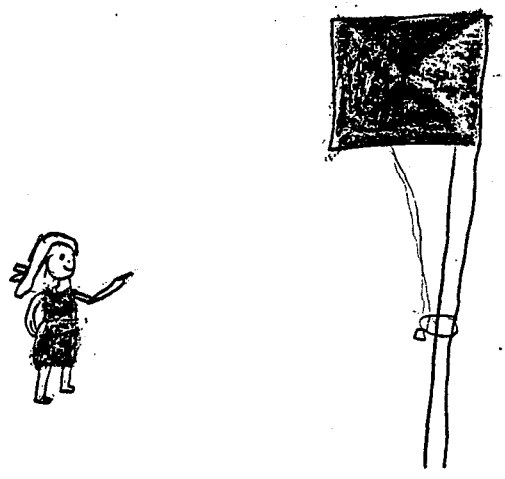


Figure 16. "A tourist looking on the Jamaican flag and pointing at it." (School ST)

Discussion

Only six out of 270 project participants expressed negative opinions about visitors. These children pointed out that visitors "sometimes push", that they can carry dangerous diseases, and that they can be "bad, unkind, mean, and proud". For the most part, however, the children who

reponded to these two items expressed very positive views of those who come to Jamaica from "far away". The majority of the participants described Jamaica's foreign guests as "kind, friendly, generous, helpful, loving," and so on.

Not surprisingly, a number of these 5th and 6th graders viewed visitors in economic terms. Many observed that visitors are "rich" and that they sometimes "share things" and give people money. Further, many of the children expressed a belief that tourism is important for Jamaica as a nation. Although the children of the elite preparatory school seemed to be the most conscious of the fact that tourism is a business that needs to be managed and promoted, even rural students were very aware that tourists are "helpful" to Jamaica. But even though many of the children focused on the economic aspects of tourism, an equal number made comments about the visitors' experience of Jamaica. Repeatedly, they stated that Jamaica is a place that people like to visit, a place that has something that tourists "love" so much that "they don't want to leave".

The dual tendencies to view almost all outsiders in a positive light, and to be concerned about the quality of their experience of Jamaica have long been a part of life in the British West Indies. Nettleford (1977) has described this pattern as a kind of "psychic inheritance" that is shared by all Jamaicans.

> ...I like to remind myself that I have been brought up in a very strong Caribbean tradition of warmth and hospitality. In any case, we like to 'show off'. We like to have others come in and be treated 'very good' by us. We like such people to leave with a 'nice impression' of us. All this is deep in the Caribbean style of behavior.

The characteristic warmth and friendliness toward outsiders that Nettleford describes is deeply rooted in Jamaica's colonial heritage. As noted earlier, such cordiality was once one of the exigencies of plantation life (Taylor, 1975). The Europeans who settled in Jamaica during the colonial era eagerly awaited the arrival of visitors from abroad. Such visitors not only brought news and supplies from the civilized world, but provided a potential source of "new recruits". The Europeans who settled and controlled Jamaica during the colonial era realized that their minority status might one day jeopardize both their prosperity and personal security. Thus, the lavish entertainments offered by early West Indian planters were not only attempts to maintain a European way of life, but were also part of an attempt to convince potential settlers to join them. Eventually, the slaves who worked for plantation owners acquired similar attitudes toward outsiders. They, too, came to see strangers as valued assets; to feel, deeply, that "<u>all are welcome</u>".

Today, as in previous centuries, many "good" things still must come to Jamaica from <u>outside</u>: commodities,

capital, expertise, tourists. And, as in the past, Jamaicans still look toward outsiders for "help". Whether one relates this pattern to economic and psychological dependency (Altbach & Kelly, 1978; Mannoni, 1950), or views it as a pattern of economic adaptation (Harris, 1979), as an aspect of social evolution (Cohen, 1983), or as a consequence of modernization (Inkeles, 1983) depends on one's ideological and theoretical commitment.

The fact that many of the participants seem highly aware both of the importance of "having fun" and of the various ways in which outsiders manage to do so, raises another interesting issue. The idea that "having fun" is an economic commodity is an important "modern" concept. Over three decades ago, Martha Wolfenstein (1951) argued that American families were becoming increasingly concerned about whether they were having enough fun. She referred to this new cultural imperative "fun morality", and suggested that American parents tend to feel guilty when they don't have a good enough time being parents. Wolfenstein's historical analysis of child-rearing manuals suggested to her that this was not a concern for earlier generations of American parents. In a similar vein, Gadlin (1980) has noted that the value that Americans have come to place on pleasure as a psychological necessity reflects the changing social and economic structure of the modern world - the shift from production to consumption that has occurred during the 20th

century. Thus, just as Jamaican friendliness can be viewed as an historical adaptation to economic circumstances, the "fun morality" of the First World can be seen as a reflection of an economic system that needs "good" consumers. The two patterns are complementary. Americans feel a deep, moral need to enjoy themselves; Jamaicans love to see that people have a good time. The question raised by this investigation is whether new generations of Jamaican children will continue to manifest the West Indian pattern without also absorbing the ideology of fun that tourists bring to their communities.

Conclusion

The analysis presented above suggests that the attitudes that Jamaican children have toward tourists are not greatly affected by proximity to tourism. The majority of the children who responded to the two items analyzed above hold tourists in high regard. Similarly, children living in both rural and urban communities are aware that visitors come to Jamaica to "enjoy themselves". However, the children who live in close proximity to touristic activities seem to have a much clearer idea of the kinds of things that visitors think are enjoyable. Their drawings make this clear. The focus of this chapter has been on the way that the participants view those who come to Jamaica as visitors. The next chapter will examine whether living in close proximity to tourism has affected the ways that they view their nation.

Chapter Ten

THE CARIBBEAN'S DAUGHTER: NATIONAL IDENTITY

During one of my visits to school SR in May of 1986, I heard the fifth and sixth grade students reciting a poem that captured my attention. When I expressed an interest in it, the principal of the school said that he would send a copy of the poem to me. Several weeks later, I received an illustrated, cardboard scroll on which the words of the poem were inscribed. Each verse is illustrated with hand drawn pictures - of sugar cane, ackee trees, mountains, the sun, stars, and moon, three Jamaican flags, stick figures dancing in the "Festival Jamaica", and so on. The Poem was written by Dawn Graham, and goes like this:

Ode to Jamaica

Jamaica is my homeland,
Isle of wood and water,
Land of sugar-cane and rum,
She is the Caribbean's daughter.

No snow or ice she gives us,
But breezes and rain and sun,
Glorious sunsets, lovely beaches,
Where we can all have fun.

Skies of blue we see each day,
Rugged hills and sun drenched plains,
Deep blue sea and sheer white sand,
Moonlight nights and winding lanes.

Jamaica is a tropical beauty,
Beautiful flowers abundantly grow,
Tall green trees, coiling creepers,
Majestic mountains where rivers flow.

Tropical fruits we get all year,
Breadfruit, apple and pear,
Codfish Ackee and Coconut water,
Of starvation we have no fear.

We love our Jamaica patois,
It is spoken everyday,
Our reggae music is well loved too,
Here is its home and here it will stay.

It is nice to be in Jamaica,
When festival time comes round,
John Canoes, beauty contests and floats,
That is the time when joy will abound.

Tourists love our island,
Our friendliness makes it so,
We try our best to make them happy,
Hospitality we will always show.

Out of many one people,
Is what we'll always say,
Whether black white or yellow
We are Jamaicans all the way.

The children recited this poem from memory with great enthusiasm and precision. The contents of the poem nicely illustrate one of the important non-academic goals of schooling: the inculcation of a sense of national identity. The poem extolls Jamaica's scenic beauty, warm climate, and "fruitfulness". It is also rich in nationalistic symbolism and refers to the national dish (Codfish Ackee), the national motto (Out of Many People, One), and a yearly national celebration (Festival). The poem even acknowledges two of Jamaica's "unofficial" modes of expression: Jamaican patois and reggae music (Reggae music

is still considered inflammatory. Jamaican radio stations still tend to broadcast reggae music only late at night.) Clearly, one of aims of this poem is to bring the reader (reciter) into the nation-building process. In so doing, the poem celebrates the "status quo" and seems to encourage gratitude and acceptance. Interestingly, the poem contains an entire verse that refers to tourism. The "message" contained within this verse is stated with extraordinary clarity. Tourists love Jamaica <u>because</u> Jamaicans are friendly. It is important <u>for the nation</u> that residents do their "best" to make tourists happy. Hospitality is not a matter of personal choice, nor is it something to be taken for granted; it is a national necessity. Not only is Jamaica a place where "all are welcome", but it is a place where outsiders will <u>always</u> be welcome. The fact that I "discovered" the poem in a relatively remote, rural school is intriguing. How well have Jamaican school children the lessons of national pride and hospitality that are exemplified in the poem.

This chapter examines whether touristic activity has an impact on an important aspect of cultural identity: the individual's beliefs about and perceptions of his nation. The MEP booklet contains four items that focus on national identity. The responses to two of these items are discussed in this chapter, the results of the other two items are analyzed in the chapter that follows.

This chapter analyzes the children's responses to two MEP items:

a) What people from other countries should know about Jamaica is that..., and

b) Draw a map that shows Jamaica. It can be any kind of map as long as it includes Jamaica.

The first item was designed to elicit the children's ideas about the kinds of things they believe outsiders ought to know about their country, the qualities that make Jamaica unique, it's national "assets". The item also allowed students to focus on the problems that foreigners might encounter when they visit Jamaica. The second item emphasized that students could either choose to draw a map showing only Jamaica, or one that showed Jamaica within a wider setting. Thus, the item may reflect - albeit roughly - the participants' level of regional (Caribbean) vs global consciousness, (as well as their knowledge of the geography of the island, region, and/or hemisphere.

Findings

WHAT VISITORS SHOULD KNOW ABOUT JAMAICA...

Presumably, the responses to this item reflect what the children would like outsiders to know, as well as what they believe visitors might need to know about Jamaica. Table 10-1 shows the distribution of responses to this item within schools and for the sample as a whole. The group as a whole

generated 475 codable responses to this item. The response rate was quite high: 97% of the students responded to the item.

Table 10-1. Distribution of ideas about what visitors should know about Jamaica (Within school subsamples and for the sample as a whole, in percentages)

	SCHOOL						
INFORMATION	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP	SAMPLE %
Evaluative (pos.)	34	38	38	35	42	35	37
Physical environment	34	28	38	26	42	35	33
People	22	15	12	20	5	12	15
Touristic advice	4	8	3	16	5	8	7
Evaluative (neg.)		6	2	1	3	3	2
Nation-oriented	4					6	2
Unclear, other	1	4	8		3		2
Institutions	1	3		1		2	1
Total # responses	112	80	66	85	66	66	475

The responses showed a high degree of across the six school subsamples and there were no substantial differences in the distributions of tourism-area vs rural student responses. For this reason, the analysis that follows describes some of the patterns that characterize the sample as a whole.

As Table 10-1 shows, 37% of all responses to this item listed Jamaica's positive qualities ["evaluative (pos)" category]. The most common evaluative word used by the children was "beautiful". Other children explained that Jamaica is a "good", "nice", "lovely", "clean", "fruitful",

and "enjoyable" place. Many children focused on Jamaica's physical attributes (158 of 475 responses or 33%). In particular, they wrote about Jamaica's warm climate and sunshine, its green hills, mountains, and valleys, and its rivers, waterfalls, and beaches. A number of students also noted that Jamaica is an island and that it is surrounded by the sea. Another 73 responses (15%) described the people of Jamaica. Usually, these answers noted that Jamaicans are "friendly", "warm", "kind", and "loving". In addition, 34 of the responses (7%) include "touristic advice". For example, an EP student said that "it is a good place to go for a vacation", and an MC student explained that "They should come an[d] visit and have a wonderful time at the zoo, looking at waterfalls and beaches. It is a beautiful country and it have a lot of fun".

Only eleven children (2%) mentioned negative things about Jamaica [the "evaluative (neg)" category shown in Table 10-1.] For example, one LT student thought visitors ought to know that "Jamaica is not always sunny". In addition, a number of responses explained that Jamaica is a poor country. Two MC students noted that Jamaica is "very poor", and an LT student thought that visitors should know that "poor people live there". An SR student elaborated on this theme, saying that "Jamaica is poor so they must spend a lot of money here".

