

EDUCATION AND RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT:
A CONCEPTUAL MODEL AND JAMAICAN CASE

by

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MAIN ABBREVIATIONS USED

- AACTE: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education
- APEID: Asian Program of Educational Innovations for Development
- CADU: Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit
- CCE: Continuing and Community Education
- CIDA: Canadian International Development Agency
- GDP: Gross Domestic Product
- GNP: Gross National Product
- IBRD: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or the World Bank
- IADB: Inter-American Development Bank
- ICED: International Council for Educational Development
- IPAR: Institut de pédagogie appliquée à vocation rurale
- JLP: Jamaica Labor Party
- LAC: Local Advisory Committee
- MOE: Ministry of Education
- NPA: National Planning Agency
- PNP: Peoples National Party
- RRDC: Regional Rural Development Center
- UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
- USAID: United States Agency for International Development

A matter of great concern facing the world today is the social and economic gap that exists between the "haves" of the developed nations and the "have-nots" of the developing countries. Of particular concern to the national governments of developing nations is the social and economic gap that exists between urban and rural areas. The greater proportion of citizens in the developing nations resides in rural areas. However, the contribution of rural people to the national wealth is usually minimal and their potential for social agitation is great.

Rural areas of most developing nations have experienced rapid population growth. Declining mortality rates among infants and the elderly are compounded by high fertility rates among young adults. To meet the needs of a youthful population and to help adults contribute more to the national economy, government planners have relied on education as a social and economic developmental strategy. Education absorbs a high proportion of national budgets. There has been an impressive expansion of schools and formal education programs. Nonetheless, there is a greater number of illiterates than before. To exacerbate the condition, many rural youth complete formal schooling and then migrate to the urban areas, thus depleting skills and knowledge that could be helpful to the development of rural communities. Faced with escalating costs of formal education and a rural-to-urban migration of school leavers, there is growing concern among government planners that formal education may be of limited value, particularly in rural development. (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; Lallez, 1974;)

Owens and Shaw, 1974)

In recent years, many developing nations began to use nonformal education as a means to address the educational needs of their citizens and the pressing social ills of rural communities. (Gillette, 1977) Non-formal education is used to achieve several goals, namely:

1. to reduce the costs of educating ever-expanding populations;
2. to involve greater proportions of rural folk in practical training in such areas as agriculture, health, nutrition, and family planning;
3. to reduce adult illiteracy; and
4. to provide vocational skill training to out-of-school youth. (La Belle, 1976)

These non-formal educational activities have come to enjoy almost uncritical acceptance by national governments and educational planners as an alternative strategy for development in rural communities. (Green, 1977) Now that national budgets of developing nations are committed to such activities at this stage, it is appropriate to examine systematically and critically the effects of non-formal education programs on rural community development.

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine relationships between education and rural community development, particularly in underdeveloped nations. Specifically, four relationships are examined:

1. conventional public education and problems of rural development in developing nations;
2. nonformal education and problems of rural development in developing nations;
3. the role of national governments that sponsor alternative educational

approaches to rural development even as they continue to support formal education in those areas; and

4. the specific role of the government of the United States as a co-sponsor of non-formal education for rural development as part of United States foreign policy.

Principal Methods of Inquiry

Four strategies were employed in examining these relationships.

They were:

1. formulating from the literature concerning rural development a basis for interpreting observed relationships between education and rural development in developing nations;
2. constructing a detailed and illustrative case study in one nation of an experience with non-formal education;
3. examining the results of the study in light of the theories synthesized from the literature; and
4. generating suggestions for continued study and examination.

The methods used in implementing this strategy were essentially non-quantitative. They involved the following:

1. A compilation and synthesis of pertinent research literature in the fields of education, government, and rural community development, with particular attention given to the published works of Coombs and Ahmed, Kaplan, La Belle, and Prosser. They are well known for their research and published studies in the areas of education and community development. The research reports of Kaplan and Prosser were particularly useful because of their prior studies of Jamaica, the case study presented in this dissertation.

2. On-site formulation of a comprehensive case study of Jamaica, a developing nation where the United States government and the national government co-sponsor a program of non-formal education in rural community development.

3. Personal interviews with Jamaican and United States officials, project participants, personnel of international agencies, and various program observers; a thorough compilation of archival materials concerning the host nation, and a survey of community needs in those rural areas that are serving as pilot areas under the Jamaican rural community development program.

These methods can be replicated in the main by any student with an appropriate background in education and rural development. The methods were more nearly those of the investigative journalist than the experimental researcher; many relationships among elements involved in educational approaches to rural development are not subject to classic designs of experiment. (Guba, 1978:3-6) The methods were nonetheless systematic and rigorous. They conformed to the naturalistic modes of inquiry used by La Belle (1976:XIV) in 70 similar studies in Latin America and by Coombs and Ahmed (1974) in Asia; Gillette (1977) in Tanzania; Lallez (1974) in Cameroon; Owens and Shaw (1974) in Asia and the Subcontinent, and Raper (1970) in Bangladesh (East Pakistan).

To Professionals in Education and Rural Community Development

This dissertation grows out of the continuing professional interest of the author, an experienced adult educator and administrator with experience with problems of rural development in the United

States and overseas. The dissertation is addressed principally to individuals, groups, and agencies that have a professional interest in rural community development and education. Included among these groups are:

1. Adult educators in the international field, as they seek to respond to the needs of developing nations with alternative patterns of education for rural populations,
2. Educational planners and policy makers in developing nations, as they seek to evaluate the efficacy of education as a principal strategy for rural development, and
3. Agencies -- including these of the United States government -- that sponsor education projects overseas, particularly in the rural areas of developing nations.

Thesis and Implications

This dissertation seeks to advance a thesis, namely that three general relationships may be observed between education and rural development.

They are:

1. Formal education is intended to raise rural children to literacy and productivity in the development of their native areas. Instead it tends to raise students' expectations towards employment in urban center, thus bleeding rural areas of trained skills. Formal education has become an entrenched system both as a monopoly of central government bureaucracy, and as the one road recognized by rural adults as leading to a better life. There is a conflict between expectation and delivery, complicated by lack of realistic means for appraisal and change. This situation leads to the classic dilemma that faces developing nations. Traditional institutions and programs that were borrowed from a colonial past may impede rather than foster development efforts in rural areas. Yet these very institutions and programs, which have not proven to improve the socio-economic standing of rural populations, are supported most ardently by the very people who benefit least from the status quo.

2. Alternative forms of "non-formal" education may hold promise for improving the quality of living in rural areas of developing nations, however, the conditions necessary for a definitive test of nonformal education in rural community development are not likely to be developed under the sponsorship of the education establishment of the developing nations, even when such tests are stimulated and heavily supported by outside agencies such as the United States Agency for International Development.

3. Moreover, the idiosyncratic policies, organization, and funding practices of USAID, the principal source of financial aid for developing nations, influence the design and outcome of development projects in ways that may mitigate against successful development. This poses still a second dilemma, namely that even though these are potentially viable alternatives, governments of developing nations are, oftentimes, either unable or unwilling to assimilate these alternatives into standard governmental procedures.

If this thesis is correct, it holds some compelling implications for those engaged in rural community development programs and projects. For example, advocates probably should lower their expectations, not only for education generally but also and perhaps particularly for non-formal education as a principal strategy for rural community development. At the same time, government planners in developing nations need to find better ways to fit education into a unified, government-wide strategy for rural development. Moreover, the United States government role in stimulating and financing isolated education projects in developing nations under the rubric of rural community development bears reexamination.

Definitions

In this dissertation, certain terms are used repeatedly and require special definition. These are: formal education, nonformal education, rural, community development, and rural development.

The most widely-accepted definitions for formal and nonformal education are those of Philip Coombs and Manzoor Ahmed. (1974:8) They define non-

formal education as "any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children." Formal education is defined as the "institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured educational system, spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university."

Kaplan (1976:26) defines rural as those "geographic areas that have populations of less than 2,500 people and that lack facilities indicating some degree of urbanization, and are not considered parish capitals."

Community Development has been defined by the Division of Social Affairs of the Economic Commission for Latin America as "the conscious and organized participation of the people to achieve their own development." (Ravell, 1966:123)

Coombs and Ahmed (1974:13) define rural development as "the far-reaching transformation of the social and economic structures, institutions, relationships and processes in any rural area. Rural development is viewed as a balanced social and economic development, with emphasis on the equitable distribution, as well as the creation of benefits."

