The Encyclopedia of Education

The ENCYCLOPEDIA of EDUCATION

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(continued)

CARIBBEAN AREA

The Caribbean, or Caribbean area, is a term commonly given to a region having no political or administrative unity within itself. In the broadest sense the term refers to all the islands and mainland areas which lie in or enclose the Caribbean Sea, as well as to some areas which are peripheral to such lands though not themselves touching on the Caribbean Sea. By this definition 12 of the 20 republics included in the geographiccultural area commonly referred to as Latin America fall in whole or in part into the Caribbean area: the island republics of Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic; the Central American republics of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica; Panama and Mexico on the North American continent: and the republics of Venezuela and Colombia in South America. These countries exhibit the general Latin American pattern of education found throughout that area. On the other hand, the United States-affiliated Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, although Spanish in its basic historical, cultural, and linguistic origins and in most of its present cultural manifestations, is patterned after the United States in the organization and structure of its educational system and in its pragmatic approach to educational problems. Likewise, schools in the U.S. Virgin Islands, lying to the east of Puerto Rico, are patterned after the U.S. educational system.

Because most of the aforementioned Caribbean countries and lands are treated individually in this publication, this article will focus on those other Caribbean areas which continue to maintain political ties with the European powers—Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands—which formerly ruled them as colonies. These areas thus

include all the European-affiliated island territories of the Caribbean, British Honduras on the mainland of Central America, and the three Guianas (now known as Guyana, Surinam, and French Guiana), lying on the northeast coast of South America. In addition to proximity, the factors of history, culture, economics, and politics have usually dictated their being considered part of the European-affiliated Caribbean. Likewise, the Bahamas and other British-oriented islands lying to the north of the Caribbean area are frequently regarded as part of that area and will be so considered here.

These are all territories which, in varying degrees, have emerged from colonial status since World War II. The English-speaking areas have either achieved full independence within the British Commonwealth of Nations (for example, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, and Guyana) or have attained, as in the smaller British Caribbean islands and the Bahamas, a large degree of autonomy in internal matters (including education). The former Dutch colonies of Surinam and Curação (now the capital of the Netherlands Antilles) today are equal partners with the Netherlands in the three-pronged Kingdom of the Netherlands and are completely independent in all matters save defense and foreign affairs. The Netherlands Antilles is itself a federation of island communities (composed of Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, St. Eustatius, and part of St. Martin) dominated economically and in population by Curação and Aruba.

Contrasted with the independent or autonomous British-affiliated and Dutch-affiliated areas of the Caribbean are the former French colonial areas of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana. Since 1946 they have been organized administratively as full-fledged departments (major

administrative units) of France. Their inhabitants have full representation in the French national legislative body and have full French citizenship.

The result of this political fragmentation of the European Caribbean is that within the region there are 21 separate political or administrative areas—16 British-affiliated, three French-affiliated, and two Dutch-affiliated. Each of the British and Dutch areas has its own educational system, and each French Caribbean department has its administrator who directs the operation of the French national educational system within the territory.

Despite differences in political origins and continued political fragmentation between and within the major groupings, there are basic similarities in the social, economic, and cultural patterns of the respective societies for which youth are being educated. These similarities make for a similarity of educational problems and needs. A basic problem is that the region as a whole is economically underdeveloped, having relatively low per capita and national incomes and chronic unemployment and underemployment. The major economic base of much of the region-and the major occupation of most of the region's population-is agriculture and related agricultural processing industries. This base is expanded in Surinam and Guyana by a bauxite mining and processing industry and in Trinidad by a petroleum extraction and refining industry. In the Netherlands Antilles islands of Curação and Aruba the refining of crude petroleum from nearby Venezuela is the basis of economic life. These growing industries, the growth of the urban-commercial way of life and the consumer goods processing industries, and the discovery by the American tourist of the Caribbean as a winter playground pose a demand for native vocational and commercial skills and services in addition to basic agricultural skills.

In the social and cultural sphere a factor of prime significance for education is the generally rapid population growth, which makes it difficult for educational facilities to keep up with the constantly increasing school-age population. Another significant social factor is the prevalence of a one-parent matriarchal home situation (stemming originally from the enforced lack of a stable family situation among the African Negro slaves, from whom the bulk of the present West Indian population is descended). This pattern has continued largely because of the lack of regular employment

opportunities for the adult male segment of society. This situation impedes the development of a stable home situation favorable to the education of children.

In Guyana, Surinam, and Trinidad large elements of the population are descendants of persons of Asiatic origins—Javanese and East Indian Hindus and Muslims—whose forebears principally were indentured agricultural laborers brought to these countries by the European colonial powers to meet a labor need after the emancipation of the Negro slaves. These persons of Asiatic ancestry still live largely in rural areas, particularly in Guyana and Surinam, where they have to a very considerable extent retained their cultural and sociological identity. One of the stated goals of the national school systems of these new countries is the integration of all groups into the national life.

A related factor has been the widespread local use of dialects and vernacular languages which differ from the official languages of instruction, commerce, and business. These dialects and languages include Papiamento in the Netherlands Antilles Leeward Islands of Curaçao and Aruba; English in the Netherlands Antilles Windward Islands; Taki-Taki, Hindustani, and Javanese in Surinam; English Creole dialects in the British-affiliated areas; and French Creole in Guadeloupe, Martinique, and French Guiana.