Another type of negative response referred to problems that tourists might encounter when dealing with Jamaican people. For example, an EP student noted that Jamaican people sometimes give American visitors a rough time: "They curse and trouble Americans, some are friendly. We have hard times occassionally". An LT student explained that "The vendors like to drag them all over the place and beg money and also to crowd around you and want you to buy from them".

Only two students wrote responses that indicate that they feel that Jamaica is a "bad" country. An LT student explained that "Jamaica is a nice country but because of its' bad people the whole country became bad". And an LR student wrote the following, disquieting response:

> when they are coming to Jamaica they should know serten people or probably before the[y] fly come to Jamaica, because...anything can happened to them. They should know serten people because in [initials deleted] are not good. Some of them like quarrel too much and fight. Some time kill and theif, thats the why people should always watch Jamaica before you talk about Jamaica. I my self is trying to leaf out of this country.

Clearly, the young girl who wrote this comment feels that Jamaica can be a dangerous place for outsiders who don't know how to behave. Although many of the participants said that they would like to travel to other countries (i.e., Chapter Eight), this child is the only participant who explicitly stated a desire to leave Jamaica because of its

"dark side".

DRAW A MAP THAT SHOWS JAMAICA...

Ninety-five percent of the participants completed this item. Each map drawing was assigned only one category code. Thus, Table 10-2 shows the distribution of participants who drew each type of map.

Table 10-2. Distribution of types of map drawings (Within school subsamples and for the sample as a whole, in percentages)

	SCHOOL						
MAP TYPE	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP	SAMPLE %
Outline only	28	57	38	32	26	18	35
Parishes, counties	8	33	50	67	23	26	37
Islands (2-4)	26	2			43	56	17
Caribbean region	33	6			9		7
Other	3	2	5	2			2
Unclear	3		7				2
Total # responses	39	54	42	57	35	34	261

Thirty-seven percent the children drew maps that showed an "outline" of the island of Jamaica. Another 35% drew maps that showed Jamaica's parishes and/or counties as well as its shoreline. Twenty-four percent of the participants drew regional maps of Jamaica. For the most part, these maps showed 2 - 4 neighboring Caribbean islands (usually Cuba, the Dominican Republic/ Haiti, and Puerto Rico. In addition, 19 students (7%) drew maps that showed more than

four neighboring islands. As these maps were almost always very elaborate in detail, it seems likely that they were "copied" from published sources. This problem will be discussed in the discussion section that follows. Three of the schools in the sample produced very few regional maps (SR, LR, and LT). Most LT students drew "outline only" maps; the rural students most often drew maps that showed Jamaica's parishes and/or counties. In contrast, the students attending the other three schools (ST, MC, and EP) tended to draw "regional" maps showing 2 - 4 neighboring islands. Finally, 33% of the ST drawings and 9% of those produced by MC students were complex drawings showing many of the islands in the "Greater Antilles".

Discussion

The responses to the "what visitors should know" item make it clear that most of the children who took part in this project have "absorbed" many of the messages expressed in Graham's Ode. A majority of the responses to this item focused on Jamaica's touristic assets - its physical beauty, warm climate, "fruitfulness", and friendly people. Only a few students mentioned negative attributes - the nation's economic problems, aggressive street people, and crime. Given the fact that the item encouraged the participants to think about Jamaica in touristic terms (rather than, for example, historical, political, cultural, or nationalistic

terms) the "rosiness" of the views they express is probably not surprising. Nonetheless, the uniformity of responses to this item across six very different schools is striking and suggests that this particular aspect of national identity cuts across economic and regional boundaries.

Although cross-school differences in the kinds of maps the children chose to draw are evident, these differences are not easily interpreted. While children attending the two rural schools most often drew maps that showed "Jamaica only", LT students also drew a number of maps of this type. Thus, these findings only partially support the notion that proximity to tourism may make children more aware of the "global context".

The instructions given to the teachers and principals who administered the MEP booklet asked that they avoid giving any "cues" that might influence the children, but no instructions were given regarding the use of other kinds of classroom aids. Therefore, it is quite possible that some of the participants used classroom materials (books, posters, or maps) when they completed this item. [A "Regional Map of the Greater Antilles" was displayed on the wall in the MC 6th grade classroom during one of my visits to this school and may well have been available at the time of the assessment. It seems likely that ST students also had access to a regional map of the West Indies. (At the time that the material culture of room ST-6 was recorded,

three hand-drawn maps of Jamaica were displayed in the room.) In addition, a small (12"), Jamaica-shaped plaque hung on the wall in one corner of the sixth grade classroom of school LT and this may account for the preference this group's inclination to draw outline-type maps. In addition, a commercial map of the Caribbean Region was displayed in the classroom adjacent to LR-6 at the time that the material culture of this room was documented. Clearly, variations in the material culture available to participants at the time that they completed the MEP assessment make it more difficult to interpret cross-school differences. However, as discussed in Chapter Seven, classroom material environments reflect beliefs about what adults believe students should see everyday when they sit in their classroom. Thus, the fact that ST, MC, and LR students may have had access to "visual aids" is, anthropologically, "part of the story". In an important sense, however, none of the responses to any of the items in the MEP booklet should be thought of as individual responses. The way that each child responded to the MEP items was inevitably affected by the material and social (as well as the historical and political) setting - by that "complex whole" that makes true individuality a cultural and psychological impossibility.

Conclusion

This chapter has investigated whether there is any evidence that proximity to tourism has had a systematic effect on two indices of national identity. The data reported here show that children from a wide range of economic, social, and cultural backgrounds appear to share a common vision of Jamaica's assets (at least, of those assets that might be of concern to outsiders). Their collective vision emphasized the physical attributes of the island - its scenic beauty and benign climate - and the virtues of its people. For the group as a whole, "virtue" seems to have been closely associated with warmth, friendliness, and hospitality, and to a lesser degree, with obedience and cleanliness. Conversely, the children who wrote about "bad" Jamaicans most often described people who "trouble the tourists". These findings suggest that the participants have acquired a set of values that are highly compatible with the needs of the tourism industry for a continued supply of eager, friendly, and hospitable workers.

Because of difficulties of interpretation, the "map" item proved to be a less useful index of national identity. It is worth noting, however, that the very high rate of response to this item, together with the relatively high degree of accuracy with which many of the participants drew their maps, is "proof" that the participants believe that the geographic features of their island are important.

This in itself is evidence for the role that schools have played as transmitters of nation-oriented knowledge to Jamaican young people. The focus of this chapter has been on how the participants view Jamaica as it is today. The next chapter explores another aspect of national identity: the way that the participants think about their nation as an evolving social entity.

Chapter Eleven

SLAVERY, "SPACE SHOVELS", AND FREEDOM: IMAGES OF THE HISTORY AND FUTURE OF JAMAICAN LIFE

This chapter describes some of the ways in which the children who took part in this study view their nation's history and its prospects for the future. Not much is known about the way in which a child's personal beliefs about his society's past might affect his life-course. Nor do we know how (or whether) the expectations he and his peers have about the future might affect cultural evolution. Indeed, most of what we know - or think we know - about the "real world" correlates of both of these kinds of cultural knowledge is based on common sense rather than empirical evidence. Although it is easy to see that thinking about the future is a creative, constructive act, it may be harder to realize the extent to which historical knowledge, too, must be constructed by each individual, and each cultural group. This analysis takes both possibilities seriously.

This analysis assumes that the individual's beliefs about his culture's past and his expectations about the future represent important aspects of his cultural identity (Brock & Tulasiewicz, 1985). Most people acquire a sense of the ways in which the social groups to which they belong differ from other social groups. The school probably plays an important role in esablishing the child's knowledge about his nation's history. But children also acquire historical

knowledge from their parents and grandparents (Coles, 1986), from the media, and in Jamaica, from "touristic" attractions and artifacts.

It is more difficult to know how children acquire an ability to construct imaginary futures. Nonetheless, children do create such images [1]. These kinds of images represent "imaginary social worlds" (Caughey, 1984) that exist in the present (Laissue, 1985). They influence the individual's plan-making activities, goal-oriented behaviors, and emotions. Thus, beliefs about the future may shape the future to the degree that they shape the way the individual constructs and responds to present contingencies.

Analytical Strategy

As discussed in Chapter Five, all of the drawings in the sample were analyzed using content analytic procedures. First, a verbal description of each drawing was written. Then, using colored pens, each written protocol was coded for thematic content (i.e., "slavery", "space travel", "violent crime", "living a happy life", and so on). Sets of drawings were often re-analyzed as a reliability check for coding consistency. The categories employed were not mutually exclusive. Thus, a drawing might have been coded as containing themes that depicted "violence", and "futurism"(space ships), and societal "disaster" (famine). Some pictures, on the other hand, might have been assigned

only one category code (i.e., "indian life").

In order to check whether there were substantial differences between schools in the average number of themes represented in each drawing, a "thematic density" score was calculated by dividing the number of themes generated for each school (minus no-data items) by the number of drawings produced by each school subsample. Tables 11-1a and 11-1b show the variations in thematic density that characterize the sample.

Table 11-1a. Number of drawings completed and thematic density scores for historical imagery items

	SCHOOL					
	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP
Total number of themes	70	60	35	83	43	39
Number of drawings completed	39	48	47	62	44	34
Thematic density (Avg. themes/drawing)	1.79	1.25	.74	1.34	98	1.15

Table 11-1b. Number of drawings completed and thematic density scores for anticipatory imagery items

	SCHOOL					
	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP
Total number of themes	52	51	34	65	44	49
Number of drawings completed	39	48	47	62	44	34
Thematic density (Avg. themes/drawing)	1.33	1.06	.72	1.05	1.00	1.44

The thematic density score represents the average number of themes that were coded for each completed drawing in the subsample. It does not necessarily reflect the relative "complexity" or "simplicity" of the drawings. For example, a very complex, detailed drawing of slavery was coded in the same manner as a "simple" portrayal of slavery. No attempt was made to systematically evaluate drawings in terms of their visual complexity.

Findings: General Thematic Patterns

HISTORICAL DRAWINGS

Table 11-2 shows the distribution of themes present in the historical drawings produced by the participants (i.e., all six schools combined). When asked to draw a picture of Jamaican life as it was 200 years ago, many children drew pictures about slavery, violence, and agricultural life. Less common themes included Arawak indian life and "people living happily". While not all pictures of slavery contained violent imagery, nearly all of the instances of violence occuring in the historical pictures are associated with drawings of slavery. Thus, of the 330 themes identified within the historical sample as a whole (total minus no-data items), there were 104 portrayals of slavery, 85 instances of violence, 42 references to agricultural living, 48 pictures of Arawak life, and 13 explicit references to living a happy life.

Table 11-2. Distribution of themes appearing in the historical drawings (All six schools combined)

	# DRAWINGS	PERCENT
THEME		
Slavery	104	28
Violence	85	23
Indian life	48	13
Agricultural life	42	12
Happy life	13	4
Nature	7	2
Commercial activities	3	1
Hard life	3	1
Humor	3	1
Government/nation	2	1
Religion	1	0
Other	19	5
No data	35	10
Total	365	100

References to religion, commercial activities, governmental or political phenomena, living in nature, or to the natural habitat alone also appear in the sample of drawings, but with a fairly low frequency (i.e., 4 or fewer cases for each category). In addition, three of the drawings employed humor or portrayed humorous events and there were a total of 19 cases in which material contained in the drawings was coded "other" because it was either uninterpretable or did not fit into any of the established categories. None of the children drew pictures of either natural or societal "disasters" (i.e., storms, floods, volcanoes, war, famine, etc.). Thirty-five of the 274 participants in the study (13%) did not complete this item.

ANTICIPATORY DRAWINGS

When asked to imagine what Jamaican life might be like in the year 2186, many children drew pictures that contained "high tech" future imagery. As Table 11-3 shows, 59 of the 295 themes identified in the full sample depicted high tech futures [2]. Often, these images involved high tech vehicles - rocket ships, flying saucers, jet-powered cars and busses, and individuals flying through the air powered by "jet packs". Some of these drawings included cityscapes in which dwellings and commercial buildings were perched on top of tall, slender columns. Such drawings nearly always

Table 11-3. Distribution of themes appearing in the anticipatory drawings (All six schools combined)

	# DRAWINGS	PERCENT
THEME		
Hi-tech	59	17
Violence	55	16
Disasters	24	7
Home life/agriculture	24	7
Happy life	18	5
Religion	14	4
Commercial activities	14	4
Hard life	13	4
Government/Nation	13	4
Urbanization	10	3
Slavery	7	2
Tourism	6	2
Indian life	6	2
Nature	6	2
Vehicles	4	1
Globalism	3	1
Other	19	6
No data	47	14
Total	342	100

gave the impression that access to these buildings could be gained only via air travel; at least one flying vehicle was present in virtually all of the cityscapes of this type.