Overview of the Dissertation

The thesis and its policy implications are developed in three principal parts. Part I synthesizes the formal literature in rural development, government, and education, and establishes a conceptual basis for interpreting those relationships between education and rural development later observed in the Jamaican case study. Part I is divided into 3 sections:

Section 1. Development literature suggests that it may be unwarranted to accept education uncritically as a primary process for solving social and economic development problems.

Section 2. Nonformal education is being used by central governments of developing nations as an alternative means for social and economic development. Two broad development strategies are examined. The argument is advanced that neither strategy independently pursued will bring about the desired results in rural communities.

Section 3. In their efforts to bring about rural community development, developing nations have sought international assistance. USAID is a principal contributor to such development efforts. Due to the magnitude of its funding contributions, USAID's important role cannot be ignored in consideration of practice or of development theory. If USAID is to be effective in bringing about long-term changes in rural communities of host nations, certain characteristics about the nature of USAID must be examined.

Part II is a detailed case study of education and rural development in Jamaica. The case itself is responsive to several conceptual elements developed earlier in Part I and provides an empirical basis for examining the thesis. Part II is divided into three sections:

Section 1. Elements of history, culture, and social development in Jamaica are analyzed for their role in present rural development problems. This analysis is then extended to major sectors of the Jamaican economy, such as: industrialization, agriculture, and education.

Section 2. This section deals in depth with the development of a nonformal education program sponsored jointly by the Jamaican Ministry of Education and by USAID. Of particular interest is the rhetoric used in presenting and justifying the program, and the expectations generated for improving rural life and institutions among program participants.

Section 3. The Continuing and Community Education program in rural Jamaica is presented. Rhetoric employed by program sponsors and supporters is contrasted with reality as the nonformal education projects are initiated in each of three rural Jamaican villages.

Part III examines the thesis for possible implications for adult educators, national educational planners and policy makers, and for the United States governmental agencies, specifically USAID, that are engaged in funding rural development projects overseas.

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Developing nations today are faced with a host of social, economic, and political problems. Population growth in developing countries at 2.4% per annum is almost double the rate in developed countries. This has significantly outpaced the rates of growth in other areas including industry and trade, new job opportunities, agricultural production and education. Despite huge investments by national governments of developing nations in educational programs and in social and economic development projects, about 25% of the work force is unemployed (Owens and Shaw, 1974:52), and the number of illiterates is estimated to be 865 million by 1985 or about one-half of the developing nations' population. (World Bank, 1974:i)

The main purpose of most national development efforts has been to expand the modern industrial base by use of capital-intensive techniques and technologies imported from the more developed nations. (Beckford, 1972; Owens and Shaw, 1974:31-33) Modernization of the urban areas has concentrated consumer buying power in the cities without providing many economic opportunities for citizens in rural areas. (McNamara, 1977:9) In fact, the social, political, and economic gap has widened between the urban and rural areas. (Barnum and Sabot, 1977; Clarke and Hodgkiss, 1974:38-41, 64-65; McDiarmid, 1977:8-9) This imbalance threatens political stability of the developing nations as well as the material welfare of their citizens, rural or urban. (Lacey, 1977).

Leaders of national governments have come tardily to realize the importance of their rural areas. Only in recent years has it been 'widely

accepted that rural areas and rural people have an exceptionally important role to play in the future progress and prosperity of most of the developing nations." (Wilson, 1973:17) In virtually all developing countries the vast majority ranging up to 80-90% of the total population, live in rural areas. (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974:10-11) The economies of most developing countries are based on agriculture, with land being the most important single economic asset. (Wilson, 1973:17) Improvements in their agricultural productivity could relieve these nations of their present dependence on imported foodstuffs and might even provide an agricultural surplus available for export markets. Thus agricultural improvement could help protect these nations' foreign exchange earnings. It also could provide local products for use in the manufacturing sector of the economy. As industrialization proceeds in the developing nations, their rural areas also can and do provide needed manpower. (Demas, 1971; Niehoff, 1977)

Despite this potential value to national development, rural areas of most developing nations are in serious trouble. Most have compelling economic, social, and political problems. These include:

1. A Lack of Social and Economic Infrastructure

Social and economic infrastructure, marked by facilities such as roads, health clinics, markets, electricity, and communications, has been developed only on a limited basis in rural areas of developing nations. These facilities represent the physical means by which economic development takes place and they are concentrated principally in urban areas. The resulting lack of infrastructure in rural areas impedes economic development there. If, for example, a farmer is able to increase his agricultural production, there may be neither trucks to carry the commodities to market

nor adequate roads upon which the trucks can travel.

2. Lack of Employment Opportunities

Two thirds of the people in developing nations gain their livelihood from farming. In these countries, however, 65% of the farmers have only five percent of the land to cultivate so that livelihood is marginal at best. (Owens and Shaw, 1974:57) Faced with the unavailability of land and a lack of economic infrastructure to improve their livelihood in the rural areas, rural people tend to migrate to urban centers. For every one job created in the urban areas, two or three rural people migrate to the cities. (Owens and Shaw, 1974:53) However, nonfarm jobs have expanded at the rate of 1.5% per year whereas the population has grown at the rate of 2.4% per annum. (McNamara, 1977:5) Little has been achieved to create employment opportunities in the rural areas or to stem and then reverse the flow of migration of rural citizens to the urban areas. (McNamara, 1977:11)

3. Lack of Locally Controlled Resources

Though many developing nations have significant natural resources, their resources are not locally controlled. Many natural resources of the countries are controlled by the multinational corporations that own plantations, mineral extraction operations, or manufacturing concerns in these nations. In these countries five percent of the population may control as much as 30-40% or more of the total income before taxes. (Seers and Joy, 1971:15) This situation is a legacy of the colonial past of most developing nations. (Beckford, 1972:22-29)

Natural resources are not utilized in the social and economic stabilization of rural communities. Land and people are the principal

resources of developing nations. The per capita income is less than U.S.\$250. Most of the human, financial, and material wealth of these nations are concentrated in the urban areas. The industrial, commercial, and trading concerns and the central governmental establishments provide urban employment opportunities.

4. Lack of Local Leadership

Although communities in developing nations have some local leadership, this leadership often lacks the skills and attitudes needed to cope with the rapidly changing societies in which they find themselves. (Niehoff, 1977:10-11) Reminiscent of the colonial pattern, local leadership is controlled by people from the upper socio-economic strata. Because government agencies and private organizations that serve rural areas themselves are located in urban areas, they tend to sponsor programs that are geared toward urban populations. Consequently, many of the problems facing local rural communities go unaddressed. (Seers and Joy, 1971:124-125) Those in the rural communities who have passed through the formal schooling process have the skills that might assist their communities and provide positive leadership. Frequently, though, they have assimilated urban culture and values, which tend to remove them from the realities of rural living. (Beckford, 1972:39-40)

5. Lack of Local Rural Institutions

Historically, most of the economic power and resources were concentrated among the colonial elite who mostly resided in urban areas. There was little desire to decentralize governmental functions to localities outside the urban area. The centralized nature of government today effectively blocks the ability of rural institutions to satisfy rural communities' needs. (Beckford, 1972; Seers and Joy, 1971:127-130)

In addition, there remains from colonial days a traditional dependence on the centralized government for solving developmental problems. (Owens and Shaw, 1974:10-11) There is no strong local tradition for voluntary activity, as attributed to the United States, for example, with the result that few local institutions have been established. (IADB, 1966:35) Ever since gaining independence from their former colonial masters the central government has taken its accustomed initiative and has not pursued the establishment of local institutions that can take their own steps to develop resources and resolve local problems.

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In developing nations, education has been seen as a panacea for national development. (Faure, 1972; La Belle, 1976; World Bank, 1974) Their formal education systems were adopted from their formal colonial models, and their nonformal systems are embryonic.

Colonial schools offered formal schooling for the elite. The students who participated were usually from middle and upper class families, children of the elite usually being trained to become part of the colonial government. (Beckford, 1972)

Colonial education was classical. Emphasis was placed on passing rigid national examinations. By passing examinations, one advanced to higher and higher levels of schooling. The curriculum featured the history, culture, and social development of the colonial power; little study was given to the colony--and later to the developing nation itself.