Throughout the Caribbean area there has been widespread criticism that the educational systems, programs, and curricula inherited from the former European colonial powers are irrelevant to national and individual development in the new societies. The educational process in recent years may thus be viewed as one of efforts to modernize and adapt educational systems and facilities to meet these needs and demands for education and training relevant to life in the new social and political climate of the Caribbean. At the same time, a major educational problem is that of resistance to change on the part of parents, officials, and others who prefer the traditional and more prestigious academic forms of education and who resist efforts for wider development and support of technical and vocational educational facilities. However, this attitude is changing as the economies of the Caribbean territories gradually become more developed and diversified and as the value of technical education becomes more apparent through the further development of employment opportunities for those with technical training and skills.

Administration and financing. Each country, territory, or other major political unit in the Caribbean has a ministry, department, or comparable organizational entity in its government responsible for the overall planning, administration, and direction of education. In the case of the British-affiliated and Dutch-affiliated areas the powers of the central government concerning education are specified in each area's basic law or constitution. The laws and/or constitutions provide for centralized systems of education in each territory or country except the Netherlands Antilles. The Ministry of Education of the Netherlands Antilles is responsible for setting the curriculum to be followed in all schools, for carrying out regular inspection visits to the schools, and for generally directing the area's education. The ministries of education in the island communities are responsible for the dayto-day operation of the schools.

In the French-affiliated areas of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana each of the three local education departments is headed by a vicerector appointed by and responsible to the rector (education department head) at Bordeaux, France. The principal difference between the French-affiliated areas and the British and Dutch areas is that education in the French areas is administered as an integral part of the French educational system, whereas in the British and Dutch areas each political entity maintains its own educational system. Generally speaking, ministries or departments of education in the British and Dutch areas are headed by cabinet-level ministers, who sometimes also perform other ministerial activities; these ministers are appointed by the prime minister and are responsible to him and to the national legislative body. Execution of educational policy is the responsibility of a subcabinet deputy minister, director of education, or chief education officer.

In the English-speaking and Dutch-speaking areas the public educational systems developed from what originally were private institutions operated principally by various religious groups. In the French areas, on the other hand, because of the secularization of education in France during and after the French Revolution, the modern school system developed along secular lines; as a result, privately operated schools are rare. The

history of education in the British and Dutch areas is that of gradual growth of governmentoperated schools, particularly at the elementary level but extending also (increasingly since 1965) to the secondary level. In the British and Dutch areas all privately operated schools are considered to be within the public system if they are grantaided-that is, if they receive public funds for their operation. Such schools must follow government-prescribed curricula and are subject to regular government inspection. It is for this reason, and because of the common examinations (given by an outside examination board) at the secondary level, that there are no essential differences in programs and administration between public and grant-aided schools, making them partners in the education system. The trend, however, is for most new schools to be constructed and operated by the governments.

So-called private schools in British and Dutch areas are those which are not supported by the state and which therefore are not generally subject to government inspection and control. They are in a small minority.

A principal handicap to the development of education in the Caribbean has been the underdeveloped state of the region's economy and the limited governmental resources available for education. The former ruling powers made only limited financial contributions to education during the colonial period. With the coming of home rule or independence and the beginning of modern economic development in the British areas, the available local resources began to increase, aided first by funds advanced pursuant to the United Kingdom Colonial Development and Welfare Act (which cease when a territory is granted independence) and then by funds advanced by the United Kingdom Ministry of Overseas Development on a loan or technical assistance basis.

A prime factor in producing the Netherlands Antilles' relatively favorable position for financing education was the development of the petroleum refining industry and the accompanying commercial economy of Curaçao and Aruba. Generally speaking, both the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam have received little direct financial assistance from the Netherlands. The taxpayers of metropolitan France regularly and largely subsidize the educational facilities of the overseas French areas.

Primary education. Almost universal enroll-

ment in primary schools is claimed for children between the ages of six and 12 in the English and Dutch Caribbean areas and between the ages of six and 14 in the French areas. Education is compulsory for children between the ages of six and 12 in most of the territories, and even where it is not, in such places as the Netherlands Antilles and Barbados, most children of this age group are attending elementary school. This is a better situation than in most of the neighboring countries of Latin America. However, despite the claim of almost universal enrollment of the six-to-12 age group, there are serious problems of heavy absenteeism, scholastic retardation, and failure to complete a basic six-year to eight-year elementary program before reaching school-leaving age.

Elementary education in the Caribbean may be generally discussed in terms of seven problems. First, the number of children of school age increases as rapidly as facilities can be expanded, so that it is difficult to make substantial improvements in facilities and in the quality of instruction. Second, funds available for education, although constituting major shares of government budgets, are limited; in many cases, particularly in the British territories, budget increases have gone to such other priority areas as higher education and the lower cycle of secondary education. The situation is somewhat better in the islands of Curaçao and Aruba because of their relatively favorable financial situation.

Third, throughout the Caribbean area, class-rooms are generally overcrowded and buildings are inadequate. Many schools in the British-affiliated territories, especially but not only in rural areas, are still buildings like meeting halls, with blackboards serving as room dividers but not shutting out noise from other groups in the same quarters. However, there are a growing number of new schools, especially in or near urban centers in such relatively affluent areas as Trinidad and Barbados.

A fourth problem is the lack of sufficient teaching materials, aids, textbooks, supplies, and library materials. Teaching methods in many schools still emphasize rote learning and memorization of lessons, which are dictated by the teacher or copied from the blackboard.