Two types of very negative themes were found. One large group of children drew pictures that contained violent imagery (n=55 of 295 coded themes). For the most part, these pictures showed war-related activities or criminal violence. Other, equally pessimistic drawings depicted disasters (erupting volcanoes, fires, famine) and economic hardships.

Another set of drawings portray "homelife" or agricultural activities (24 cases). In addition, 19 anticipatory drawings fell into the "other" category, and references to commercialism/wealth and to religious occurrences occured with equal frequency (14 instances of each thematic type). Ten of the drawings depicted increasing urbanization and growing population density.

References to national political activities or symbolism were more common than international or "global" imagery (13 and 3 cases, respectively). Curiously, 7 children drew pictures of slavery and another 6 drew pictures of what appear to be indians. Six children drew pictures of natural objects and/or scenery and an equal number made explicit reference to tourism as a part of Jamaica's future. Forty-seven of the 274 participants in this study (17%) did not complete the anticipatory drawing

item.

While these data reveal a variety of different images both of Jamaica's past and of its future, one is struck by the negative tone that pervades so many of their drawings. The majority of the children seem to see a past filled with oppression and violence, and envision a future characterized by war, violent crime, poverty, famine, and other disasters. A smaller group of children associate their nation's history with the peaceful and inventive Arawak indians who once lived in Jamaica, and a number children view the past (but not the future) as a time when people could live a "happy life".

On the other hand, some participants seem to believe that Jamaica's future will bring economic prosperity, personal happiness, and substantial technological and environmental change. Thus, 38 of the total of 295 themes in the anticipatory sample dealt with living a "happy life", with commercial activities, and acquiring or simply having wealth.

The combined data sets described above reveal a number of general patterns in the way that a large and diverse population of 5th and 6th grade students view their nation's past and its prospects for the future. Further analysis of each school's distinctive patterns of imagery reveals a number of between-school differences. The most striking of these differences are described below.

Between-school Comparisons of Historical Imagery

Table 11-4 shows the proportion of the total number of themes in each category contributed by each of the six schools (for the historical drawings). Table 11-5 indicates the relative emphasis that each school placed on the various themes. It reflects the number of drawings containing each theme as a percentage of the total number of themes generated by each school.

Sample drawings are included at the end of this section. The student's historical drawing appears at the top, and the same student's anticipatory drawing at the bottom of each page. The participant's school is indicated in parentheses.

SLAVERY, VIOLENCE, AND CATASTROPHIC EVENTS

Images of slavery were often drawn by the children of four of the six schools. The slavery theme was almost always associated with violent actions or with allusions to violence (the overseer's whip, guns, etc.). (See Figures 25, 27, 29, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 47, 49, and 51.)

School ST , the smaller of the two tourism area schools in the sample, produced 36% of the slavery themes and 36% of the violence-related themes appearing in the sample as a whole (see Table 11-4, below).

The large, rural school LR was next in rank with 25% of the total. Schools MC and LT were third and fourth in rank,

contributing 15% and 22% of the themes in the slavery category.

Although many students from the small, rural school SR drew pictures of agricultural settings and activities, none of their images could be clearly identified as representations of slavery. Only two of the pictures in the SR subsample contained violence-related themes (2% of the themes in this category). In addition, images of violence were nearly absent from the preparatory school subsample. And, as the data reported in Table 11-5 shows, only two prep school students (5%) drew pictures about slavery. Thus, there appears to be a striking contrast between the historical visions held by the prep school students and those held by many of the common-school students in the sample.

Table 11-4. Distribution of themes within categories, historical drawings (Percentage contributed by each school)

	SCHOOL					
	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP
THEME						
Slavery	36	22		25	15	2
Violence	36	18	2	28	14	1
Indian life		8	21	8	6	56
Agricultural/home life	2	26	33	14	17	7
Happy life		15		62	8	15
Nature		14		86		
Commercial activities		33		33		33
Hard life				67	33	
Humor		33			33	33
Government/nation		50			50	
Religion			100			
Other	5	5	42	32	5	11
No data		14	34	11	37	3

Table 11-5. Distribution of themes within schools, historical drawings (Percentages)

	SCHOOL					
	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP
THEME						
Slavery	53	35		30	29	5
Violence	44	23	4	28	21	3
Indian life		6	21	5	5	68
Agricultural/home life	1	17	30	7	13	8
Happy life		3		9	2	5
Nature		2		7		
Commercial activities		2		1		3
Hard life				2	2	
Humor		2			2	3
Government/nation		2			2	
Religion			2			
Other	1	2	17	7	2	5
No data		8	26	5	23	3

There were no references to catastrophic events (fires, floods, volcanoes, etc.) in the historical dataset. In contrast, many students imagined that such events might be a part of Jamaica's future (See "Anticipatory Images" section, below).

ARAWAK AND INFERRED INDIAN LIFE

Nearly 80% of the EP students drew images of Arawak indians or of what appeared to be representations of indian life ("Indian Life" category, Table 11-5.) Prep school student drawings contain 56% of the total number of themes in these two categories (Table 11-4). (See Figures 17, 19, 21, and 23.)

The ST subsample, on the other hand, produced no indian imagery of any kind. Interestingly, several SR students drew pictures of Arawak indian life (10 drawings, 21% of the cases within this category). The other three schools each produced between 6 and 8% of total number of indian-life images appearing in the sample as a whole.

AGRICULTURAL/HOME LIFE

Figures 31 and 45 are examples of pictures that contained agricultural or home-life themes. SR students drew the largest number (33%) of pictures depicting rural settings and agricultural activities (See, for example, Figure 45). However, one group of urban, tourism-area students (LT) also drew a number of pictures of this type (26% of the cases in this category, Table 11-4). LR and MC students contributed 17% and 14 % of the items in this category. The prep school students and the small tourism-area school students were the least likely to include agriculture-related themes in their drawings.

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES, POLITICS, AND USE OF HUMOR

Only three students portrayed commercial activities or institutions in their historical drawings. Two of these drawings also contain incongruous, apparently humorous elements. Only two students included political or nationalistic imagery in their historical drawings. One of

these drawings also employs humor.

A prep school student drew a picture of several huts, a big smiling sun, and what appears to be a two-story building. In the "sky" between the sun and the building are the words "General Office". This child seemed to be "playing with incongruity", and her picture was coded as one of only three "humorous" pictures in the sample. Interestingly, humor seems to have been employed in another "commercial activity" historical drawing. An LT student drew a picture of two people carrying baskets on their heads. The explanation reads "These people are going to market to get their goods sold". In the lower left hand corner of the drawing is a stick figure with a "word bubble" that says "what kind of clothes you have on. it do not look good." While the drawing as a whole appears to be a "serious" one, the stick figure seems curiously incongruent, and therefore may have been intended as "comic relief". A third reference to commercial activites appears in a non-humorous drawing done by an LT student who drew a large factory and a several empty railroad cars.

Of the two instances of "nationalistic" imagery ("government/nation" on Tables 11-4 and 11-5), one includes comic elements. The major element in this drawing is a thatched hut with the abbreviations of Jamaica's two political parties inscribed near its entrance (i.e., " JLP" and "PMP" [PNP]). The notion that the drawing is at least

in part a playful one is further confirmed by the fact that the words "BEAT STREET" also appear on the hut (an intriguing juxtaposition of a contemporary musical expression with a reference to the institution of slavery). The other nationalistic drawing is a non-humorous one drawn by an LT student. The drawing shows a stick figure riding on a large, unrecognizable animal. A rectangular shape - probably intended to be a basket - rests on top of the animal's head. This "basket" is colored as though it were a Jamaican flag, in three horizontal bands of yellow, black, and green. The comment section of this drawing reads "long ago people use to Ride on Animal because there were no cars thoes day".

NATURE THEMES AND RELIGIOUS IMAGERY

As was noted earlier, some of the students drew pictures of natural settings or objects (forests, the sea, flowers, etc.). All 7 of the drawings of this type were produced by students attending the two large, government-run schools, LR and LT (Table 11-4). A rural school student (SR) drew the only historical picture that contained religious content, a picture of a man and a woman with the word "Paradise" written in the comments section.

HAPPY LIFE/HARD LIFE THEMES

Drawings were coded for these two categories when the

student indicated that his picture was meant to show the way in which life in the past was either more difficult, or, alternatively, more enjoyable/ better than contemporary life. Thirteen students saw life in the past as happier than life today; only 3 specifically stated that life in the past was "harder". Most of the students who portrayed people living happily in the past were rural school students (LR = 62%, Table 11-4). However 2 prep school students, 2 LT students, and 1 student from MC also used the "happy life" description. The 3 students who referred to life having been harder than it is today attended schools LR and MC.

OTHER AND NO DATA CATEGORIES

As was noted above, the "other" category includes all of those drawings that were either uninterpretable or that simply did not fit into any of the established categories. The majority of these drawings showed "people only" with no other context. As Table 11-4 indicates, the two rural school subsamples, LR and SR, produced 74% of the themes of this type. [School SR also had a very large number of anticipatory themes of this type - see "Anticipatory Images" section, below.] The remaining "other" themes were about equally distributed between the other four school subsamples (1 or 2 items each).

Twenty-nine percent of the MC students and 25% of those

attending SR did not complete the historical drawing item. Ten percent of the LT students and 6% of the LR students also left the item blank. Only one EP student skipped this item and all of the ST students completed it.

SUMMARY OF CROSS-SCHOOL DIFFERENCES, HISTORICAL DRAWINGS

Table 11-5 shows the relative emphasis that each school group placed on various themes. The two themes expressed most often by each school group (excluding "other" and "no data" items) are listed below.

school	theme #1	theme #2
ST	slavery	violence
LT	slavery	violence
LR	slavery	violence
MC	slavery	violence
SR	agric/home life	indian life
EP	indian life	agric/home life

For reasons that will be explored later, the small rural school and the elite preparatory school historical drawings focused on similar themes. The images of the past that students attending these two schools constructed were also markedly different from those created by students attending the other four schools.

Between-school Comparisons of Anticipatory Imagery

Table 11-6 shows the relative contribution of each school to the total number of themes coded for each category (for

the anticipatory drawing task). As Table 11-6 shows, some school subsamples contributed a disproportionate number of items to particular categories. Table 11-7 shows the relative distribution of thematic content within each of the six schools. Thus, it shows the relative emphasis that the participants in each of the schools placed on various themes. Each of these two tables will be referred to in the analysis that follows.

Table 11-6. Distribution of themes within categories, anticipatory drawings (Percentage contributed by each school)

	SCHOOL					
	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP
THEME						
Hi-tech	5	10	2	27	22	34
Violence	35	9	13	25	16	2
Disasters	38	8		29	13	13
Home life/agriculture	4	25	25	25		21
Happy life	22	33	22	17	6	
Religion	7	14	21	57		
Commercial activities	29	14	7	7		43
Hard life	15	46	8		31	
Government/Nation	31	23		8	31	8
Urbanization		30			20	50
Slavery		43		57		
Tourism		17				83
Indian life	17				67	17
Nature		33	17	50		
Vehicles			50	50		
Globalism	33	33			33	
Other	16	16	42		16	11
No data	2	23	30	6	36	2

Table 11-7. Distribution of themes within schools, anticipatory drawings (Percentages)

	SCHOOL					
	ST	LT	SR	LR	MC	EP
THEME						
Hi-tech	6	10	2	24	21	40
Violence	36	8	15	21	15	2
Disasters	17	3		10	5	6
Home life/agriculture	2	10	13	9		10
Happy life	8	10	8	4	2	
Religion	2	3	6	12		
Commercial activities	8	3	2	1		12
Hard life	4	10	2		7	
Government/Nation	8	5		1	7	2
Urbanization		5			3	10
Slavery		5		6		
Tourism		2				10
Indian life	2				7	2
Nature		3	2	4		
Vehicles		3	4	3		
Globalism	2	2			2	
Other	6	5	17		5	4
No data	2	18	29	4	28	2

USE OF HIGH TECH IMAGERY

The data reported in both Table 11-6 and Table 11-7 demonstrate that the preparatory school students drew a large number of drawings that contained high tech imagery (i.e., high tech vehicles, drawings about space and space travel, non-conventional architecture, etc.). (See Figures 18, 20, 24). Thirty-four percent of the drawings of this type were produced by EP students. Students attending the large, rural school LR also drew a significant number of high tech images (27% of the cases in this category. See Figures 26 and 28.). Many of these LR drawings involved

"star wars" like images of rocket-powered military aircraft (Figure 28). The MC subsample also contained a number of high tech (22%). Unlike the LR students, MC students drew few pictures of futuristic warfare. They did, however, include a number of scenes of violent events in their drawings of the future (see below). The tourism-area school subsamples and the small, rural school subsample produced few futuristic images.