For children of the lower class, education was extremely limited. When available, it became one means of social and economic upward mobility. (Beckford, 1972:64-65)

At the time of political independence the leaders of developing nations believed that education could produce the rapid social and economic change they wanted. Developed countries exhibited societies with high rates of literacy and schooling levels among their citizens. To achieve these high levels, "political and cultural leaders (of developing nations) were convinced that a well supported, easily accessible educational system was an efficient means to make people politically and socially conscious, and, therefore, active participants in nation building and

cultural processes." (World Bank, 1974:12) To extend public education to all classes of people--not solely to the elite--developing nations rapidly sought to expand their formal education system. Even in nations where the per capita annual income was only US\$250, the leaders of national government were committing 18-20% of the annual recurrent budget of the entire nation to education. (Brandenburg, 1975) These efforts proved to be "successful" in terms of performance: e.g., great numbers of new schools were constructed and new, higher numbers of children enrolled in some type of public education. (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974:3-4; Seers and Joy, 1971:207; World Bank, 1974) However, the leaders of the national governments found out that the adopted colonial education system was not capable of adapting to its new environment.

The formal school systems continue the colonial past. They prepare students for rigid national examinations that pave the way to educational advancement. (Kipkorir, 1975) They lead to the attainment of educational credentials. Given sufficient credentials, parents feel their children will have access to social and economic mobility. (Kipkorir, 1975; Prosser, 1975) Yet the formal schooling system tends to favor those who already hold social, economic, and cultural advantages. (Prosser, 1975:170) In many developing nations, over one-fourth of the children of elementary age do not even attend school. (World Bank, 1974:27) In these same nations, only about five percent reach secondary school. In a World Bank study, only 36% of the children who lived in low class neighborhoods attended elementary school whereas 90% of the children in middle to upper income neighborhoods did so. (World Bank, 1974:33)

Even when the formal school is "successful" it creates problems for the government. Many skills and attitudes imparted in the formal school setting themselves are not congruent with strategies of national development. In countries where there are unemployment rates of 25 to 30% there often is an acute shortage of skilled labor and technicians, since the formal education system tends not to prepare them. (Barnum and Sabot, 1977) Higher levels of educational attainment appear to increase the rural-to-urban migration patterns of rural youth; this further aggravates the lack of local leadership skills in rural communities. Even though more youths enter the formal education system now than did in the past, many terminate their education at the end of primary school. Accordingly, many students leave the formal system while still functionally illiterate. (Prosser, 1975; World Bank, 1974) Despite commitment of a disproportionate share of the developing nations' annual budgets to education, it seems clear that formal education is not contributing -- as expected -- to rural community development. (Niehoff, 1977; World Bank, 1974:21) In fact, formal education now has become a significant part of the problem facing developing nations. (Beckford, 1972; Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; Kaplan, 1976; La Belle, 1976; Lallez, 1974; Manley, 1975; Seers and Joy, 1971; World Bank, 1974)

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Section 2

Nonformal Education
and Rural Development

Despite the strong evidence to the contrary, national leaders apparently still believe that education is a primary means to promote social and economic development among their people. (Gillette, 1977:83) They are prevented by a lack of resources, however, from expanding the formal education system to enroll all the people they want to educate. (World Bank, 1974:28-29) National leaders often cite a need to change the content and form of the educational system to make it more appropriate to their national priorities. (Gillette, 1977:81; Manley, 1975:160) However, the middle and upper class parents who control the economic resources and political power of these nations resist such changes. They see the traditional formal education system as a means for their own children to maintain their status and economic position. (Kipkorir, 1975:178) For these reasons, particularly in the past decade, national leaders and policy makers have been turning to "nonformal" education as a possible alternative means for promoting rural community development. (La Belle, 1976; Niehoff, 1977)

Nonformal education is "any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children." (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974:8) Some examples of nonformal education are: preschool day-care centers; school equivalency programs to provide a "second chance" for those who did not or could not complete the formal schooling programs; adult literacy classes; leadership and personal development programs such as Boy and Girl Scouts, 4-H Clubs and

farmers' associations; as well as occupational and vocational training classes for adolescents and adults in agriculture, construction, or commerce . (Coombs, et.al., 1973)

Instead of looking to non-educational strategies, national leaders and policy makers once again are embracing education, albeit nonformal education, as one of their principal development strategies. Many now believe that nonformal education will solve the problems ignored or inadequately dealt with by formal education. There has been almost uncritical acceptance of nonformal education as a panacea for rural development problems. (Ahmed and Coombs, 1975:XXIX-XXI) There has been rapid expansion of such programs. La Belle alone has identified 70 nonformal education programs in ten Latin American countries. (1976:XIV) Coombs et al studied the impact of nonformal education programs in Kenya, Mali, Thailand, Cuba, Jamaica, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, the Phillipines, Mexico, and Indonesia. (1973:3-6) International interest in nonformal education has continued to grow through international sponsorship. In 1977, for example, twenty-nine developing nations sent representatives to Michigan State University to share their ideas and experiences with nonformal education and rural community development professionals from the United States. (Niehoff, 1977)

While looking to nonformal education as one means to fill gaps left by formal education, national leaders expect their ministries of education to take charge, i.e., to develop, nurture, and administer new "nonformal" programs and projects while they still seek to expand the older established formal programs. This has led to genuine controversy among rural development specialists. One fear expressed by nonformal educators and community developers

is that "of 'formalizing' nonformal education." (Niehoff, 1977:23) In many Latin American nations the ministries of education "appear to be using the out-of-school rhetoric as a way to develop a parallel school system on an extension basis." (La Belle, 1976:189) La Belle reports that there are only a few examples of truly nonformal education; most of those are "tied to AID funding and North American assistance, which raises the question of how long such efforts will last once such support is withdrawn." (1976:189) La Belle reports that there are some private agencies, engaged in nonformal programs, also are tied either to the central governments or to North American support.

This tendency towards centralization of control of nonformal education in ministries of education is not unreasoned, however, nor is it unreasonable. In most countries the formal school system has practically the only institutional resources and trained personnel in rural areas. The ministries of education also have both the official support of their central governments and broad policy mandates to meet in the area of education. (La Belle, 1976:188; Rensburg, 1977:132-137) Precisely because of its close association with and dependence upon organizational structures that support "formal" education, "nonformal" education may not get the kind of field testing needed to determine its real potential as a strategy for rural development. Too little is known about nonformal education to judge its efficacy as a development strategy without such testing. We do not now know what nonformal education can achieve under optimum conditions. We do not even know what achievements can reasonably

be expected when these programs are administered and supervised by career professionals whose interests and competence lie elsewhere. Where formal and nonformal education are permitted to thrive only at each other's expense, but are administered under common authority, judgements can only be most tentative.

It, therefore, appears clear that nonformal education as an instrument of change has been accepted by government leaders without clear evidence that this acceptance is fully justified. In Bangladesh, for example, the programs continued to be controlled by the elite. These people profited from the goods and services provided through the nonformal education and development programs. "The nonformal education activities are neglected or maintained as a facade to cover exploitive business activities." (Rahim, 1977:67-68) In Kenya "nonformal education ... is (reported to be) a poor sister of formal education. The programs do not go far in meeting the learning needs of rural out-of-school children and youths... Even when the main concern is preparing primary school leavers for an occupation, the programs generally have not found a viable approach insofar as a livelihood on the land or in the informal economic milieu of the rural society is concerned. The programs have been more effective in teaching specific skills or making the youths generally better equipped for employment in the urban sector." (Kipkorir, 1975:214)

Rural Development Strategy: The Man-Oriented Approach

Nonetheless, nonformal education is not without its proponents. It has been supported by a number of authorities in the fields of education and rural development.