Fifth, curriculum patterns frequently follow those of the former colonial powers. The curriculum includes the basic and traditional subjects as they have been taught for decades, often with little change in content or method. Despite efforts to adapt curriculum content to the local situation and environment, instructional materials frequently exhibit a lack of relevancy to pupils' everyday lives and, particularly, to the rural tropical environment in which most of them live. In French-speaking areas the curriculum and teaching materials, although showing some adaptations to local environment, remain basically similar to those of metropolitan France. Similarly, materials in many of the British areas are like those of earlier years in English schools. In the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam, Dutch curricula and methods of instruction are followed, with such local adaptations as the use of textbooks written for and printed in the Antilles.

Sixth, the educational process in many of the Caribbean territories is carried on in languages which are not those of the everyday speech of the home and the street. And seventh, the shortage of trained teachers is likewise an acute problem, especially in rural areas.

Postprimary and secondary education. In the European-oriented areas of the Caribbean there has traditionally been a marked falling-off of educational facilities and enrollments when children complete a basic primary education of six to eight years in length or reach ages 12 to 14, depending upon the particular system. Approximately 75 percent of the people in the 12-to-18 age group, then, are not receiving education through the formal school system.

A sharp distinction has usually been made between elementary and secondary education, and students have not progressed more or less automatically from elementary to secondary education. Generally speaking, the paths open to a student at the end of a basic primary education have been the following: (1) a selected few, chosen largely on the basis of examinations taken at about age 11, proceed to the academic secondary schools; (2) others, also usually selected on the basis of competitive methods, go to a vocational school; (3) still others continue on in some form of postprimary or advanced primary education paralleling the academic secondary school; (4) some enter elementary teaching as pupil or beginning teachers, with further formal education and training given on an in-service basis; and (5) the remainder -a majority of the total-leave school, either obtaining some kind of unskilled employment or simply becoming unemployed or only partially or seasonally employed.

Secondary education has usually been thought

of in the Caribbean as academic education intended for a few students, normally carefully selected through traditional European-style secondary school entrance examinations. These students attend the secondary "grammar" schools in the British areas or the regular lycées in the French areas. In the Dutch areas there were no regular academic secondary schools until World War II, but such schools have been added since then in some of the areas. Those who complete an English, French, or Dutch academic secondary education and who pass one or more of the regular secondary school exit examinations are then eligible for consideration for higher education.

French areas. In the French areas the regular elementary education program continues until the student reaches age 14; in addition, a ninth year is available to a small group of students who have been selected for the so-called complementary course (cours complémentaire), which parallels the regular elementary course beginning with the sixth year of schooling. This program, which, with some technical and commercial training, is usually terminal education, has also been a principal source of elementary school teacher recruits.

Dutch areas. In the Dutch areas facilities for continuing or advanced elementary education for those not entering a regular academic secondary program are available through the ULO (uitgebreid lager onderwijs) and MULO (meer uitgebreid lager onderwijs) schools, which are derived from the traditional Dutch schools of the same names and which are administered as part of the elementary school system. ULO schools offer a one-year or two-year program beyond the regular six years of elementary education. Although generally terminal for those enrolled in them, they offer little in the way of training for employment and are increasingly subject to heavy criticism. They are nonexistent on the islands of Curação and Aruba. MULO schools generally offer four-year programs to follow the six-year elementary program and are the principal source of recruits for commercial and business employment in such areas as Curação, Aruba, and the urban areas of Surinam. In Curação, where there are many well-constructed and attractive new schools and where educational conditions are probably the most favorable in the Dutch areas, there are about one-third as many students enrolled in postprimary schools as there are in primary schools.

British areas. It is in the British-affiliated areas

that the least attention has been given, until recently, to access to postelementary education. Unless a student was selected for an academic secondary or grammar school he either continued on for a time in an all-age elementary school or he dropped out of school. Following English practice in the post-World War II period, such territories as Barbados and Trinidad made initial efforts to establish secondary modern schools with more practical curricula and programs for those not chosen for the academic secondary schools. However, the existence and development of such a system of second-best schools paralleling the secondary grammar schools has not proved popular in the British areas, although such schools are similar in many ways to the successful MULO schools of the Dutch-oriented systems.

To meet the demand for a standard education for all children and to provide a democratizing and more relevant system of education, programs for junior, or lower, secondary schools offering a common basic three-year curriculum and program have been established in Jamaica, Trinidad, and Guyana. The junior secondary system is designed to absorb and ultimately to eliminate the academic grammar schools at the lower secondary level. Under this plan, present academic lower secondary schools would be gradually incorporated into the new system; students would be selected for higher secondary programs and schools of various types at about 14 rather than 11, as has traditionally been the case. Basic problems in setting up and maintaining such a system are those of financing such a new mass education effort and of staffing the schools with competent teachers.

Vocational education. Vocational and technical education is still in the early developmental stage in the Caribbean, despite progress in initiating new programs and establishing new schools since World War II. Tradition and prestige have been on the side of academic education, which has been viewed as the means of securing desirable white collar employment and of offering the possibility of upward social and economic movement.