VIOLENCE AND DISASTERS

Seventy-six percent of the total number of images of violent events were generated by three schools, ST (35%), LR (25%), and MC (16%) (Table 11-6). This pattern is not a consequence of disproportionate sample sizes: the three schools constitute about half of the sample n. Nor did these three schools contribute a substantially larger absolute number of themes: They contributed 60% of the anticipatory themes coded for the sample as a whole. Thus, it appears that the students of these three schools did indeed portray the future in a less positive light than the other three groups of students. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that these three schools also produced 79% of all of the "disaster" themes appearing in the sample (Figures 32, 34).

In contrast, the preparatory school (EP) drawings contain only one violence-related image and three references

to "disasters" as a part of Jamaica's future (2% and 13% of the items in these two categories).

RELIGIOUS OCCURRENCES

The two rural school subsamples, LR and SR, contain the largest number of explicit references to religious events (i.e., the coming of the Lord, catastrophic fire, Judgement Day, etc.) as probable future occurrences. As Table 11-6 shows, School LR ranks first with 57% and school SR ranks second with 21% of the total number of religious themes appearing in the sample. Figure 44 is an example of a drawing of the future that focused on a religious theme. The two tourism-area schools, LT and ST rank third and forth on this dimension, with 14% and 7%, respectively.

Interestingly, school MC, the community-centered, "hi-tech" school, and the preparatory school (the only church-sponsored school in the sample) produced no explicit references to religious symbols, activities, or events.

GLOBALISM vs NATIONALISM

As noted earlier, the sample contains few references to the global or international context. It is interesting, however, that the two hi-tourism area schools and the "mixed economy" school (MC) each contain one clear reference to "foreign" events or nations. These three schools also lead the other subsamples in number of references made to "the

government" or to political activities (See, for example, Figure 50). Of a total of 13 such references, 3 were made by LT students, 4 by ST students, and 4 by MC students. Thus, these three schools can be described as manifesting both more nation-oriented and more extra-national or global imagery than the other three schools.

HAPPY LIFE vs HARD LIFE

The "happy life" and "hard life" categories were created because verbal descriptions accompanying several of the drawings said simply "living happily", or "life will be very hard". The children attending the large, tourism-area school LT were more likely to include either the happy life or the hard life themes in their drawings (33 and 46% of the themes in each of these two categories, respectively, Table 11-6). School ST students and those attending the small, rural school SR used the "happy life" label more often than the "hard life" label. In school MC, this pattern was reversed, with four students drawing images that showed life in the future as involving greater hardships than the present and only one student using the "happy life" description. None of the prep school students used either of these labels to describe their drawings.

HOME LIFE/ AGRICULTURAL LIFE

School MC is the only school that produced no drawings of conventional (i.e., non-hi-tech) homes or of agricultural settings. The ST subsample contains only one drawing of this type. As noted earlier, the children of these two schools often included images of social chaos, violence, and economic hardship in anticipatory drawings. The home-life and agricultural drawings produced by children attending other schools often conveyed a sense of tranquility, solidity, security. Drawings of this type were equally distributed among the four remaining schools, each of which produced between 21% and 25% of the drawings in this category.

NATURAL OBJECTS AND NON-HI-TECH VEHICLES

Some children drew pictures of vehicles (cars or trucks) or of natural objects (a tree, the sea, fish) (See, for example, Figure 40). Most of the drawings in these two categories were created by rural school students. Often such drawings were simple in design and may reflect some of the students' lack of drawing experience. The presence of these drawings (and the fact that they were rarely accompanied by written comments) is reflected in the low thematic density scores of the rural subsamples (Tables 11-1a and 11-1b).

SLAVERY AND INDIANS

Four LR and three LT students drew pictures of slaves or of slavery in the year 2186. In addition, four MC students and one student each from schools EP and SR drew pictures of what appear to be indians. Some of these drawings may reflect student confusion over the task instructions or an inability to read these instructions. But a close look at the drawings suggests that this explanation should not ve used to discount all of the drawings of this type. Some students stated explicitly that slavery might be a part of Jamaica's future. (See discussion section, below).

OTHER AND NO DATA ITEMS

As Table 11-6 shows, the SR subsample contained the largest number of drawings that fell into the "other" category (42% of all "other" themes for the sample as a whole). The large, rural school LR produced no drawings of this type. The other four school subsamples each contained 2-3 drawings that were either uninterpretable or that did not fit into any of the established categories.

A large number of MC students did not complete the anticipatory drawing item (17 of 44 students, 28%). Fourteen of SR's 47 students and 11 of LT's 48 students also left this item blank. The other three schools had very high completion rates (fewer than 3 "ND's" per school).

SUMMARY OF CROSS-SCHOOL DIFFERENCES, ANTICIPATORY DRAWINGS

Table 11-7 shows the relative emphasis that each school group placed on various themes as aspects of Jamaica's future. The themes expressed most often by each school group (excluding "other" and "no data" items) are listed below. (Note: LT responses were equally divided between four themes.)

school	most commonly occurring themes	
ST	violence	societal disasters
SR	violence	home life
LT	hi-tech	home life/ happy life/ hard life
LR	hi-tech	violence
MC	hi-tech	violence
EP	hi-tech	commercial activities

Students attending the larger government schools and the preparatory school were the most likely to include "hi-tech" imagery in their drawings of Jamaica's future. Participants from the smaller schools most often drew pictures that showed violent crime and warfare (See Figures 30 and 38). Preparatory school students were the most inclined to focus on commercial activities as an aspect of Jamaican life "200 years from now".

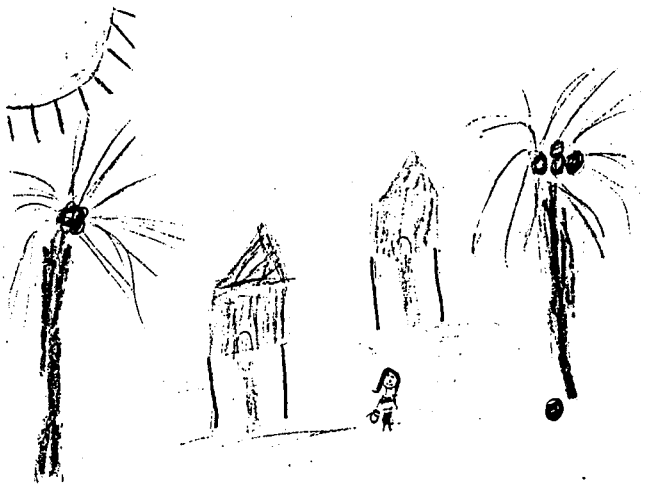


Figure 17. A common theme in the prep school historical drawings: "indian life".

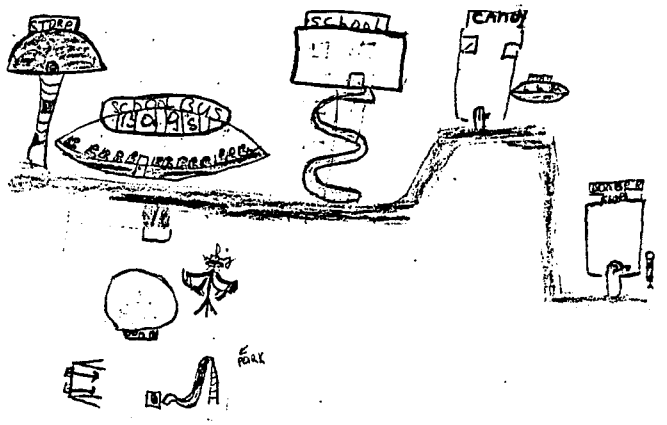


Figure 18. The same student's image of "A parish of Jamaica 200 years from now."

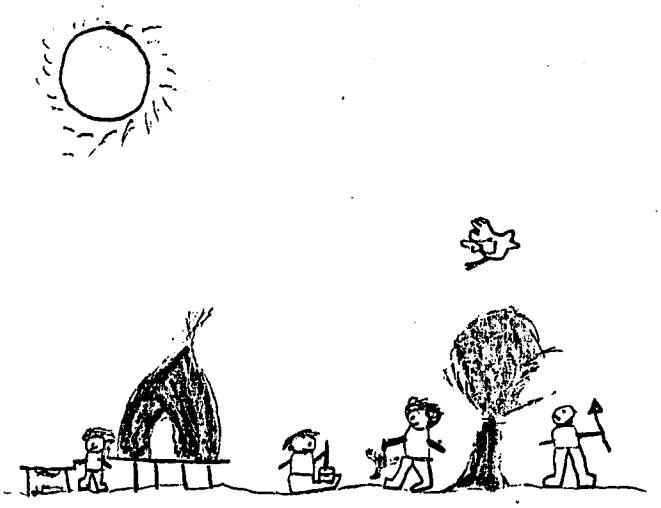


Figure 19. Another preparatory student's image of Jamaica's past.

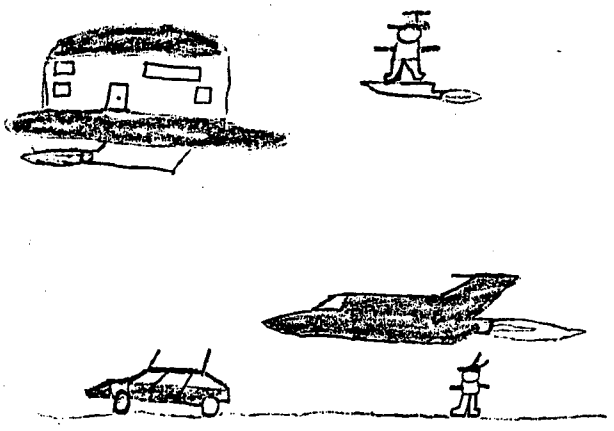


Figure 20. The same student's image of the future. "Things will be much more different. There will be few cars, kids will have better toys and people will travel by jets."

Figure 21. The past: indian life. "There were lots of tree and animals. And small huts cover with leaves." (EP)

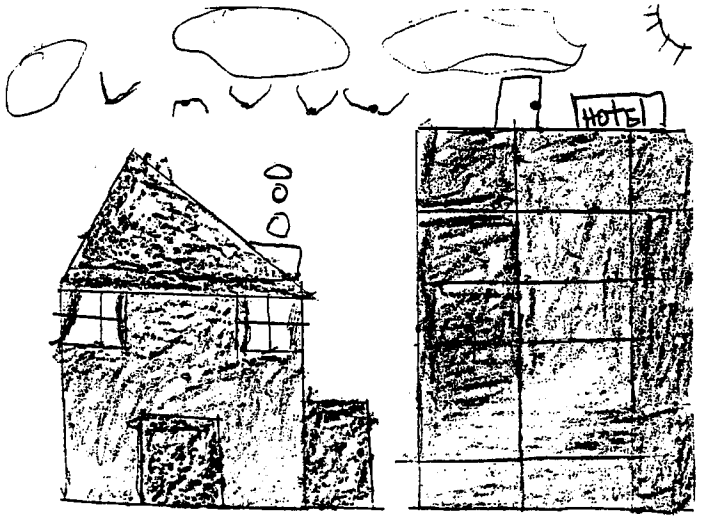


Figure 22. Tourism and urbanization. "There will be lot more house and towns and less tree and more cars and more people. (EP)