The literature of community development and nonformal education is replete with the "change man" concept of how local people and local communities should be developed to achieve social, economic, and political advancement. The strategy is simple. If one changes his thinking of how one is to view himself, his neighbors, and the educational skills that he has learned, then local individuals will band together to change the environment in which they live. Here one is led to the basic assumption underlying the "change man" strategy of development. The assumption is that people in rural areas want change and, given the opportunity, will opt for change and development rather than for the status quo. This viewpoint underlies Paulo Freire's concept of "conscientizacao". Conscientizacao or consciousness-raising is a technique applied to rural areas of Brazil, Chile, and now in Angola by Freire to bring about the social and economic betterment of lives of the rural life. The experiments have never functioned long enough to see if change can really be achieved through this method. Freire insists that villagers, "have to liberate themselves." (1970: 39) This state of liberation and personal development is accomplished by both "the teacher (community change agents, nonformal education teachers, social workers, or whoever is working directly with the rural poor) and student joining sympathetically in a common purpose, seeking truth about relevant problems while respecting each other's opinions." (Freire, 1970:67)

The community change agents are presumed to be competent, able, and willing to bring about changes in the lives of people. The rural poor, once they have been led to their new-found confidence, skills and positive

attitudes, must "pressure the vested interest groups to bring about change (in the institutions that serve the public) that will be of benefit to the masses, both the oppressed and oppressors." (Freire, 1970)

Many countries have employed the "change man" strategy in rural development projects. In Ethiopia, the premise was advanced that "the key element in the rural development endeavor involves: 1. educating the broad masses to a point where they can run their own affairs, and 2. enabling them to become self-reliant by increasing productivity through their own dedication and hard work." (Bebregziabhor, 1977:75) Ortuzan found that "the motivating factor of the Ecuador Project was to help the Ecuadorian peasants to liberate themselves." (1977:113) Not only were the nonformal education activities geared "toward providing campesinos (farmers) with tools for their own education and their community's betterment," but there were activities for the farmers to be "themselves, to discover ways of self-analysis, self-criticism, and self-liberation." (Ortuzan, 1977:114)

T.R. Batten, in Communities and Their Development, breaks the concept of community development into three parts. First, "One community development problem is to find effective ways of stimulating, helping, and teaching people to adopt new methods and to learn new skills." Second, change usually brings new problems and "community change agents must help people adapt their way of life to the changes they accept." Third, people usually do not have the conceptual framework or the traditions to deal with the group changes that modern development has brought to village areas. Therefore, an additional dimension is added to tasks

faced by change agents. Work must be done to "ensure that the feeling or spirit of community is not destroyed" among villagers. (1967:5-6)

To summarize, "the goal is not so much to accomplish or realize communal projects which will improve the living conditions of the people, but to help them to learn a way of living and working together which they may apply at any time to any problems which affect their communal life." (Batten; 1967:64)

Other contributors to the notion of changing man's attitudes and self-concept to achieve social and economic development are Harnik, Mayo, and McAnany. In the 1974 World Year Book of Education, they stated that:

The lexicon of development has for some time included the concepts of self-reliance and self-help, but they have generally not been effectively promoted in most rural education programmes. At the planning level, an undue emphasis has been placed on the mobilization of external resources and the building of increasingly complex media delivery systems to reach rural people.

Increasingly, rural development has come to be viewed not only in terms of filling informational and skill gaps, but as the strengthening of people's critical abilities which, presumably, enhance their capacity and will to diagnose their own needs, assert their own rights, and demand greater control over the decisions that affect their lives. In this conception of development, the ability to think critically arouses greater political consciousness in people which, in turn, leads them to concerted action on behalf of their communities. What was once development for rural people becomes development by rural people themselves. (1973:81)

In summary, the burden of the research is that it is difficult to achieve community development through any method of education if rural people do not possess positive attitudes towards themselves and their neighbors. Batten, Freire, and the Biddles found long-term change almost unachievable without the support and participation of local people. Nevertheless, where the "change man" strategy for rural development has been applied, the results are mixed. Ahmed, in his study of Bangladesh,

reports that to involve people without also supplying technical support will not bring about long-term social and economic change in rural areas. (1977:210) Other researchers who have studied similar projects in Asia, Africa, and Latin America report similar findings. (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; La Belle, 1976; Owens and Shaw, 1974) They point to a need to modify the change man approach to the development of rural areas.

Rural Development Strategy: The Responsive Institutions Approach

La Belle (1976) specifically points to a second emphasis needed for rural development. Although he does not give it a label, it may be called the "responsive institutions" strategy for development. This strategy is principally identified with the writings of Coombs and Ahmed (1974) and Seers and Joy (1971). The strategy emphasizes the need to involve governmental institutions in addressing or responding to needs of local rural communities, particularly to those needs identified by their own members. The emphasis is not on changing the internal state of individuals, but to provide economic infrastructure and institutions that will support proposed changes in rural life. The underlying belief is that when economic needs are fulfilled the social aspects of development can concomitantly be achieved. This strategy is being employed in Jamaica via the Integrated Rural Development Scheme, jointly sponsored by USAID and the Jamaican Ministry of Agriculture. The Jamaican government is establishing agricultural cooperatives to provide seeds, fertilizers, and insecticides for crop production by small farmers. Other governmental support includes roads to transport the crops to market, markets in which to sell the produce, and credit and insurance to guarantee greater chances of success to the farmers.

A.M.S. Ahmad reported research regarding the responsive institutions strategy in his study of Bangladesh: "Involving the people and entrusting a critical role to them are worthless gestures without provision for needed support -- technical, administrative and financial." (1977:210)

After the first two years, Program of Agricultural Credit and Cooperation in Afghanistan, an evaluation pointed to the need for markets, a national economic policy, placement of professionals trained in community development techniques in various ministries, and an organizational structure in which to institutionalize the efforts and results of the program for replication in other areas of Afghanistan. (Ahmed and Coombs, 1975)

Rural Development Strategy: A Comprehensive Approach

La Belle argues that neither the man-oriented approach nor the responsive structures approach -- if pursued independently -- can bring about desired long-term changes in rural communities. Both La Belle (1976) and O'Shea (1974) argue that it is not sufficient to emphasize the psychological and social phase of development at the expense of developing the governmental structures and organizations that serve rural populations. "It is necessary to integrate educational and economic development ... (with changes in individuals). The two cannot be isolated from one another in practice: to attempt either alone is unrealistic." (O'Shea, 1974:22)

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) held a workshop in Bangkok in 1976 which dealt with the concept of educating for rural development rather than education in rural development. The workshop participants from various Asian nations decided that both were needed, but that education for development must take a holistic

approach; education programs in rural areas therefore need to be of a 'multi-agency character and take a multi-pronged approach to rural communities' problems." (APEID, 1977:5) This theme is echoed by the World Bank. In its Sector Working Paper, Education, the Bank made one main criticism of its nonformal and rural development efforts in many developing countries: such schemes are "usually conceived in isolation and, unfortunately, not designed as components of an integrated structure," and "have often not been integrated into nation wide systems." (1974:24,25; also see APEID, 1977; Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; Coombs and Ahmed, 1975) In essence, the statements imply that community development should not be conceived in isolation or conducted on a village by village basis, but should be approached on a comprehensive basis coordinated by the central government.

In research on 16 Asian, African, and South American countries, Nidia Forni concluded that "education promotes rural development only when it is included in a package effort touching all economic and social aspects." (1973:185) The practitioners of eight Latin American countries at a workshop on the rural poor came to the conclusion that development efforts should be a top priority of the governments of that region. (O'Sullivan-Ryan, 1977:162) The adult education work of Green in Tanzania led him to conclude that "adult education must be related to integrated development planning if it is to be important and efficient." (1977:26)

Most developing nations exemplify the man-oriented approach to development. (La Belle, 1976) However, the research shows little evidence that either the "change man" approach or the "responsive institutions" approach alone will bring about long-term social and economic change in

rural communities. (Green, 1977:8-9; Coombs and Ahmed, 1974:252-253; La Belle, 1976:164; O'Shea, 1974:21-22; Owens and Shaw, 1974:1) La Belle theorizes that if these two strategies were combined there would be a better chance for success. (1976:195-208; 1977:211-226) Frank Salamone seems to indicate that La Belle is placing undue importance on education as a developmental tool without hard evidence to support such a stand. Even this approach has its critics. Frank Salamone (1977), commenting on La Belle's thesis, argued that even if a "holistic" approach is attempted that "education should (only) be a part of a full-scale development program." (Salamone, 1977:227)

The efficiency of the combination of the two strategies awaits a fair test, however. This is one reason for the study in Jamaica described in Part II of this dissertation. According to the policy and the rhetoric surrounding nonformal education in Jamaica, the Jamaican government appeared sensitive to the arguments that both strategies of development should be pursued concurrently. They were determined to develop a program that contained the elements of both, thus coming close to the La Belle holistic development strategy.