Traditionally agricultural, the Caribbean territories have been handicapped by the attitude that agricultural work and manual labor are demeaning and that they offer little in the way of economic and social rewards. Agricultural education in this region seems, with some exceptions, to have been particularly neglected. The development of the industrial, commercial, urban, and tourist sectors of the economies of certain territories has been an important factor in establishing the demand for persons who are educated and trained in various technical and trade skills (including those of the service occupations and industries); a frequently heard complaint is that, despite chronic unemployment and underemployment, there are not enough trained technicians and skilled mechanics to staff the service industries.

Facilities and programs for vocational education and training have taken two main lines in the Caribbean territories: first, the inclusion and gradual development of such programs and institutions in the regular educational systems; and second, the development of special job-related training programs by industrial concerns and the development of combined government and industry programs of apprenticeship and on-the-job training. There has been considerable discussion, particularly in the British areas, of the relative merits of these two methods of providing vocational and technical training in an area of limited financial resources. Generally speaking, manpower needs and the best methods of meeting them through vocational education programs have not been systematically studied in the Caribbean area.

Insofar as the regular school systems of the Caribbean are concerned, most technical and vocational education programs have been provided in postelementary schools other than those offering academic programs. So-called practical subjects, such as gardening, woodworking, and home economics, are included in the elementary school curriculum, especially in the British-oriented areas. Certain British areas, including Barbados and Guyana, have also seen the inclusion of socalled technical streams in the erstwhile academic secondary school programs. In the ULO and MULO schools of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam, commercial subjects and such foreign languages as English and Spanish (considered practical subjects because of their value in employment in business and international commerce) have long been included in the curricula. However, aside from commercial education, the major thrust in vocational education in the regular school systems of the Dutch areas is toward separate vocational schools. The effect on vocational education of the trend in the British areas toward a system of comprehensive junior secondary schools remains to be seen. The stated plans for such schools indicate that offerings in technical

and vocational subjects will provide a terminal vocational education for those not going on to upper secondary education and a basic lower secondary vocational program for those going on to upper vocational programs.

In the English-speaking territories—particularly Jamaica and Trinidad-vocational and technical high schools, which offer combined vocational and academic programs in regular full-time day sessions, are used at night for on-the-job and adult vocational training programs; in Guyana and Barbados, technical institutes, which function mainly to provide special on-the-job training on a released-time basis for workers, are also used for special courses in the technical stream of the regular secondary schools and for the training of teachers of vocational subjects for local teacher-training institutions. Since the early 1960's further facilities of both types have been expanded in these areas and have also been introduced into the small British-affiliated islands of the eastern Caribbean.

In addition, a trend in the English-speaking areas appears to be the development of postsecondary technical colleges offering advanced technical programs and courses. A principal example of this type of institution is the Jamaica College of Arts, Science, and Technology, which trains upper-grade technical specialists in a wide variety of fields. There is also a new technical college of a similar nature affiliated with the new University of Guyana, and the opening of a comparable technical college is scheduled for the early 1970's for Barbados, pursuant to the recommendations of the so-called Gailer Report (United Kingdom 1967) on technical education in the eastern Caribbean. To meet the needs of the rapidly growing industry of Trinidad, a technical college has been established in that country. It is also planned that the two Trinidadian technical institutes (in reality technical high schools) will be expanded and upgraded in the early 1970's.

In the Dutch-affiliated areas full vocational educational facilities are confined primarily to Curaçao and Aruba. There are several regular vocational schools at lower, intermediate, and advanced levels, offering training in various technical specialities. In addition, the petroleum companies offer regular training programs, as do the bauxite companies in Surinam. Surinam also has a technical school for boys, offering both regular daytime and part-time evening training programs.

In the French areas the principal institutions

are a technical lycée in Martinique and a technical college in French Guiana. Martinique also has a hotel training school sponsored by the French government.

Agricultural education facilities at the technician level are limited in the Caribbean. Programs at upper and postsecondary levels are offered at the Jamaica School of Agriculture. Special training for agricultural and forestry technicians is available for British eastern Caribbean areas at the Eastern Caribbean Farm Institute in Trinidad. French Guiana has a government agricultural school.

Despite the need for vocational and technical institutions and programs geared to meeting the needs of an economically developing region and despite the acceptance of this need in principle by governments and by the public, the strength of the tradition of academic education holds back wholehearted financial support for the necessary facilities of this kind. Nevertheless, the growth and diversity of industry and commercial life put a premium on this kind of education, and it is to be expected that popular demand for training for well-paying jobs, combined with the growing need for trained technicians, will provide the incentive for accelerating the growth of vocational and technical educational facilities in the Caribbean area.

Teacher education. Throughout the European-affiliated Caribbean areas there is a shortage of adequate facilities for training teachers to meet minimum standards and requirements for certification. This is true of teacher-training facilities for all levels and types of education-elementary, secondary, and vocational-although there are differences in the extent of the problem in each territory and country.

British areas. In the British areas the basic pattern for the recruitment of elementary school teachers has been the so-called pupil-teacher system. Under this pattern most elementary school teachers began to teach at age 14 or 15, immediately upon completing eight or nine years of education in a postprimary or an all-age school. Such teachers then acquired whatever further education and in-service training they could. If they stayed in the system long enough and completed a long period (ten to 25 years) of independent study and in-service preparation, they might eventually become certified teachers.

Present educational and training facilities and programs for elementary teachers have been superimposed over this basic pupil-teacher system, which continues to the extent that full-time education and training facilities for elementary teachers are still inadequate. The term "pupilteacher" is no longer in good repute, and such terms as "probationary teacher" and "helping teacher" have frequently been substituted for it on the grounds that new teachers are placed in classrooms under the supervision of senior teachers.