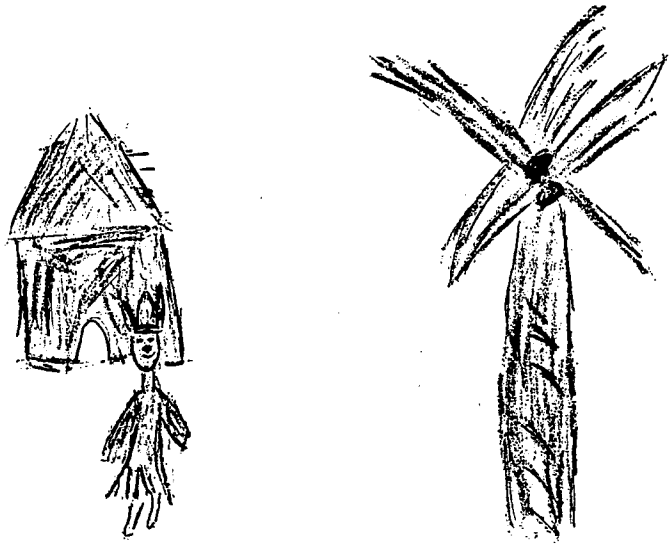


Figure 23. The past: "A native and his house. His house is made of clay and mud and his roof made of leaves." (EP)

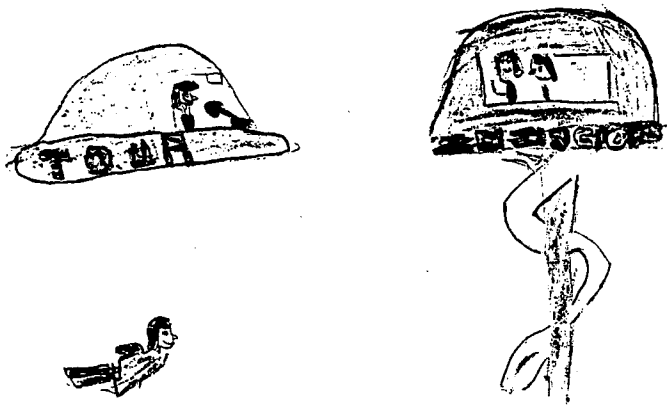


Figure 24. "This picture shows a Disco Jeck, a man showing visitor around Jamaica and a boy floating around on a jeck pack." (EP)

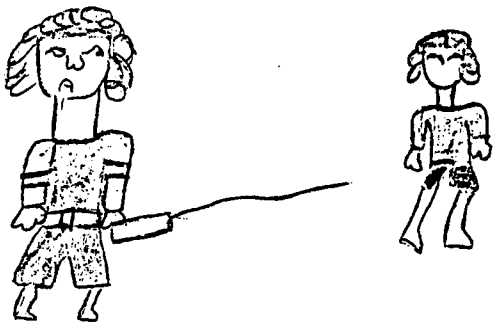


Figure 25. The past, as depicted by a government school student. "This is a slave and slave driver." (Large, rural school)

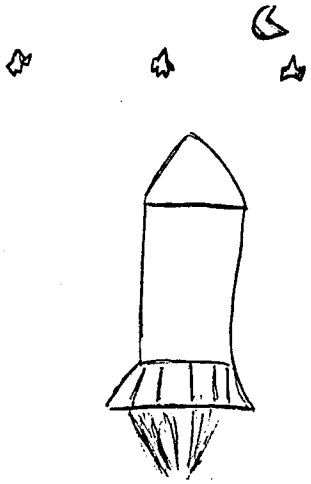


Figure 26. The same student's view of the future. "This is a space shovel going up into space. There are also stars and a moon.

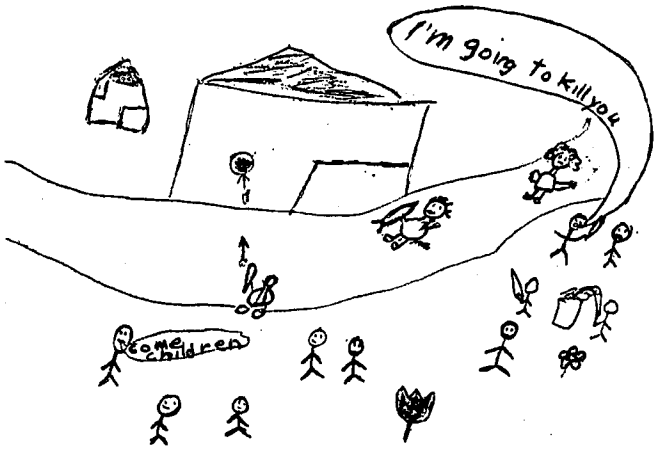


Figure 27. Another LR student's view of the past.

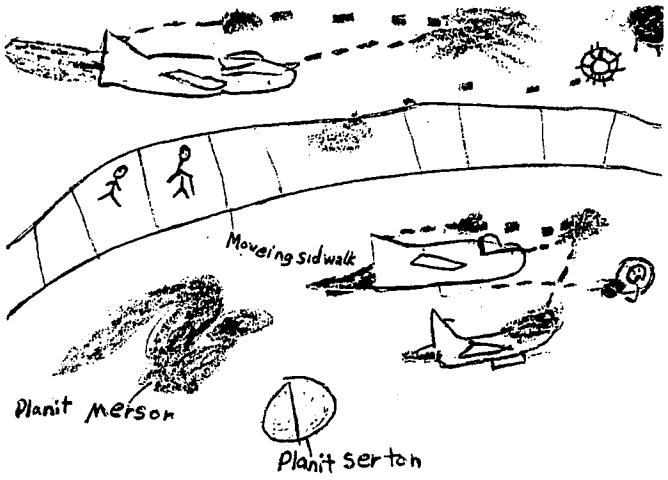


Figure 28. Same student's drawing of the future.

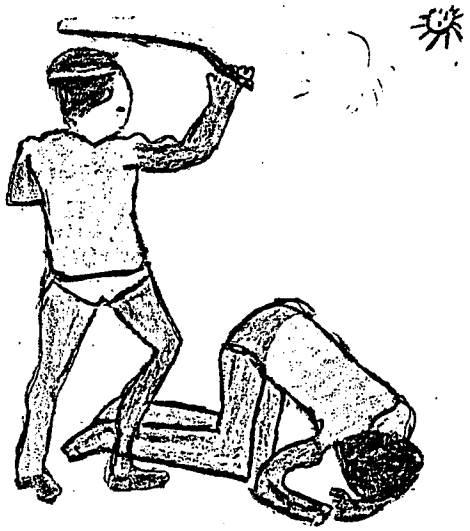


Figure 29. "The slave master is wipping the slave."

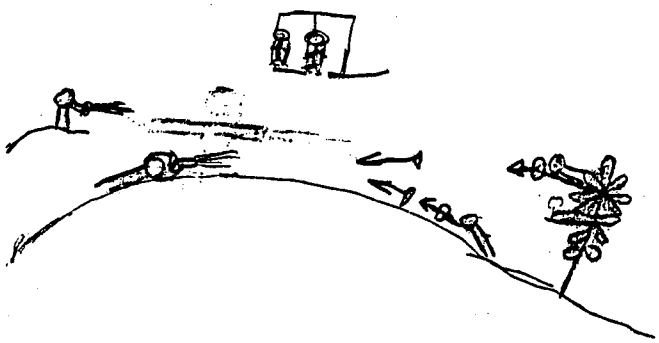


Figure 30. "The men are fighting war." (the future) (ST)

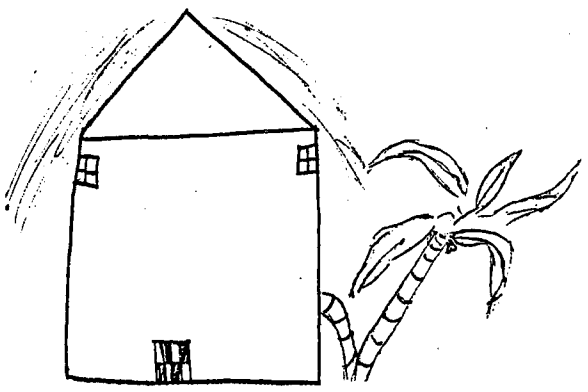


Figure 31. Yesterday's house.

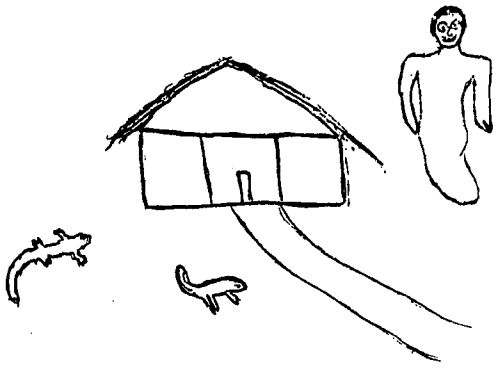


Figure 32. Tomorrow's house. "Two hundred years from now ghost, animal, and insects will be living in houses while people will be living in the bush." (Both drawings done by a government school student, school MC)

Figure 33. "The master is beating the slave." (past)

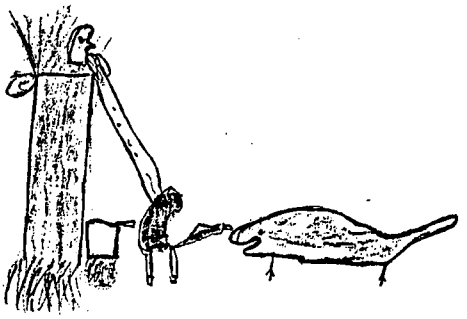


Figure 34. "There is not enough food to eat so man is eating animals such as cat and rat." (future) (School SR)

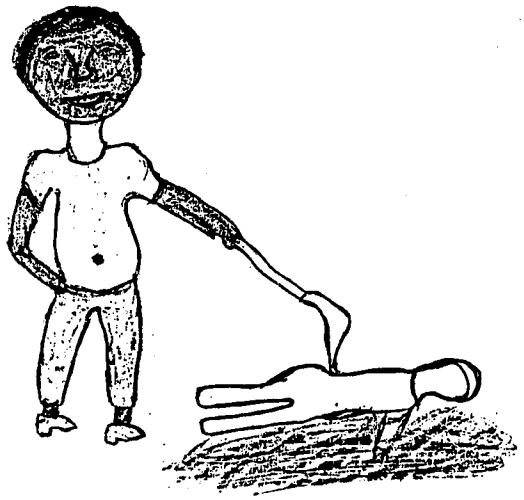


Figure 35. "I think life is like beating - children 200 year ago."

Figure 36. "I think Jamaica life would be like eating out of pan 200 years from now." (LT)

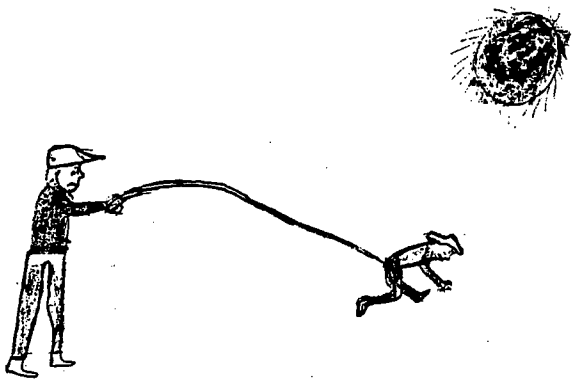


Figure 37. "Master beating a little boy under the sun."

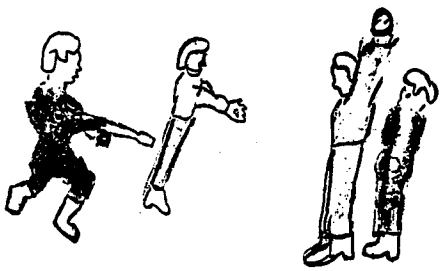


Figure 38. The future: "These are some gun men sticking up some people." (School ST)

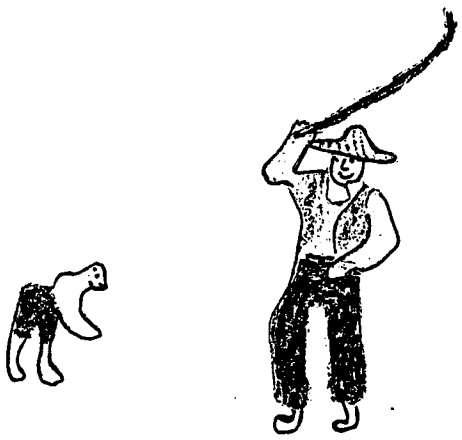


Figure 39. The slave as sub-human animal.