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Section 3

The Role of USAID in Rural
Community Development:
Policy and Procedures

Developing nations need capital for industrialization, agriculture, school facilities, and roads. There is additional need for "start up" costs for such social programs as population control, health care, sanitation, and school lunch programs. Rural community development, though necessary to developing nations, cannot occur in a vacuum. The lack of local leadership, local resources, and local institutions that might be drawn upon for developmental impetus forces national governments to take the lead in stimulating economic, political, and social development in rural areas. Most developing nations do not have the resources to conduct their on-going programs and simultaneously engage in new development activities. These nations have sought financial aid from the many nations presently engaged in supporting development projects, such as Israel, Cuba, Japan, Germany, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain. The largest and most extensive contributor is the United States.

Because of its world wide scope and relatively great investment in overseas development activities, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has become a powerful and influential partner in many rural development projects. The participation of USAID with host nations may come at a price, however. Under its mandate from the United States Congress, USAID has its own priorities and foreign political objectives. These policies and objectives may not coincide with those of the host nations, possibly producing conflicts. Moreover, USAID, has its own idiosyncratic ways of working with the government of host nations which are reflected in its design of specific projects. In some, USAID participation

may impede host country project development and success. For these reasons, it is appropriate to study USAID as well as the developing nations in order to understand rural community development.

USAID, Partner in International Development Efforts

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is an outgrowth of a long-term effort by the United States government to assist other national governments to "help their people help themselves." (Shields, 1967:10) USAID is the successor to a series of U.S. foreign assistance agencies dating from the post-World War II Marshall plan. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 created USAID as a semi-autonomous agency within the Department of State, to consolidate major international development efforts of the U.S. government. In the same year, the Act for International Development emphasized the United States long-term commitment to assisting nations in their social and economic development. (Shields, 1967)

Assistance by the USAID generally can be placed into two broad categories: (1) development and assistance, and (2) security-supporting assistance. The first category is humanitarian, directed through the governments of less developing nations to help their people acquire the requisite knowledge, skills, and resources "to build the economic, political, and social institutions necessary for a better life." The second category is strategic. Security-supporting assistance promotes economic and political stability in selected countries whose "well-being is important to the security of the United States." (USAID, 1978:1) The United States government has made significant monetary commitment to both categories of assistance. On a global scale, during Fiscal Year 1978, \$1.3

billion were appropriated by the United States Congress for development assistance and \$2.2 billion for security-supporting assistance. (USAID, 1978:2)

Congressional Oversight of USAID

The United States Congress has final approval over the agency's top administrator and its programs. USAID is headed by an administrator who is appointed by the President and confirmed by Congress. The administrator reports directly to the Secretary of State and the President. Programs must be approved by the Congress. Yearly reports are made to Congress as to scope, progress, and evaluation of individual programs in recipient nations. Funds for agency operations and for loans and grants to recipient countries are appropriated annually.

Operating from the United States Department of State offices in Washington, D.C., USAID maintains field offices to serve some 60 countries in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America. In each field office there is a chief administrator, called the "country director," who is assisted by a deputy director and a finance officer, and a suitable staff which usually is divided into three sections: technical, program, and finance. The technical section is further divided into "sectors." These include such subject areas as agriculture, education, health, family planning, and nutrition. Each sector staff works directly with its counterpart agency in the host government. The program section reviews all projects developed by sector staff and determines whether each project meets the guidelines set by the agency and the Congress. The finance section reviews the companion funding requests to ascertain if these projects can be addressed realistically

within the budgetary constraints of the host country and the appropriations available by USAID.

USAID's sector-by-sector organization may be an efficient means of administering individual projects. However, it creates problems of coordination. Many projects may be related to the overall policy objectives of USAID in rural community development. Unless there is strong direction by the chief of mission, it is awkward at best to coordinate development activities with this kind of organizational structure. Moreover, USAID's structure tends to induce in the host country agencies of the same kind of fragmented and possibly uncoordinated organization for rural development. Even more importantly, it effectively screens the policy maker in both governments from any practical influence over the results obtained in pursuit of the joint policy objectives for rural development. Thus the dependence of host nations upon USAID funding may come at a real cost, namely: the possible sacrifice of policy objectives to individual discrete project objectives. In light of these reasons, one may surmise that USAID itself has become a part of the development problem in the developing nations it purports to assist.

USAID, How it Operates in Relation to Project Management

Most projects are funded for a three or four year period. Extensions can be made if all parties agree. Yearly evaluations are made. These evaluations serve two functions. One is to prepare a summary of the efforts of the mission and submit it to the regional assistant administrator in Washington, where all such mission reports are synthesized by the director of the agency for submission to Congress. Second, and most

important for project management and implementation, the country mission can make corrections while the program is in progress, e.g., increase the number of consultants, increase the type and frequency of training programs for host country personnel, or revamp the evaluation process. Major policy or funding changes must be submitted for congressional approval, however.

Personnel Policies

The normal tour of duty by personnel in USAID posts is 18 to 24 months. Of the 60 nations currently being served, many are considered "hardship" posts. Personnel are given the option of completing a second tour of duty if the individual and the agency, both in country and in Washington, agree.

Personnel are selected for their academic training and professional experience. It is not strictly necessary for people to be trained directly in the professional areas of their assignment. A person with an agricultural background, for example, may be asked to serve in the education sector in order to complement the experience and training of that staff in conducting a rural education program. USAID staffing patterns also take into consideration tenure and previous assignments of the individual concerned. Length of service in the organization, the number of years to retirement, family obligations, and the number of previous "hardship" post assignments all play a part in the assignment of staff members to various mission offices.

Impediments to the Programming Efforts of USAID

Because of the very nature of its mandate, one assumes that USAID is serious about its commitments to assist other nations. Over \$3.5 billion of the resources of the nation are annually allocated to some type of assistance effort. The rhetoric under which the agency operates is consistent with the needs facing rural populations in developing nations generally and in Jamaica specifically. Nevertheless, USAID, a partner in long-term development projects, may be part of the development problem, as well as a part of its solution.

One point of agreement among international development professionals, for example, is that change is slow. The research of Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; Faure, 1972; Freire, 1970; Havelock and Havelock, 1973; and La Belle, 1976 all attest to the need for sustained, consistent effort in order to bring about desired changes individually, collectively, and institutionally to rural areas. USAID policy is to reassign staff every 18-24 months. This would seem to be out of step with the tempo of substantive development programs. The policy can only lead to a number of possible impediments, including:

1. Discontinuity of commitment to a project,
2. Variations in interpretation of the thrust and emphasis of a project, and
3. Extra burdens on the usually fragile communication system that exists between USAID and its counterpart agencies in the host country.

Two additional standard USAID practices that may cause serious problems for successful project implementation are: 1. the yearly review by the United States Congress and 2. the bureaucratic handling of project revisions.

The very nature of the annual recurring Congressional review may create an unstable climate within which to attempt long-term development projects. The agency may not be able to guarantee the continuation of its project support. The host country may not wish to enter into an agreement with an agency that cannot make a long-term commitment to programs, as for example in food production, increased agricultural exports, or population control.

A second problem may be that of the bureaucratic procedures for project revision. Small changes can be made by USAID personnel in the host country, but major changes must be approved through the various and ever-changing levels of USAID administration. If radical changes are needed, the revision must be presented before the United States Congress. Therefore, changes which may be warranted for the successful implementation of a program may be delayed or even rejected. At the same time, a new program officer or an entire sector team may be serving in the mission office.