In the British areas there were some 20 socalled training colleges in 1969, as compared with 12 in 1959. Those colleges established since 1960 have included institutions in certain smaller islands and in Trinidad. Generally speaking, the regular programs of the training colleges are two years in length (three in Jamaica) and represent a combination of academic and pedagogic studies. The requirements for entrance are gradually being upgraded. Traditionally, those entering were promising pupil-teachers who had several years of teaching experience and who had performed well in one or more in-service qualifying examinations; however, a number of the training colleges now require either a standard secondary education completion certificate for entrance or its acquisition prior to completion of the training college program. Such colleges therefore tend to become preservice training institutions, although in the past they have offered in-service education and training for pupil-teachers on a full-time basis for two or three years. The training colleges have supplemented these regular programs in some cases with so-called emergency programs, usually of one year's duration, designed to upgrade the skills of relatively mature but untrained teachers.

For those uncertified teachers who are unable to attend either a regular or an emergency training program, part-time or seasonal in-service courses and a series of qualifying examinations lead to certification through a process known as the external training of teachers-that is, external to the regular training college programs.

Dutch areas. Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles differ in their methods of preparing elementary school teachers. Surinam has several teacher-training schools (kweekschools) at the secondary level. Graduates of these schools, teachers brought from the Netherlands, and wives of Dutch nationals on business assignments in the country generally meet the quantitative demand for teachers. Where shortages exist, some untrained or probationary teachers may be employed or classes may simply be combined.

In the Netherlands Antilles the supply of elementary school teachers generally meets the need through a combination of locally trained teachers and the wives of Dutch nationals on business assignment. So-called helping teachers are also used under the direction of regular teachers, particularly on the smaller islands. The main difference in comparison with Surinam is that in the Antilles the education and training of teachers takes place not in a regular *kweekschool* but in a separate secondary school program or section, which parallels the regular secondary program and is followed by a year of pedagogical study and training prior to certification.

French areas. In the French-speaking areas there are two paths of preparation and training for teacher certification. One route is to follow the three-year program of upper secondary studies in the lycée, to obtain the baccalauréat (the secondary school completion certificate), to enter the one-year postsecondary training program in the teacher-training school (école normale), and to complete one year's work as a supervised teacher before taking the certifying examination. Both Martinique and Guadeloupe have such schools, which can, however, supply only a small part of the need for elementary school teachers. In Martinique, for example, the teacher-training school supplies only about 20 percent of the regular need for new teachers. French Guiana has no such school, and prospective teachers completing the three-year lycée teacher preparatory program in that department normally go to France for pedagogic training; a few still go to Martinique for this purpose.

The second method of training teachers produces more elementary school teachers than the first. Under this method, beginning (untrained) teachers who have completed the eight-year elementary school program or the parallel program (plus an additional year of training) of the complementary course go through a program of inservice training. Such teachers may gradually become fully qualified and certified under local regulations by pursuing special training programs over a period of several years which culminate in a brief period of special training in the teacher-training schools in Martinique or Guadeloupe.

As contrasted with fully trained and certified elementary school teachers, fully qualified secondary school teachers are expected to have completed both a full university first-degree program of three to four years in length and a year of professional educational training. Throughout the Caribbean there has been a shortage of secondary school teachers with these qualifications. Because the Dutch and French areas have traditionally had no institutions of higher education offering complete programs for this purpose, most secondary school teachers in the Dutch areas have been recruited in the Netherlands; most teachers in the French areas have been assigned from France. Some secondary school teachers have been natives of the Dutch and French Caribbean areas who have gone to the Netherlands or to France to complete their higher education. Not infrequently, however, some of these teachers lack full training in pedagogical methods.

In the British-affiliated areas an increasing number of secondary school teachers are being trained at the University of the West Indies. However, a sizable number of secondary school teachers are recruited abroad or, when necessary, from holders of the secondary school certificate. A major problem in the British areas is a lack of teachers for such subjects as the sciences and mathematics. In some cases some of these needs have been met by U.S. Peace Corps volunteer teachers or by personnel serving under other programs of assistance from Canada, Great Britain, and the United States. Similar shortages of qualified teachers exist in many of the vocational educational institutions and programs of the Caribbean.

Higher education. There are higher education facilities in each of the European-affiliated groupings of the Caribbean. They follow essentially European patterns of higher education in their organization and in the types of educational programs they offer. Such facilities are most developed in the British areas through the activity of the University of the West Indies, which has been one of the principal manifestations of continuing regional cooperation despite the breakup of the West Indies Federation.

The University of the West Indies was established in Jamaica in 1948 as the University College of the West Indies and was affiliated with the University of London, which prescribed its examinations and conferred its degrees. In 1962 it became the independent University of the West Indies and now has coordinate campuses at Mona (in Jamaica), St. Augustine (in Trinidad), and Cave Hill (in Barbados).

In Jamaica and Trinidad the university has

independent faculties or professional schools of arts, natural sciences, social sciences, education, medicine, agriculture, and engineering. In Trinidad the facilities of the former Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture served as the base for the establishment of University of the West Indies' Trinidad campus. In addition, a faculty of general studies was established in 1964 with the opening of colleges of arts and sciences in Barbados and Trinidad. Union Theological Seminary in Jamaica and Codrington College in Barbados (which was, until the opening of the University of the West Indies, the only institution of higher learning in the British Caribbean; Codrington was affiliated with the University of Durham in England) are the affiliated theological schools of the University of the West Indies.