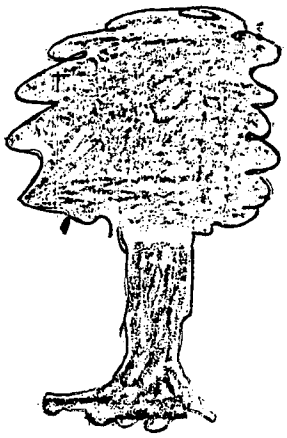


Figure 40. An alternative view of the future. (School LT)

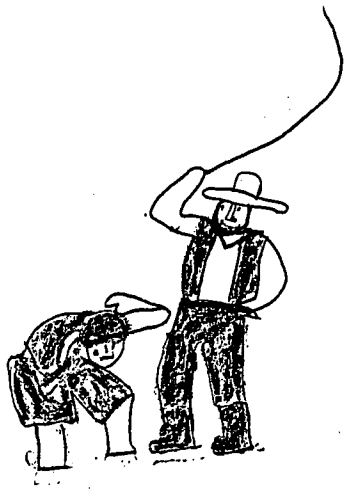


Figure 41. "I have just drawn the slave master beathing the slave."

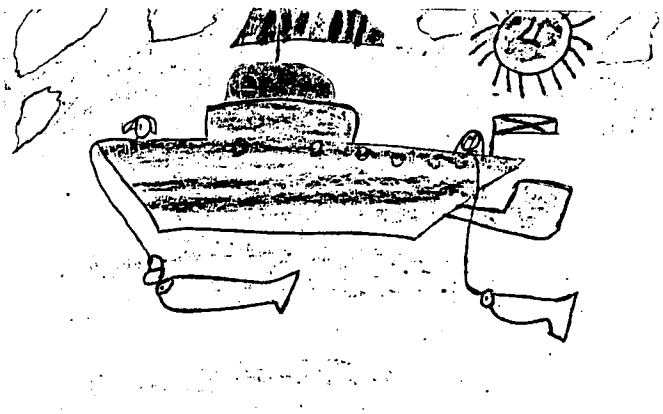


Figure 42. "I have just draw some men drifting away." (ST)

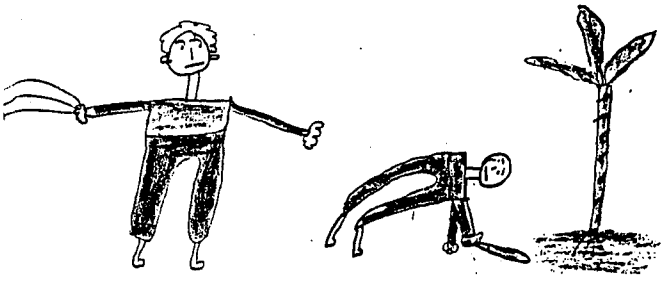


Figure 43. "This man is beating the people in the time of slavery."

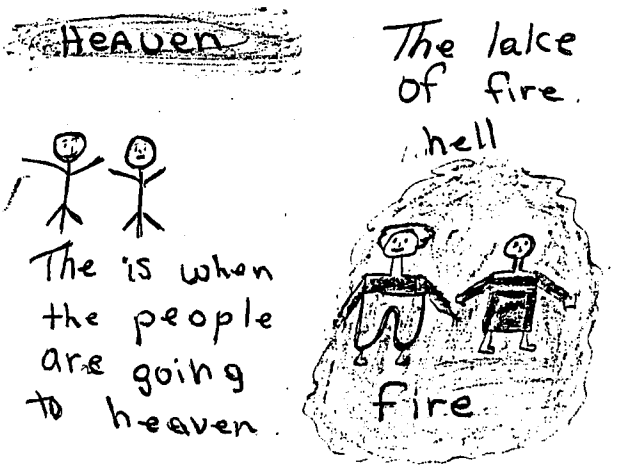


Figure 44. The future: "This is when God comes for his people. The saints are going up and the wicked ones are going in the lake of fire." (LR)

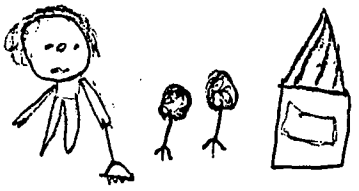


Figure 45. An "agricultural/home life" drawing created by a student from the small, rural school, SR.

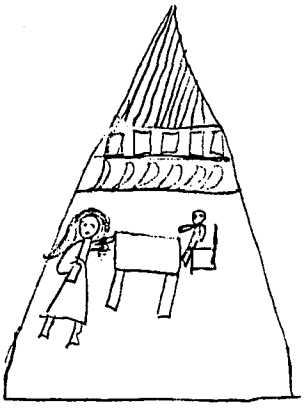


Figure 46. The same student explained that "The life in "Jamaica in 200 years time will be things too dear. People can't buy things. In my picture you can see that a woman is buying somethings but she dont of [have] the money so she is sad.

Figure 47. Two hundred years ago...

Figure 48. Two hundred years from now - subjugation, and resistance. "Jamaica will be worse. It would have slaves all around. Trelawny would have maroons all over." (School LR)

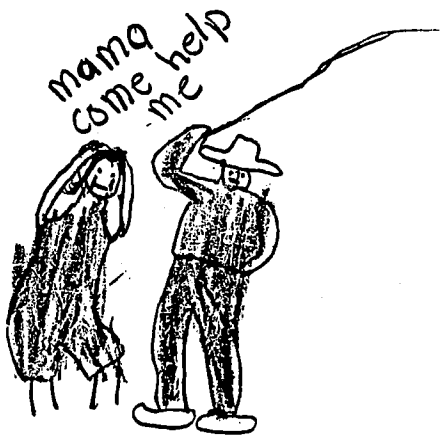


Figure 49. Two hundred years ago..."The slave master is beating the girl."

Figure 50. Two hundred years from now..."The people are calling for feedom." (School ST)

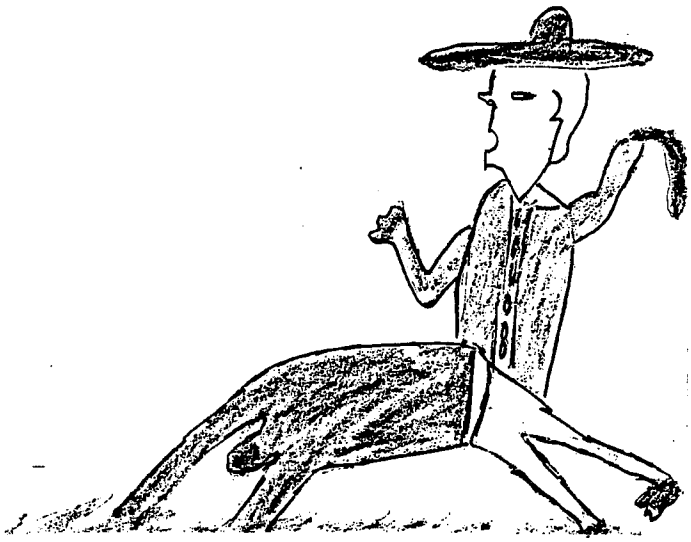


Figure 51. "Two hundred years ago there was slavery. Masters used to beat their servants and the servants were called slaves."

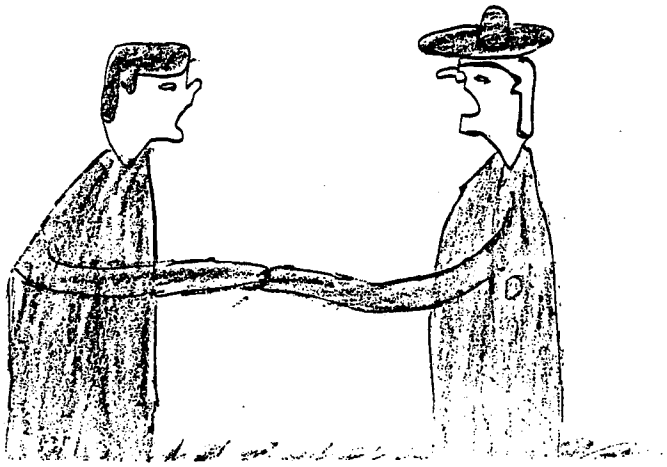


Figure 52. "Two hundred years from now there shall be freedom. Master will shake hand to the servants and start paying them for their jobs." (LT)

Discussion

In general, the findings reported here are not fully consistent with either of the two theoretical frameworks that guided the design of this study. Certain elements within the database seem entirely consistent with the notion that some Jamaican school populations are simply more "modern" than others and that this modernity is, indeed, associated with increasing urbanization and economic "development". Children attending schools located in hi-tourism areas do seem to view the world differently than their more isolated peers.

Clearly, the most striking pattern evident within these drawings is the difference between the preparatory school drawings and those drawn by students attending the government-run schools in the sample. The drawings produced by the prep school students show a very high correspondence with Inkele's description of psychological modernity. The EP drawings were manifestly less aggressive, more oriented toward consumption, commercial institutions, and the acquisition of wealth, more optimistic, and less religious than the drawings of other students. The fact that the EP students made all but one of the references to tourism as a part of Jamaica's future (Figures 22, 24) could even be interpreted to mean that these students are both more realistic and more oriented toward planning than their common school counterparts (Inkeles, 1983).

EP students drew very complex, detailed drawings, and their drawings very often showed a high degree of contrast between the lifeways of the past and those they thought might be possible in the future. These students seemed to have absorbed a "Jetsonian" view of the future. Their anticipatory images contain a lot of architecture that does not exist in Jamaica (or anywhere else) today. In comparison, many of the government school children seemed to place less emphasis on showing such contrasts, i.e., on depicting radical social and environmental change as an aspect of the future. [There are some notable exceptions to this general rule. See, for example, Figures 50 and 52.]

The preparatory students expressed a collective vision of the future that assumes the existence and the beneficial consequences of high technology. They imagine a past in which the peaceful and clever Arawak lived in harmony with nature, and a future in which technology will be used for transportation and for recreation rather than for war. Their view seems to fit Inkele's profile of the modern individual who believes in the calculability and manageability of the social and technical world, and who therefore develops a "sense of efficacy" that is not shared by his less-modern counterparts.

The government school students - collectively - remember a past filled with pain and suffering, and anticipate a future that might be even worse. Their images

of tomorrow are filled with calamities: war, famine, apocalytic fires, violent crime, economic hardship. There is a deep level of pessimism in these drawings that is entirely absent from the EP sample. Whereas the EP students tended to emphasize the contrast between Jamaica's past and its future, government school students seemed to emphasize continuities. For a government school student, a "house of the future" might look just like one drawn to show what life was like 200 years ago, but with one addition: a TV antenna.

One way to account for the differences between the children of the "elite" and their less affluent peers would be to attribute these differences to experiential factors. Thus, prep school students have probably had more opportunities to draw and, indeed, may have had more experience with academic tasks in general. They might have made it a point to create contrasting historical and anticipatory images because they interpreted the exercise as a kind of "test", and proceded accordingly. Government school students, particularly those living in rural areas, may have had few opportunities to draw. For this reason, their drawings may not adequately express their ideas. Since common school students did not often write comments about their drawings, it was at times difficult to know how to interpret some of their work. For example, SR students often drew pictures of people working in fields, but it was often unclear whether the drawing was supposed to represent

slavery or simply "agricultural life" (Figure 45.)

The "personal experience" interpretation might also help to explain some of the cross-school variation in the use of violent and cataclysmic imagery. Those students who did not employ these kinds of images may either lack knowledge about or interest in the "darker" side of their culture's social life, or may have been taught not to express negative or aggressive imagery in school.

A related idea is that those children who emphasized physical and societal oppression in their drawings may also be those who have themselves been the victims of physical violence. A few of the drawings support this hypothesis. For example, one child drew an anticipatory drawing of a child and its mother. The comments section explains that "this mother sends her child to the shop and she do not go and she is beating her". Another drawing shows a large figure standing beside a much smaller one. The comments section reads, "I think past is like - beating children 200 years ago" (Figure 35). The common school children often drew images of slave children being whipped or threatened in some way by their masters (Figures 27, 37, 49).

It seems likely that a child who must live with the possibility of being strapped, or who have often seen others receive physical punishment might be "sensitized" to the slave's plight. Corporal punishment is an accepted educational practice in many Jamaican schools. Ethnographic

observation of the common schools in this sample revealed that teachers often feel that they "must use the strap" on certain children because "that is how they have been treated at home". A Jamaican education officer who looked at many of the drawings in this sample wondered if the political violence associated with Jamaica's last elections might have had "local" effects on those children who lived in the areas in which this violence took place.