Another dysfunctional feature of the United States foreign policy and involvement in international development projects was cited by Owens and Shaw in survey research they conducted among countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They reported that the United States has "confused its priorities and thus raised doubts as to its real foreign aid objectives. Is it to help the poor countries develop or to help achieve U.S. foreign-policy goals?" (Owens and Shaw, 1974:XIX) Owens and Shaw also develop the thesis that the United States, in pursuit of means to contain communism, concentrates its aid on projects that are related to its foreign-policy goals, not on a development policy to assist people in developing nations. They observe, however, that the will and interest of the United States

government really is not the issue of greatest concern to the people who populate rural communities of developing countries. Owens and Shaw state that an effective foreign aid policy begins in the developing countries, not in the United States or the United States Congress. A strong defense against negative response to American presence abroad is in providing opportunities for people in developing nations to participate in the development process and to benefit from the joint relationships that exist in international development projects between USAID and the host country. (Owens and Shaw, 1974)

The United States government has made a financial commitment to international development. The reasons are partly altruistic and humanitarian, partly those of "enlightened self-interest", and partly those of global strategy and politics. The United States government's main agency for international development, USAID, is a dominant partner in foreign assistance projects in developing nations. The extent of USAID influence in developing countries and the problems of policy and practice inherent in its present structure make it extremely important to understand the scope and nature of USAID in order to understand its impact on nonformal education and rural development projects in host nations.

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Summary

In summary, the evidence presented in Part I leads to three potentially important findings gleaned from this review of the pertinent literature, namely that:

1. Formal education is a mixed blessing for rural community development. Formal education prepares rural children and youth to be competitive for employment opportunities in the urban areas, but formal education curricula bear little relationship to the needs of youth who will remain in rural areas of developing nations. The central governments that are controlled by the elites of the society control the formal education program; and they continue to offer programs that benefit those who already are at a cultural, social, and economic advantage in the society, not the rural poor.
2. In efforts to attend to their rural citizens, national governments have attempted to offer alternatives to the formal education system. However, even professionals in community development and education are not in agreement as to the strategy that should be applied to bring about long-term change in rural communities. This makes it difficult to conduct a definitive test of nonformal education as a method to achieve rural community development.
3. Developing nations are dependent upon agencies of developed nations to help sponsor development projects in their rural areas. USAID is one such agency. Due to USAID policies concerning funding, staffing, and personnel, it has become part of the problem in developing countries attempting to effect positive changes in their rural community development projects.

Anticipating The Jamaica Case

Jamaica is one of these developing nations. In many ways, Jamaica already resembles a developed nation. Few people live by subsistence agriculture. Most adults work at wage labor and participate in the cash economy. The country manufactures many of its own capital and consumer goods and engages in an active export trade. There is a reasonably well developed infrastructure, e.g., telecommunications, electricity, roads, airport facilities, etc. Jamaica's government, elected by popular vote and characterized by an active two party system, seeks universal education, health care, housing, and other social amenities for its people. (British Information Service, 1962; Kaplan, 1976; National Planning Agency, 1978)

Yet Jamaica has problems, not problems unique to Jamaica, but essentially the same ones faced by most developing countries. Over the past few years the Gross Domestic Product has shown a persistent decline. Unemployment has run as high as 30%. Physical violence has shown a marked increase, and most students have not been progressing beyond the first six years in the formal schooling process. Jamaica's economy reacts to the fluctuations of an international economic order that in many ways dominates the politics and major policy issues of the nation. (Beckford, 1972; Kaplan, 1976; Lacey, 1977; National Planning Agency, 1978; Prosser, 1975)

The persistence of these developmental problems has led national leaders to conclude that the situation faced by Jamaica is not self-correcting.

The power and influence of the central government is diffused among many ministries. The individual ministries lack the means to integrate resources and public policy, hence are ill-equipped to deal with critical issues of national or rural development. Local governments, being weak and ineffectual, have limited success in promoting local development. The vested interest groups, i.e., mining, large business, and plantations, have few government restrictions, free of commitments to rural development. Nevertheless, the country is trying to develop programs to improve conditions for its rural citizens. Simultaneously, it is continuing to develop the necessary social and economic infrastructure to provide financial and material resources to rural communities.

The nation spends 18 to 20% of its recurrent annual budget on and commits 4.5% of its Gross Domestic Product to a formal education system. This expenditure is comparable to that of other developing nations. Yet the formal education system, as judged by the Ministry of Education and by international funding agencies, has been found wanting, particularly in the rural areas and among the rural poor. In an effort to address some of the problems facing the formal education system, and to make education more responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people as well as the central government, the Ministry of Education entered into an agreement with the United States Agency for International Development to develop a nonformal education program. It is their joint goal to produce positive changes in rural community development through nonformal education.

Part II of this dissertation deals with the objectives, policies, and realities of Jamaica's nonformal education program for rural development,

entitled the "Continuing and Community Education" program. The purpose of Part II of the dissertation is to analyze policy issues and rhetoric in light of the realities facing the Continuing and Community Education program as it is being implemented in three Jamaican pilot communities: Redwood, Victoria, and Sligoville.

The subject of this part of the dissertation is the relationship of education -- both formal and nonformal -- to rural community development in Jamaica. Specifically, attention is directed to those elements of education and of social and economic development that were reported in the research literature as important in rural community development. Attention is given to: local rural leadership; relationships among government agencies involved in rural development activities; the impact of national educational policy, and of national development policy. The specific relationships examined in the literature and the three illustrative projects include:

1. Formal education and rural community development;
2. Nonformal education and rural community development;
3. Role of national government of Jamaica in undertaking rural development projects, and
4. Role of USAID as a partner with the Jamaican government in promoting rural community development.

Rural Development Problems in Jamaica

Jamaica is the third largest island of the Greater Antilles. It is the largest of the Commonwealth Caribbean nations. The island is 150 miles east to west and fifty miles north to south, comparable in size to Connecticut in the United States. The most remote point within the country can be reached by road in 6 hours or by airplane in 45 minutes. Jamaica is located about ninety miles south of Cuba. Kingston, the capital, is the main seaport, the administrative, industrial, and cultural center of the island, and the only major city of the country. (Clarke and Hodgkiss, 1974; Curtin, 1969; Hall, 1959; Kaplan, 1976; Norris, 1962; Peace Corps, n.d.)

The Population

With a population of two million, Jamaica has a heavy population density of 450 persons per square mile. This figure is comparable to that of the United Kingdom, but is approximately ten times that of Kenya and the United States. (Prosser, 1975:135) The annual birthrate is in excess of 3.3%, as compared to the 1.9% to 2.2% annual birthrate in developed nations. However, the annual net population growth rate is only 1.7% due to the heavy emigration of Jamaicans to Great Britain and North America. (Davidson, 1978:2; Prosser, 1975:135; World Bank, 1976:18)

The population is 78% black, 1% white, 2% East Indian, 1% Chinese and Asian and 18% of mixed race or colored. The upper stratum of the society speaks standard English with a Jamaican accent (whites, Chinese, Asiatic, mixed race, and some blacks). The middle class speaks Standard

Jamaican (which closely resembles British English) and also patois, a form of broken English which is the island-wide colloquial language (Peace Corps, n.d.:5), used by the East Indians, mixed races, and middle class blacks. Most of the black population speaks Jamaican patois and a little English. (British Information Service, 1962; Clarke and Hodgkiss, 1974; Kaplan, 1976; Norris, 1962) This situation places a barrier in the path of educating rural youth. Many children who come from impoverished homes must attend formal schooling taught in a "foreign" language. All schooling programs are conducted in Jamaican English with little respect shown for the native dialect of the children. Rural youth, not being able to study in their native dialect, are punished for using "bad talk." (Kaplan, 1975:121)

A Historical Perspective

The social and economic pattern of Jamaica's development was firmly established when the British troops of Cromwell wrested control of the island from the Spanish in 1655. The Spanish had sparsely settled the island, using it basically as a refueling stop for the Spanish galleons plying between their mother country and their New World territories. By the time of the British acquisition, the indigenous population of Arawak Indians had been exterminated, and the Spanish slaves, called "Maroons" by the British, either left with the Spaniards or eked out an isolated existence in the extreme mountainous regions of the island. Thus one unique feature of modern Jamaica is that it lacks indigenous people and culture. All inhabitants of the land stem from immigrant stock. (British Information Service, 1962; Kaplan, 1976; Manley, 1975; Norris, 1962; Tannenbaum, 1966)

Stimulated by the Cromwell proclamation "giving encouragement to those as shall transplant themselves to Jamaica" with land grants and other enticements, Jamaica went from an underpopulated, underdeveloped island to a symbol of wealth and prestige in the British Empire. (Norris, 1962; Wrong, 1969) Three main factors brought this about. These were the plantation system of agricultural production, sugar cane, and slavery. (Beckford, 1972:278; Curtin, 1968; Moreire, 1960; Vega, 1969) The island economy centered around a plantation system. The most productive land was cultivated for a few selected export crops, i.e., principally sugar, in the earlier years, followed later by coffee, tea, allspice and, in the latter 1800's, by bananas. These crops were harvested and shipped to the British Isles for processing, and the finished products were imported even by the originating colony. Most consumer and capital goods were produced by the British homeland which passed strict laws to forbid the colonial manufacture of goods that might compete against industry and workers in the mother country.