In addition to the regular teaching faculties there are educational and research institutes which cooperate with the University of the West Indies but which draw financial support from official and unofficial funding sources. Examples of these are the Institute for International Relations, on the St. Augustine campus, which offers instruction under the direction of the Graduate Institute of International Studies of Geneva, and the Center for Multi-Racial Studies, at Cave Hill, which promotes research in the Caribbean under an affiliation with the University of Sussex (England). Also of particular note are the University of the West Indies-sponsored extramural adult education and extension activities in a number of the other islands, as well as the services provided by the university's Institute of Education for the improvement of educational programs and practices throughout the British Caribbean. This institute, attached to the University of the West Indies' faculty of education, was established in 1963 with a Ford Foundation grant. It assists in organizing and conducting programs for governments, educational institutions, and teacher organizations in such educational activities as the in-service training of teachers, the sponsoring of conferences on educational problems, the development of curriculum materials, and the assessment of the programs and courses of the teacher-training colleges.

Separate from the University of the West Indies is the University of Guyana, established in Georgetown in 1963. The programs of the University of Guyana are patterned more after U.S. and Canadian universities than those of England;

the university had a Canadian educator as its vice chancellor (principal administrative official) during its early years. Regular programs were not expected to get fully under way until the completion of regular campus facilities.

The major emphasis in Guyana prior to 1963 was on part-time evening programs using the facilities of one of the local secondary grammar schools and the Technical Institute. In 1967 a faculty of education was established at the University of Guyana. In addition to offering the usual British-type postbaccalaureate course of professional pedagogical training for secondary school teachers, it provides professional pedagogical training within the regular arts and sciences degree programs for prospective secondary school teachers in a manner similar to that by which secondary school teachers are prepared in the United States. It is also expected to play a major role in the training of staff for the planned Government Teacher Training College, which will handle (beginning in the early 1970's) the preparation of elementary school teachers. The University of Guyana also assists the Ministry of Education through consultant services in such areas as in-service programs for teachers and curriculum revision.

In the French Caribbean departments certain resident higher education programs are available through branch faculties of the University of Bordeaux. The Henri Vizioz Institute of Juridical, Political, and Economic Studies is a Caribbean offshoot of that university's faculty of law and political and economic studies. Established in Martinique in 1949, it now offers limited threeyear programs in these fields in the three Caribbean departments. However, full University of Bordeaux programs of study in these fields are not available, and students must go to France if they wish to pursue such advanced studies. A separate University of Bordeaux-affiliated faculty of sciences was started in Martinique in 1964 with a one-year program, which was expanded in 1966 to the two-year first cycle of the university's natural sciences higher education program.

In Guadeloupe the first cycle of a similar University of Bordeaux-affiliated faculty of letters was established in the mid-1960's. Plans for the further development of higher education facilities in the French Antilles were in their formative stage in the late 1960's, with future facilities (based on new types of instructional programs in

Martinique and Guadaloupe) expected to be available to the inhabitants of all three departments.

Since full higher education programs are not available in the French Antilles, local residents must go abroad to obtain a complete higher education. Many of them obtain employment abroad and do not return to the West Indies. This is particularly true of graduates in law and in political and economic studies.

No higher educational facilities are available in the Netherlands Antilles; hence, qualified students generally study in the Netherlands. Plans for the establishment of a university in the Netherlands Antilles are being considered. Surinam has a medical school and a law school which prepare professionals in these and related fields at a somewhat lower level than in the Netherlands, owing to lower entrance requirements, to shorter programs of training, or to both. This training qualifies them to practice their professions in Surinam, but for full professional training they must go abroad. The establishment of a full university is being considered.

In summary, higher education facilities in the European-affiliated Caribbean areas are usually inadequate to meet the demands of those seeking higher education. Generally speaking, the area suffers from the so-called brain drain, since many of those going abroad for educational purposes do not return. The return and/or retention of such talent will depend on the ability of Caribbean nations to develop economic opportunities for educated and trained persons.

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CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

1. HISTORY

Neil G. McCluskey

2. FINANCE

Russell Shaw

1. HISTORY

The beginnings of Catholic education within the present confines of the United States were made by Spanish Franciscan missionaries, who opened a classical school in St. Augustine, Fla., in 1606. This establishment shared the fate of practically all pioneer missionary activity in the Southeast and Southwest, dying out after a short time. In the eighteenth century Indian schools were established in the Mississippi Valley, around the Great Lakes, and in northern Maine by Jesuit missionaries from Canada. In 1722 the Capuchin Fathers started a school for boys in New Orleans, La., four years after the founding of the city, and five years later the Ursuline Sisters also founded a school there. The important centers of early Catholic influence, however, existed outside the present boundaries of the United States.

Colonial period. During the colonial period religious tensions in most of the colonies faithfully mirrored the social situation in the European mother countries, notably England. Although there were a few Roman Catholic families of prominence and affluence, Catholics as a body lived their lives outside the cultural and political activities of the community. The church lived a shadowy existence with almost no visible organization. A rigid penal code laid heavy disabilities upon Catholics, depriving them of freedom to worship together, to take part in public life, and to educate their children. The Catholic child was viewed as an undesirable alien in the colonial

school, and yet his parents were liable to a fine if they sent him out of the colonies to be educated. Catholics themselves were barred from teaching or establishing schools.