When the rural school subsamples are compared to those located in more urban regions, the data do not show a consistent, "evolutionary" shift in modernity. In other words, there does not seem to be a simple, direct relationship between urbanization/tourism and the kinds of patterns that Inkeles and his associates connect with psychological modernity. For example, the school that was, objectively, the least modern produced images that were in some ways the most like those produced by the prep school students. Thus, children attending the tiny, remote school SR drew more Arawak imagery than any other group of common school students in the sample. Although SR students used almost no futuristic or high tech imagery in their drawings, their work contains no explicit references to slavery, and few images of disasters or violence. These students did not draw the vivid, graphic images of slavery and the equally graphic, negative images of the future that were drawn by students who attended school in more urban settings.

Clearly, their drawings suggest that these students may possess a different kind of "cultural identity" than their less isolated peers.

Equally curious is the fact that students attending the two tourism-area schools employed very few "high tech" themes, even though these chidren are probably much more likely than any of the other common school students in the sample to interact with visitors from more developed nations, to live with people who work in large, bureaucratically organized institutions, and to be exposed to the mass media. In contrast, many students attending the large, rural school LR created anticipatory images that were just as "futuristic" as those drawn by their more urban and affluent prep school peers. So did the students of school MC (Figures 26, 28).

And why did the prep school students, who are supposed to have been better educated than their common school peers, create the least accurate portrayals of Jamaican life in 1786? (As discussed in Chapter One, there were no Arawak in Jamaica after 1655.) Caughey's (1985) research on "imaginary social worlds" suggests that First Worlders invest a great deal of emotional energy in maintaining fantasies that "connect" them to the public sphere. Does becoming modern mean becoming <u>less</u> rather than <u>more</u> in touch with certain aspects of reality? While the differential experience/modernization interpretation provides one way of

explaining at least some of the findings reported here, it does not represent a systematic theoretical approach. It involves a psychological account, but not a sociostructural model.

The conflict theory perspective seems to provide a more useful framework within which to interpret at least some of these findings. A conflict theorist would point out that development does indeed involve a process whereby history becomes increasingly idealized and more readily appropriated to serve the "needs of the state". The central issue is which groups acquire which views of history (or of the future) and toward what end? Looking at the drawings, one cannot help feeling that the heightened awareness of historical oppression shown by so many Jamaican school children must, indeed, be a heavy psychological load to bear. The drawings of slavery always showed a driver who was far taller than the slaves around him. When beatings were shown, the driver often looked fully human, but his victim was usually shown kneeling or lying on the ground, and was sometimes shown as manifestly non-human (See Figure 39). Does it serve the interest of Jamaica's established elite for these children to possess (and perhaps be possessed by) an image of their forerunners as - above all - victims? Bourdieu's (1979) "symbolic violence" construct seems relevant here. If a child's sense of personal identity is affected by his beliefs about his cultural

heritage, might teaching children about slavery only serve to enhance an already well embedded sense of powerlessness, vulnerability, inferiority? Why is there so little violence in the prep school subsample, and almost no drawings of slavery? Have parents and teachers (unconsciously) encouraged the prep school children to identify with the Arawak rather than with their harder-to-idealize African kin?

Conclusion

Based on the findings reported in this chapter, one can only speculate that schooling in tourism areas might involve "hidden curriculums" that differ from those of other Jamaican schools. The fact that the two tourism-area schools and the "mixed economy" school produced a disproportionately high number of violent images of the past and apocalyptic visions of the future should not be overlooked. It may also be significant that these schools were the only ones to produce "nationalistic" or politically-oriented imagery.

Schooling in tourism-dependent areas may well involve distinctive patterns of socialization which have a concrete impact on cultural identity formation. But the data-at-hand do not make it clear whether these differences should be attributed to a process whereby exploitative economic and social relationships are being "reproduced" (a conflict theory notion), or to the fact that tourism communities are

"boundary communities" that play a unique role in cultural evolution (Cohen, 1983). Perhaps parents and teachers who live and work in rapidly changing tourism-dependent communities tend to dramatize the slave's lot as a way to instill a desire for progress (by showing that social change can have beneficial effects). Perhaps, confronted with the stresses of rapid modernization, they simply want children to realize that "it could be worse". Perhaps they want to inspire their children to work hard by dramatizing the consequences of "failure". Perhaps, because of the settings in which they live and work, they are made to <u>feel</u> like slaves more often than their rural and upper-class counterparts. Clearly, many of the issues raised by this investigation cannot be resolved without additional micro-cultural, comparative analyses of the internal dynamics of everyday life in both rural and urban Jamaican homes and primary schools.

Notes

1. See Kurth-Schai (1984) for a review of the theoretical and empirical literature on children's imagery and children's images of the future.
2. It is important to note, however, that the futures envisioned by these students were often just as pessimistic as those imagined by their more urban counterparts. Their drawings contain pictures of "spacemen", and "moving sidewalks", moons, stars, the "planit[s] Serton and Merson", and even a "space shovel" [space shuttle] or two (Figures 28 and 26). But one student's comment reads "Jamaica will be worse. it will have slaves all around. Trelawny would have Maroons" (figure 47). And another reads "in the days of slavery when the slave have their ship". And images of warfare - both high tech and conventional - are scattered throughout the sample (Figures 28, 30).

Chapter Twelve

CONCLUSION

The work described in this volume has examined whether a particular type of economic activity - tourism - is associated with specific regional or school-related patterns of cultural transmission. The research and analytical strategies employed were guided by three theoretical approaches to the interpretation of educational and social change: Cohen's theory of cultural evolution, Inkẹle's modernization theory, and neo-Marxist theories of neocolonialism and dependency. This chapter begins with a discussion of some of the theoretical issues that are raised by the findings reported in this monograph. It concludes with a consideration of some of the educational implications that seem to follow from the work as a whole.

However much one might wish it otherwise, theories of education are more than "bodies of logically interdependent generalized concepts with empirical referents" (Paulston, 1976:5). They are also the product of a complex set of historical, cultural, and technological circumstances (Soltis, 1981; Phillips, 1981; Epstein, 1983; Holmes, 1984, 1985). Because paradigmatic commitments are made by humans whose assumptions are shaped by the circumstances in which they live, educational research and theorizing can never be ideologically "neutral". As a consequence, "what matters

about an educational theory - especially one devoted to politics of human action - is not only what the theory explicitly says, but what it omits to say or what it contains that is difficult to acknowledge" (Epstein, 1986: 233).

The fact that theoretical positions are often infused with personal and political values accounts for the intensity with which intellectual battles over educational theory, research, and practice are waged. Ideally, paradigmatic struggles of this sort ought to help scholars to discover the strengths and weakenesses of various positions and to achieve deeper levels of understanding. But while ideology can energize scholarly and scientific inquiry, it can also lead to paradigmatic parochialism. As a consequence, the following analysis of comparative education might well be applied to the field of education in general:

> The fact that exponents of each current are reluctant to accept the methods and findings of the others signifies that knowledge accumulation is not so much within the generalized field as it is partitioned selectively according to ideological affinity.Neo-Marxists have very little to say to neopositivists and neorelativists, and the latter have very little to say to the former and to each other. That the field is able to survive at all is due more to the paradigmatic expendiency of association - a group marriage of convenience, if you will - ...than to common epistemological assumptions and a shared universe of discourse about education. (Epstein, 1986:258)

The task of creating and promoting the growth of a "shared universe of discourse" about education is one of the unique privileges and obligations of the foundations scholar. It is for this reason that this project has not so much "tested" educational theories as it has compared them.

When the findings of this study are examined closely, a number of difficulties become apparent. First, this work confirms the conclusion that Friedman (1985) reached in regard to his own trans-paradigmatic analysis of tourism in the West Indies:

> The theories of modernization and dependency present the transformation of the world as a single, inescapable destiny that will befall all humanity, although they disagree as to whether it is a fortunate or a tragic one. This monograph, however, demonstrates that individuals faced with forces not of their own making respond actively to these forces rather than receiving them passively. Their reactions are based on their particular circumstances as well as their common position in export-exchange economies and status within the world economy. (236)

The data reported here show a substantial amount of cross-sample consistency on some dimensions, and very little consistency on others. Beyond this, in some instances, the data strongly support theory-based expectations, in other instances, they run counter to expectations. Of even greater significance is the fact that the same findings could often be accounted for equally well by more than one theory.

Even though the six schools that took part in this study were geographically, economically, and materially quite different, the students attending these schools responded to certain items in very much the same way. For example, this study has shown that many of the students in the sample admire their parents and friends and that very few have developed salient attachments to First World role models. Similarly, if they "had a lot of money", many would buy a house and a car. There is little evidence that these children have acquired "metropolitan" material desires or expectations. A very large number of the children hope to become doctors, nurses, air hostesses, and pilots; very few of the participants plan to become agricultural workers, or hotel and restaurant employees. Regardless of the type of community in which they live, most of the school children surveyed think of Jamaica as a beautiful island populated by friendly people - a good place for tourists to visit, a place that tourists enjoy visiting. And the majority seem to feel that the visitors who come to Jamaica each year are basically good, kind, and friendly people who have resources that Jamaica, and Jamaicans, need badly. Their responses suggest that they truly feel that "all are welcome".

On the other hand, this investigation also uncovered a number of cross-sample differences. At least four basic types of differences were reported in Chapters 7 - 11:

1) Very "subtle", but nonetheless potentially important

patterns, 2) patterns that seemed to be unique to particular schools, 3) regional differences, and, 4) class-related differences.

The "subtle" patterns described in this volume involved very small numbers of responses, but seemed to deserve mention because of their potential long-term implications. For example, even though few students listed celebrities as their "most admired person", the fact that all of those who did so attended either school EP or one of the tourism-area schools may be an indication of "things to come". A related finding is that only tourism-area students specified the type of vehicle they would like to have (i.e., not just "a car", but a Volvo). Similarly, the fact that only preparatory students drew "visitor" drawings that showed the way that hotels look on the inside seems extraordinarily important, as is the observation that students attending the manifestly nation-oriented school ST were more likely than any of the other students to create drawings that contained nationalistic themes and imagery. Finally, in spite of the fact that very few children expressed negative ideas about tourists and tourism, the fact that some children did so is noteworthy.

Some of the patterns described in this investigation seem to be unique to particular schools. For example, the

material environments of schools EP and ST were both quite distinctive: both contained an abundance of nation-oriented imagery. The first grade classroom of the elite school, EP, was also unique in that it was the only classroom in the sample that contained no teacher-made instructional materials. The material culture of the small, tourism-area school, ST, was unique because it was not only more nation-oriented than the government sponsored schools, but also contained an abundance of value-laden signs, slogans, and posters.

Regional differences were of particular interest because of the theoretical framework upon which this investigation rests. The study sought to discover whether children attending schools located in tourism-dependent communities differed from other students along the lines suggested by three theoretical models. The regional differences reported in Chapters 7 - 11 confirmed some theory-based hypotheses, but failed to support others. For example, Cohen's boundary culture thesis is supported by the fact that the classroom material culture of schools EP and ST contained more nationalistic imagery and symbolism than did schools located in Jamaica's interior. But the fact that school LT classrooms contained few such items makes it clear that the boundary culture thesis does not apply uniformly to all coastal schools. In addition, two other indices of national identity - the "map" drawings and "what

visitors should know" item - uncovered no major differences between tourism-area and rural students and do not support Cohen's thesis.

Some of the regional differences between schools supported the idea that tourism-area students are simply more "modern" than other students. But, as this work has shown, attributing regional differences to differences in "modernity" is a task fraught with difficulty. Although many of the regional contrasts described in this monograph seem to reflect "experiential" differences, it is unclear whether these patterns are best thought of as psychological in nature, or cultural. For example, the observation that rural children tended to draw less complex drawings is probably due to the fact that these children have had relatively few opportunities to draw in the past. Similarly, the fact that tourism-area students drew particularly graphic drawings of "beachlife" may reflect an orientation toward "fun morality" (Wolfenstein, 1951, 1955), or may simply reflect the fact that these children have spent more time at the beach than other children. In general, the modernization perspective was more strongly and consistently supported by differences between the elite school and the other schools, than by cross-regional contrasts alone. This brings us to the fourth type of difference described in Chapters 7 - 11.