Large fortunes were made by Jamaican plantation owners, but the impetus for nation building did not occur. The agricultural products were shipped to the homeland. The "value added" benefits of manufacturing, marketing, shipping, and insuring thus accrued to the mother country. (Beckford, 1972:44-52; Kaplan, 1976:45-49) This situation had lasting effects upon Jamaica. A strong manufacturing sector did not develop. The potential existed but a vibrant commercial and trading system within the country did not emerge. The development and expansion of economic infrastructure throughout the island did not occur. This subservient economic position was to persist until World War II, when Jamaica, cut off by the Germans from the manufactured

goods of Britain, began to process agricultural products for the Allied war effort and to manufacture import substitutes for domestic consumption. (Beckford, 1972; Curtin, 1968; Kaplan, 1976; Norris, 1962) In spite of the bid for industrialization by Jamaica, much economic activity of the nation still centers around the exportation of raw materials and the importation of consumer and capital goods. This circumstance accounts for some of the most significant economic problems faced by the nation. (Beckford, 1972; Demas, 1971; Kaplan, 1976; Tannenbaum, 1966)

The institution that had the greatest impact on Jamaica as a nation was that of slavery. From the beginning of British control, slaves from West Africa made up the backbone of the economy and a clear majority of the population of the island. In 1775, white Jamaicans were already outnumbered 15 to 1 by their black workers. By 1834, the date the Emancipation Act was instituted, there were 320,000 slaves. Records show that between 1713, when Britain gained the monopoly over the distribution of slaves to all European Latin American colonies, and 1807, when the slave trade became officially illegal in Jamaica, 200,000 were reexported with the balance remaining to replenish the labor force of the island. These figures seem to indicate that the black population was not able to be sustained under the harsh living and working conditions, and that slaves had to be continually imported to boost the labor supply. At the same time the colonial government did not allow a permanent social and cultural base to be established among the black population. There were several methods used to block such development. People from the various tribal groups were mixed. People were forced to communicate in English. Education for slaves was banned by official decree. Very few

female slaves were imported as laborers so that few family ties were possible. Black Africans were viewed as chattel and were managed under conditions of distrust and fear. (Beckford, 1972; Curtin, 1968; Hall, 1959; Manley, 1975; Nettleford, 1972; Norris, 1962; Wrong, 1969)

Few educational opportunities existed on the island. Wealthy planters sent their children to school in England. A few free schools existed for poorer whites, Afro-Europeans or coloreds, and later in the 1800's the newly emerging merchant class of Chinese, Syrians, and East Indians. Missionaries were allowed to teach blacks only the scriptures until the Emancipation in 1834.

Little was to be accomplished in universal education until the 1940 Colonial Development and Welfare Act. This was passed by the British Parliament to open education to greater numbers of the population, to assist the efforts of the British colonial government and Jamaican leaders, and to prepare the people for political independence. In 1834, the first year of emancipation, the British government had first come to the aid of Negro education but the effort was short lived. Curtin reports that the "results were so impressive that the grant of £30,000 per annum was reduced in 1842 and disappeared from the Jamaican budget in 1845. (1968:159) In the latter 1800's, elite private schools were established for the upper classes. This gave them entrance into the British civil service or some other prestigious job. (Curtin, 1968) Several reforms by the British Parliament between 1864 and 1883 gave greater emphasis to a public education system based on the British classical model, and the government assisted in providing funds to help foster universal education. In 1899 the Colonial Office forced a cutback in educational spending which

reflected the "prejudices of the Jamaican elite planters against book learning for laborers." (Kaplan, 1976:70-71) "The real burden of educational work was left to the missionaries." (Curtin, 1968:159) Yet the mission schools established for the blacks were not able to provide the students with the skills needed to pass the highly competitive Cambridge examinations. (Kaplan, 1976) This means of social and economic mobility was not realized by the majority of the blacks. (Manley, 1975)

The Government of Jamaica and the Political Structure of the Nation

The national government is a parliamentary one patterned after the British system. The Prime Minister and Cabinet are chosen from the majority party. Jamaica has had a viable two party system since before independence, which was granted by Great Britain on August 6, 1962. Elections are held on the basis of universal adult suffrage and there has been a regular turnover of government between the Jamaican Labour Party and the Peoples National Party. The national government is responsible for national concerns such as defense, foreign policy, and education. All major policy decisions and funding are channeled through the various ministries such as agriculture, health, and finance. Local government is made up of 14 elected Parish Councils. Local councils are responsible for local matters such as welfare, water, secondary roads, markets, fire protection, and sanitation. (British Information Service, 1962; Senior, 1972; Wrong, 1969)

Traditionally, citizen participation in national government elections has been good. Approximately 72% of the registered voters in rural areas of Jamaica vote. (Stone, 1974:45) This level of participation compares favorably with voter turnout in the other Western Hemisphere nations.

In contrast, voter turnout for local parish council elections, which occur in the off parliamentary election years, characteristically has been poor. Kaplan reports that the situation may be indicative of a much deeper historical and social phenomenon. Kaplan states that "the effectiveness of local institutions in generating a sense of participation in government on the part of the rural population has ... been questioned." (1975:207) "Jamaicans are handicapped by a history of slavery and colonialism that has inculcated habits of dependence and a sense of inferiority." (Kaplan, 1975:210) Kaplan and Vega have found that "most office seekers are of the higher socio-economic class brackets" and these people are seeking the benefits of political gain from Kingston rather than seeking to serve their rural constituents. These two authors also point out that the relations of the parish officers to their constituents is that of "authoritarian paternalism more often than cooperation." (Kaplan, 1975:207; Vega, 1969:22-23)

A corollary of this situation is the concentration of wealth and power at the national level. The local parish governments are viewed as weak and ineffectual because of the concentration of the decision-making process and resources of the nation in the respective ministries. (Kaplan, 1975:206; Lacey, 1977:55) Again, Jamaica follows the historical precedent of Imperial Britain centering its economic life in London. As in its colonial past, Kingston today is looked upon as the social, economic, and political center of Jamaica. Instead of looking to the local parish governments, the people look to Kingston for political rewards and resources for the development of their local communities. Vega identifies

the Jamaican political outlook as one in which the voters "think of their party as a potential source of benefits, not as an organization which will carry out a programme." (1969:127)

There are very real implications in this political situation for rural development. Very little is going to happen to bring rural development to local communities, unless and until: (a) there is a greater distribution of resources to the local areas in rural Jamaica, (b) there is a local body that has political control over the utilization and distribution of the resources, and (c) power is entrusted to a body that has interest in the development of local areas rather than in building its own political power base.

The Modern Industrial Sector

Both history and present characteristics of the Jamaican economy have broad implications for rural community development. The modern industrial sector has expanded greatly since independence in 1962, yet the liberal incentive laws of the country have tended to favor highly technical, capital intensive industries of the developed nations. Clarke and Hodgkiss found that "based on overseas loans and foreign investment the economic returns have been excellent, the social benefits slight." (1974:64) Instead of appropriate technology that would employ the over-expanding labor force, mechanization has tended to cause an actual reduction of the necessary labor force. (Clarke and Hodgkiss, 1974:42; Kaplan, 1976:36; Owens and Shaw, 1974:122; Prosser, 1975) "The modern industrial sector cannot absorb the labour force so the youth are left to crime in order to survive." (Clarke and Hodgkiss, 1974:38) The modern industrial areas

create "islands of development" which cause dislocations of labor. The mining sector employs only 6,000 persons, yet its salaries are, on the average, four times that of an agricultural worker. (Kaplan, 1976)

Even with the low number of workers demanded in the modern industrial sector, many youth are willing to gamble, not taking any other type of job to see if they can break into the industrial labor market or striving for advanced schooling which may make them more competitive for such employment. (Clarke and Hodgkiss, 1974; Kaplan, 1976; Prosser, 1975)

Hence the first problems for attempts in rural development are the great disparity between the various classes of wage earners, and the dislocations of labor caused by high-paying employment sectors in a nation the majority of whose people earn low or no wages. A third problem is the concentration of the economic wealth in the hands of a few corporations, most of them internationally owned, so that decision-making is out of Jamaican hands.