The records are dim and incomplete, but the first Catholic school in the colonies was established about 1640 at St. Mary's City, Md., by the Jesuits. The next clearly recorded foundation was in 1673 at Newton in the same colony. In 1688, in the wake of the flight of James II and the accession of the Protestants William and Mary to the throne of England, Catholic fortunes in the colonies darkened further. The royal government closed the Newton school and another short-lived Jesuit school in New York City. The school at Bohemia Manor in the northeast corner of Maryland, located there no doubt because of its proximity to generally more tolerant Pennsylvania, was the next Catholic effort at formal schooling. That school operated from 1744 to its forced closing in 1765. During this interval the scions of many old Maryland families were enrolled, including the Brents, Neals, and Carrolls. In addition to these foundations, perhaps 15 other schools, many for the children of German immigrants, were begun in Pennsylvania during the colonial period.

The Revolution and its successful outcome eased many of the more onerous disabilities upon Catholics, but only four states gave them political equality with Protestants in their constitutions. As the established Protestant churches began to lose, at least de jure, their privileged status, distinctive articles of belief and particular features of church organization were de-emphasized, and a common, nonsectarian sense of Protestantism emerged. This development was a decisive factor in the success of the public school movement, for it made a common educational endeavor possible among Protestant factions.

Pre-Civil War period. The people of nine-teenth-century America regarded the schools as the main channel for the transmission of the national ethos or public philosophy undergirding society. Even more than today, they assumed that the common school was to have a large, if not the largest, part in the development of the American character, in inculcating moral and spiritual values and in laying the ethical basis of character in the child.

Horace Mann, secretary to the board of education of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts between 1837 and 1848 and an early leader in the public school movement, argued that it was not the responsibility of the school but of the parents to give children "any special and peculiar instruction with respect both to politics and theology" and "at last, when the children arrive at years of maturity...[to] commend them to that inviolable prerogative of private judgment and of self-direction, which in a Protestant and a Republican country, is the acknowledged birthright of every human being" (Mann & Mann 1891, vol. 2, p. 290). Yet, he wanted the school to preserve a general religious orientation based on what he called "the religion of the Bible." As long as the Bible remained in the school, the school was considered Christian.

Historically the American public school descended from the common schools of New England without reference to non-Protestant groups, but very shortly these too had to be reckoned with. In the first decades of the nineteenth century the total number of Catholics was negligible, but before the end of the century immigration had radically changed the picture. The estimated Catholic population in 1820 was still less than 200,000, but by 1840 it was 663,000 and a decade later 1,606,000. On the eve of the Civil War it had doubled, and it doubled again in the censuses of both 1880 and 1900, in which year there were over 12 million American Catholics.

As the American public increasingly accepted and then enthusiastically supported the public school movement, the Catholic community was torn. Each Catholic family had to face the dilemma of placing its children in a religiously hostile environment or of depriving them of the educational preparation essential to economic and social advancement. The public school of those years was not only Protestant oriented but most often belligerently so. The textbooks were shot through and through with derogatory references to things Catholic. The widely used New England Primer, with its stern injunction "Child, behold that Man of Sin, the Pope, worthy of thy utmost hatred," is simply a graphic case in point.

Catholic leaders were forced into a defensive posture. The school question and other long-accumulated problems brought the seven bishops of the United States together in 1829 for the first of the seven provincial councils of Baltimore, covering the interval between that year and 1849. Their joint letter of 1829 to American Catholics urged the necessity for Catholic schools to preserve

the faith of Catholic boys and girls, particularly those from poor families.

The situation had not improved by 1840, the year of the fourth provincial council. The bishops urged pastors to protest what were still widespread practices: Catholic children in public schools were required to join in reading the Protestant Bible, in reciting Protestant prayers, and in singing Protestant hymns—actions tantamount in those less sophisticated and less tolerant days to embracing heresy.

The Catholic community sought to remedy the situation in several ways. It asked that the offending passages be deleted from the common textbooks; that Catholic children be excused from the daily prescribed reading of the King James Bible; and that a fair portion of their own school tax money be returned to help support separate Catholic schools.

The textbook situation improved slowly, and by stages the more abusive references disappeared. The Bible, however, was looked upon by most Americans as the moral Gibraltar of the republic, and it was simply inconceivable that the schools of a God-fearing nation could exist without it. In fact, powerful legal support for the retention of reading from the Protestant Bible was supplied by an 1854 decision of the Maine Supreme Court affirming the right of a school district to require the practice (Donahue v. Richards, 38 Me. 376). In a number of cities there was tension and strife because of the caning or expulsion of Catholic pupils who refused to take part in what they and their families steadfastly believed to be a Protestant religious exercise. It was only in 1890 that the Wisconsin Supreme Court reversed the earlier precedent and ruled the Bible a sectarian book (State v. School District of Edgerton, 44 N.W. 967).

In fairness it must be noted that the anti-Catholicism of the nineteenth century was seldom found in undiluted form. The Catholic immigrant was a foreigner to begin with. He was disdained, resented, and in his numbers feared by native Americans. His Old World customs and language made him annoyingly different. His cheap labor flooding the market represented an economic threat. Above all, his ancient church was mistrusted because of its religious error and the memory of its alleged tyranny.