Clearly, the most striking differences that have appeared in this analysis have been those associated with economic class. Some of the differences between the elite preparatory school and its students and the other schools and participants have already been noted. In one sense, such differences are not surprising. After all, school EP is a private school, supported by the Catholic Church. As a result, it is "connected" to the World System in a way that government schools are not. The teachers who work in school EP have access to resources that are simply beyond the reach of government school teachers, and, as always, this has consequences for the kind and quality of education that students receive. And yet, some of the distinctive characteristics of the EP responses cannot readily be attributed to quality of instruction. Rather, they seem to reflect deep seated differences in what comparative scholars have labelled "mental states" (Holmes, 1985:32) or "the experiential dimension" (King, 1985:212). In other words, such differences reveal important contrasts in the "cultural realities" within which students, teachers, and parents live. In this regard, the images that the students had of Jamaica's past appear to be closely related to their expectations about Jamaica's future. The finding that EP students associate Jamaica's past not with slavery, but with the Arawak Indians may have far-reaching implications for educational practice. The fact that so many government

school students view the future with trepidation may also be cause for concern.

But as Chapters 7 - 11 showed, even though the data reveal a number of class-related differences between the elite school and the other schools in the sample, there were always intriguing "exceptions" to almost every generalization. The process of school-mediated cultural reproduction appears to be less global than conflict theorists assume. Thus, while the findings reported in this investigation support a number of basic, theory-based educational axioms, no single theoretical model was able to account for all of the data patterns described in this work.

Educational Implications

The exploratory nature and qualitative design of this work mitigate against generalization of these findings to other Third World societies, or even to other Jamaican schools. And yet, one of the purposes of this research was to "give voice" to some of Jamaica's children. That being the case, it seems to me that at least some discussion of educational implications is obligatory.

If they had the words, what might Jamaica's young people want us to do for them? What kinds of rhetoric would they applaud? What recommendations might they make for improving the quality of their lives? What does that word - quality - mean to a Jamaican child? And what might children

know that we as adults do not?

This work has shown that Jamaican children hold a number of different visions of cultural "reality". Many view the future with apprehension, anxiety, and pessimism. I think such children would like their teachers to help them overcome the sense of hopelessness and despair that unites them so poignantly with their (real and imagined) forebears. But how are teachers to bring this about?

Neither the equilibrium models of Cohen and Inkeles, nor the social conflict paradigm provide any clearcut solutions. From the human capital/ modernization perspectives, optimism must await economic and social development. And even though education can play a apart in bringing about "socialization for competence"(Inkeles, 1966), massive societal change can take place only gradually. Conflict theorists agree that socialization has important social consequences; but their model suggests that inequalities in educational experiences are a result of powerful, macrocultural, economic and political forces. As a result, the individual remains a "pawn", relatively powerless in the face of worldwide forces of control. Confronted with such a situation, what can any educator or educational theorist do to bring about genuine perspectival change among Third World students?

The children's responses shed light on some of the things that Third World educators probably should <u>not</u> do.

For example, the findings discussed in Chapter 11 raise the issue of just how much emphasis the school curriculum ought to put on the "dark side" of a people's history. I do not mean to suggest that Third World schools ought to return to the days when the history of colonized people was not taught at all. Rather, I wonder whether educators might not do well to consider whether their well meant attempts at "consciousness raising" are having the desired effect. In order to do this, of course, each teacher, textbook writer, and curriculum planner needs to be clear about what, exactly, the desired effects are, and whether these effects are really in the students' best interest. In any case, teaching Jamaican children about the institution of slavery (without emphasizing Jamaica's long tradition of active black resistance to oppression) would seem to be as serious an injustice as not teaching some children about slavery at all.

The implications of these findings for educational policy depend to a great degree on the policy-maker's notions about the aims of education. For those who are primarily concerned that Jamaican children learn the basic skills that will allow them to be competent working adults, the question of what they know, or don't know about tourists and tourism may be irrelevant. Clearly, Jamaican children - at least those who took part in this study - appear to have already acquired positive attitudes toward those who visit

their country from far away.

On the other hand, for those who believe that one of the aims of education ought to be to "demystify" those social institutions that shape the individual's life course, it may be important that the children of tourism-dependent nations learn what the inside of a hotel looks like, that "the man by the pool" drives a taxi fifty-weeks of the year, that the visitors come not only because of the scenic beauty and pleasant climate of the host country, but because they need to do so, and that this need derives from serious deficiencies in the cultures in which they live and work. In other words, if the aim of education is to play a part in the demystification process, then educators need to help children understand that visitors come to their nation not only because of the material resources that they possess, but also because of some of the intangible resources that they've lost, or perhaps never had. And they need to help their charges to understand better just what those intangibles are, to take pride in them, to value and guard them (i.e., Hiller, 1976, 1987; Illich, 1977; Hyde, 1983).

While many Jamaican children are pessimistic about the future, some are not. And although many of the participants in this study seem to have absorbed the notion that only technological progress can bring about true happiness, an equal number seem to view the problem of development quite differently. Their drawings do not always - or even most of

the time - equate happiness with economic growth or with the acquisition of wealth.

Our adult abilities to envision alternative future "realities" have been constrained by years of systematic and unsystematic (but culture-bound) training. Perhaps, if we were to take young people more seriously, we might discover new ways of looking at social and educational problems. Perhaps, with their help, we might even be able to move beyond our certainty that human freedom and happiness are somehow inextricably related to and dependent upon economic growth (Carnoy, 1982; Bowers, 1980).

As seems always to be the way, this investigation has raised more questions than it has answered. How does a child need to be treated so that he does not "feel like a slave"? How does identification with the nation-state affect the individual's life course? Why do some educators place more emphasis on political socialization than others? At the most basic, human level, what does "progress" mean? As scholars and as educators we need to keep asking these questions, we need to stay open to the possibility of new answers, and we need to include among our many abstract visions, the reality of life in the Third World classroom.

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Mind's Eye Project Activity Book

PART I - SOME INFORMATION ABOUT ME

I am a _____ year old boy/girl (circle one).

I live in the district of _____, which is near/in (circle one) the town of _____. I travel _____ miles to school each day.

When I am not in school, I spend my time doing these things...
[Please list as many kinds of activities as you can. Use the back of this sheet if you need more writing space.]

The things I most enjoy doing are...

The things I least enjoy doing are...

When I grow up, I am going to...

Someone I really admire is _____. I admire this person because...

If I had a lot of money, I probably would...

PART II - SOME INFORMATION ABOUT JAMAICA AND JAMAICAN LIFE

What people from other countries should know about Jamaica is that...

Here is what I think about people who visit Jamaica...

What are some of the ways that Jamaican children can earn money for themselves or their families?

Have you ever worked to earn some cash? What kinds of work have you done?

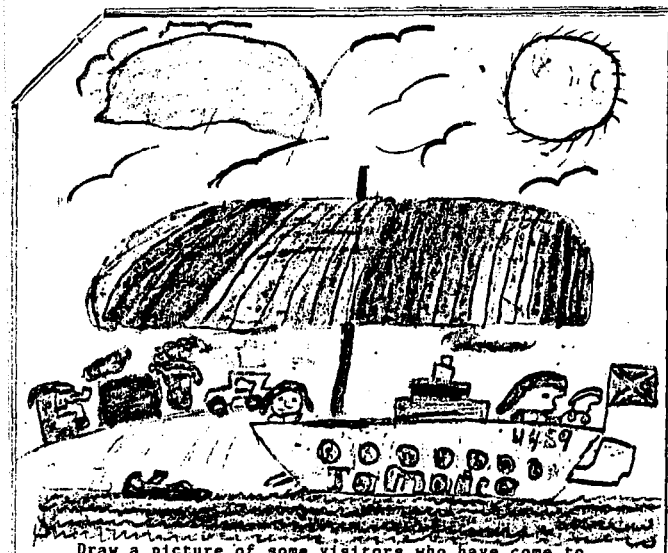
How do the people that you live with earn money? Please describe all of the different kinds of work (even small jobs) that each person does.

PART IV - TIME FOR SOME ARTWORK!

On the next two pages, you will be asked to do some drawings. Before you begin to draw each picture, please close your eyes and see if you can imagine a "scene" or a view. Then draw a picture that shows what you saw in your mind.

The picture does not have to be fancy. Just draw a quick sketch with your pencil and then color it in with your crayons.

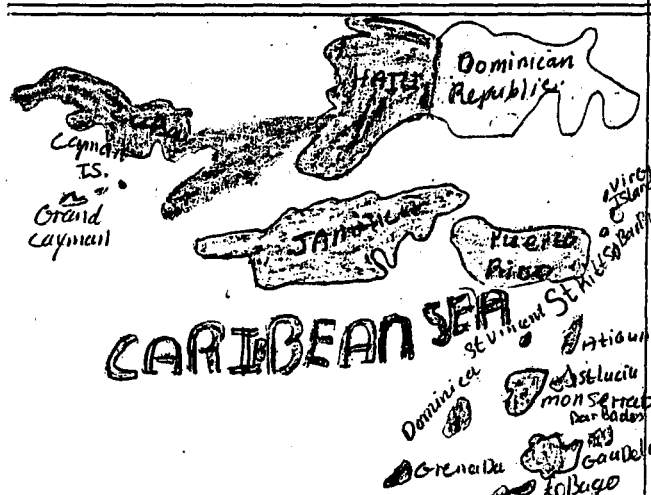
If you would like to "explain" your drawing, use the "comments" area on the the right side of each page. Be sure to borrow crayons from your classmates if you don't have all of the colors you need. Have Fun!



Draw a picture of some visitors who have come to Jamaica from far away.

If you would like to explain your drawing, use this space.

This picture is about the tourist cruising around the world. People selling things. tourist floating on a floater and reading. and some people looking in the water.

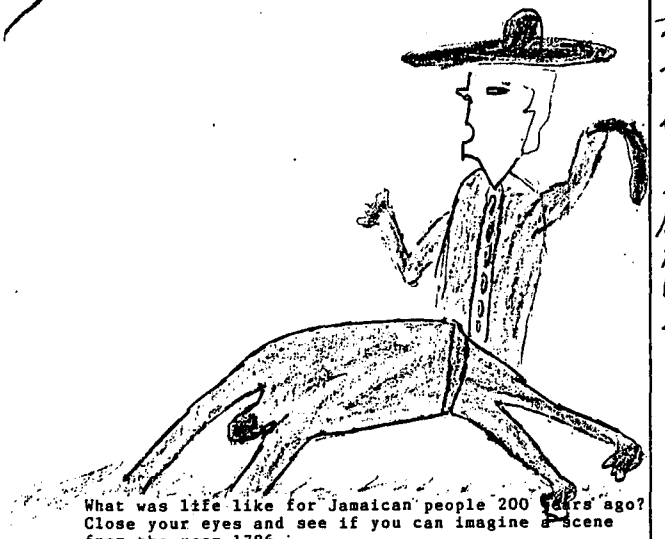


Draw a map that shows Jamaica. It can be any kind of map as long as it includes Jamaica.

Do you want to make any comments about this drawing?

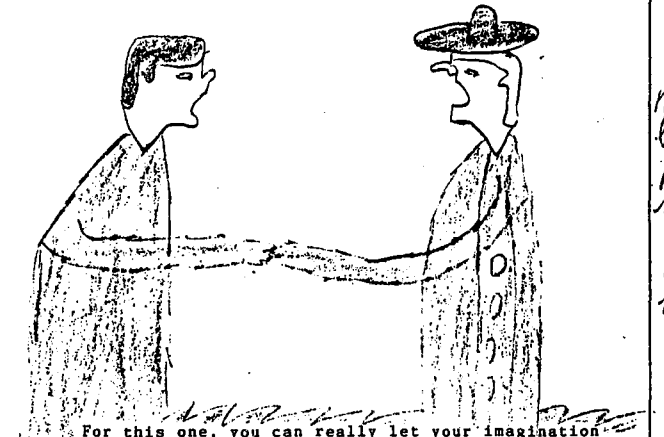
This is a map about our caribbean neighbours

Sample page as completed by student (School ST)
("Visitor" and "Map" drawing items)



What was life like for Jamaican people 200 years ago? Close your eyes and see if you can imagine a scene from the year 1786.

Your comments:
two hundred years ago there was slave, masters used to beat their servant and the servants were called slaves.



For this one, you can really let your imagination run wild! What do you think Jamaican life will be like 200 years <u>from now</u>? Please explain your drawing in the "comments"area. You may even want to lable the parts of your drawing.

Your comments:
two-hundred years from now there shall be freedom master will shake hand to the servants and start paying them for their jobs.

Sample page as completed by student (School LT)
("Historical" and "Anticipatory" drawing items)