The unabashedly Protestant orientation of the

public schools, although generally diminishing as the nineteenth century closed, was the principal reason that led the Catholic community to establish separate schools, apart from the understandable wish of Catholics to provide a truly religious training for their children.

Catholic efforts to obtain tax funds for separate schools failed. Swollen with the newly arrived immigrant population, New York City was the scene of the first important struggle by Catholics to obtain a proportionate share of the common school fund, and the outcome here went a long way toward establishing a national policy of direct aid that has endured to the present day. For 30 years, beginning in 1795, the state of New York had given financial aid to every educational institution in the city, most of which were operated by the churches. In 1805 the Free School Society was founded for the education of poor children who did not belong to, or were not provided for, by any religious society. Shortly, it adopted another title, the Public School Society, and soon became the dominant educational force in New York City. In 1825 a bill passed the state legislature authorizing the city council to determine which schools should receive tax money. The next year the council decided that henceforth New York City's share of the state school fund should go exclusively to the nonsectarian Public School Society, except for minor grants to orphanages and mission schools.

Led by their colorful and combative bishop (later archbishop) John Hughes, New York Catholics urged the justice of their claims. In 1840, one of the peak years of activity, Catholics were abetted by the support of Governor William H. Seward, who in that year proposed that state money be used to establish schools under church auspices for immigrant children. Instead of acceding to these demands, public school proponents attempted to make the public schools more palatable to Catholic taste by making them more neutral, that is, less Protestant, which also served to infuriate both Fundamentalists and other Protestant groups.

However, as the traditional Protestant coloring of the public school faded under Catholic as well as Protestant pressures, a new kind of criticism arose: the schools were irreligious if not downright antireligious. Archbishop Hughes, never distinguished for his tact and embittered over his failure to win tax support for the New York parochial schools, was one of the most hostile critics. His remark in 1852 that education as perpetuated in America was "Socialism, Red Republicanism, Universalism, Deism, Atheism, and Pantheism-anything, everything, but religionism and patriotism" was scarcely calculated to ease Protestant-Catholic tensions (Lannie 1968, p. 253).

On the other hand, Catholic leaders in many localities did try to take the hand extended them in goodwill by public school and community leaders. Occasionally a Catholic priest was even invited to serve on a local school board. An increasing number of young Catholic women became teachers in the public schools. However, until the deep Protestant animus toward the Roman Church, prevailing between 1830 and 1860, had been pretty well dissipated, rapport on any large scale was impossible. Bishops like John Ireland of St. Paul, Minn. (1838-1918), John Lancaster Spalding of Peoria, Ill. (1840-1916), and James Gibbons of Richmond, Va., and Baltimore, Md. (1834-1921), could and did exercise their social statesmanship only after Appomattox.

Some local communities did attempt to come to terms with the school problem. An early effort at compromise took place in Lowell, Mass., that must have had some approval from the secretary of the state board of education, none other than Horace Mann himself. Between 1831 and 1852, Mann wrote in a letter, a "very intelligent committee" consisting of clergymen and laymen entered into an arrangement with Catholic priests and parents by which it was agreed that the teachers of their children should be Catholics. These schools were part of the public school system and as such were regulated by the district school committee like any other schools under their jurisdiction. The plan was called "eminently successful" in 1837 by the school committee. By 1839 there were five schools enrolling 752 pupils under this arrangement.

Similar arrangements were entered into in communities in at least ten states before the outbreak of the Civil War: Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. The objective was generally the same: to combine public and parochial schooling within a single institution. Actually, at one time or another nearly every state in the Union, at least briefly, has had some such

plan in operation for the benefit not merely of Catholic children but for those of Quaker, Lutheran, Mormon, and other religious groups as well.

The most notable pattern of compromise after the Civil War was one followed at Poughkeepsie, N.Y., between 1873 and 1898, and for a shorter time in the small towns of Faribault and Stillwater, Minn., part of John Ireland's archdiocese of St. Paul. The key provisions of what is often called the Faribault Plan were the following: an existing parochial school in a heavily populated Catholic area was leased to the public school district; the school board operated a public school in the parish-owned building, paying upkeep and salary costs; all religious instruction or exercises were scheduled before or after the standard school hours; with the Catholic pastor's approval, the school board appointed teachers and provided textbooks; the school board retained complete control over examinations, promotions, and general policies.

However, America was not yet ready for largescale compromise over the school issue. The Catholic Church still felt itself under siege. Each decade of the nineteenth century had its ugly incidents that sent shock waves far and wide to frighten, to separate, and to harden attitudes among American neighbors. The 1830's had seen the burning of a Charleston convent and the publication of Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal by Maria Monk. In the 1840's the Native American Party had provoked bloody riots in the streets of Philadelphia over Bible reading in the schools. The 1850's were to see the birth of the Know-Nothing Party, the antipapal demonstrations that greeted the pope's first representative, Archbishop Bedini, the tarring and feathering of the Jesuit John Bapst, the Massachusetts law for the inspection of convents, and the riots of Louisville's "Bloody Monday." The Civil War brought a lull to anti-Catholic activity and effectively broke the political power of the Know-Nothing movement.

Post-Civil War period. After the Civil War popular education began to take hold, but it was not until 1880 that public school enrollment reached 1 million. There were early factors at work propelling the parallel parochial school movement, none of them more important than the 1875 Instruction of the Roman Congregation