Many of the larger corporations are monopolies dominating not only production and profits but also the whole spectrum of decision-making in the private sector... The dominance of corporate decision-making is of particular significance for the autonomy of domestic economic policy in Jamaica, especially since most of the large local corporate monopolies are subsidiaries and branches of foreign firms. (Lacey, 1977:13-14)

The Jamaican government must take into account the long-term economic interest of the major economic groups in the rural areas, particularly mining and the plantations, and consider how rural development projects will be perceived to affect the interests of these groups. In order to enlist these economic interest groups as participants in rural development programs, the government

will have to show them how to benefit themselves as well as the rural people. The Government must review its development policies in view of the dislocations that the imported, capital-intensive industries have created in the Jamaican labor market, if it intends to bring its national development policies in line with its rhetoric of "social and economic opportunities for all citizens." (Manley, 1975)

The Trade Unions: Organizations of Change?

Trade unions have had tremendous impact on Jamaican political and economic development. There are two main trade unions, the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union and the National Workers Union. They fostered the two main political parties, the Jamaica Labor Party and the Peoples National Party. The two unions represent some 200,000 workers or about one-third of the Jamaican working population. Collectively, they have considerable influence on wages and working conditions, plus retirement and fringe benefits. (Kaplan, 1976)

Both Kaplan and Eaton praise the trade union movement in Jamaica. Social and economic benefits have accrued to the membership of the unions. Further, benefits have accrued to the population as a whole. By fostering a strong two party system, the unions set the stage for political alternatives seldom enjoyed in newly emerging Third World countries. (Stone, 1974) The unions sponsor leadership development training, vocational and other efforts to involve the members in social and political activities.

Yet there are dysfunctional aspects. "The unions have created a gap between unionized labor, with comparatively good, sophisticated social benefits and pension schemes, and the remainder of the workers who have few benefits and obtain low wages. Average earnings for unskilled workers in the union organized sector are four times those of agriculture, and more than double those in unrepresented manufacturing and transportation firms." (Kaplan, 1976:231) In addition, "reliance on trade union support makes it difficult for political party leaders to control labor." (Kaplan, 1976:212) This situation may actually impede the distribution of socio-economic benefits to the majority of the citizens of Jamaica. (Eaton, n.d.; Kaplan, 1976; Lacey, 1977)

Agriculture

A survey of occupational choice among a sample of rural schoolboys showed that the majority hoped to be mechanics, doctors or truck drivers; no one wanted agricultural work or laboring. School girls expressed similar preferences.

(Clarke and Hodgkiss, 1974:40)

This survey by Clarke and Hodgkiss emphasizes that agriculture in Jamaica, as in most of the developing world, is socially stigmatized.

(Barnum and Sabot, 1977; Buchanan, 1975; Lallez, 1974; Manley, 1975)

Agricultural and related endeavors are viewed as offering few financial and social rewards. (Beckford, 1972)

The most dramatic change in the Jamaican economy of the last decades is the switch in the role of agriculture. The leading contributor to GDP in 1950, it dropped to only a modest position in 1977. In 1950 agriculture contributed over 36% to the GDP. In 1977, agriculture contributed 8.8%, up a bit over 1976.

This situation has many implications for rural community development. The vast majority of farmers are the rural poor who eke out a precarious existence on marginally productive land. After 17 years of national independence and 135 years since the Emancipation Act, the agricultural position of Jamaica still is engaged in a "plantation economy". The economic situation is controlled by multinationals, Jamaican whites, or coloreds who have risen above peasant status. The best land is used to produce products for exports. The nation faces yearly trade deficits, partly because it imports food stuffs and these imports increase to meet an expanding population and the higher expectations of a more affluent society. For the first time in many years, agricultural production is showing a gradual increase in production and income earnings. At the same time, greater numbers of young people are leaving the rural areas for the urban centers. Kaplan found in his research that only 10% of the farmers were under age thirty while 15% were over sixty five. (Beckford, 1972; Demas, 1971; Kaplan, 1976; National Planning Agency, 1978; USAID, 1975)

Agriculture is looked upon as an occupation for blacks and low class people only. At a time when the national unemployment rate is running at 30% and possibly higher, able-bodied men and women are still flocking to the cities hoping to gain a "white collar" job which is believed to lead to greater social prestige and wealth. (Clarke and Hodgkiss, 1974; Kaplan, 1976:38) It is critical that "some 20% of the migrants from the countryside to the towns were those who had completed secondary or higher level formal education." (Prosser, 1975:138) The rural areas, with their poor educational facilities and lack of educational motivation at home, have far fewer students who make it past the 6th grade. (Owens and Shaw, 1974;

Prosser, 1975) The ones who look to the cities for opportunities are those who have education and skills to contribute to scientific farming hence could assist rural communities and the nation in development efforts.

Strong Vested Interest Groups

Strong vested interest groups are a consideration that may impede the development of rural areas in Jamaica. These groups are those in mining, plantations, and large business.

Jamaica was settled by the British as a colony of exploitation. The island was to be used principally for the production of certain basic raw materials and agricultural products. This development equation is described by Moreire as that of "latifundia - monoculture - slavery." (1960)

George Beckford maintains (in Persistent Poverty) that it is to the advantage of the plantations, which are owned by multinational corporations, to keep wages low, to control all arable land whether currently in production or not, to own all forward and backward economic linkages such as raw materials, energy production, processing, and shipping, and to control such financial institutions as banking, insurance, and investment. Even though tropical nations have achieved constitutional independence, their legacy of economic, social, and psychological dependency still has not been eliminated and they continue with a plantation economy. (1972:5; also, Manley, 1975; Prosser, 1975) A plantation economy depends upon world trade for exports and it needs to import manufactured goods. Beckford regards it as virtually impossible for a society with such an economy to avoid international social, economic, and political pressure which may not favor national and

local rural community development efforts.

William Demas supports the position taken by Beckford that the existence of plantations and other multinational organizations "presents a paradoxical situation for Third World Nations. On the one hand it offers the initial base for development. But, on the other hand, the country may find the external impact too powerful, and consequently may fail to escape subjection to external decision-making forces." (1971:24)

Carl Feuer, who for three years worked with the Jamaica government's efforts to take over selected sugar estates and provide local worker ownership, initiative, and control, observed the following: Upper and middle managers who had been trained under the traditional system "maneuvered to institutionalize the sugar workers' movement along bureaucratic, productionist and business-oriented lines, counter to earlier mobilization aimed at transformation, distribution, and political organization and struggle." (1978:43)

Feuer further states in the article: "Throughout the colonial period and after, the planter elite and its descendants always feared more than anything any independent efforts to educate 'their' workers, let alone 'agitation' among them." Thus the management staffs and the government's own Sugar Industry Authority have taken control with little input from or consideration for the workers themselves. As noted by Vega, "even before the organization reaches maturity, the militant is replaced by the civil servant." (1969:35)

Kaplan (1976) and Demas (1971) found that the same general attitudes and activities that are exhibited by plantations are replicated by mining and large business. The following example is given. Since 1972, 92% of all imported cargo was being handled through Kingston, the capital. The other

ports of the nation compete for the remainder. When the smaller ports requested larger shares of the action, central government stated that the major multinational food processing firm which controls between 45% and 50% of the incoming cargo had to be made a part of any governmental decision. It was then agreed by the smaller ports that central government would hold discussion with the multinational firm in order to solicit its support for a submission to the Jamaican cabinet. (The Daily News, 1978:1 and 27; The Daily Gleaner, 1978:1 and 21)

Education as Panacea for National Development

The school system when adequately equipped and fully operational has the greatest potential in terms of personnel, equipment, and facilities to be a catalyst for change and to provide the leverage for development in every nook and cranny of the country.

(Ministry of Education, 1977:4)

The social institution best equipped to help nations develop their ... resources is the educational system... of all the social institutions ... none is of greater long range importance. What any country becomes in the future is determined in part by the approach to education taken in the present.

(Foster, 1963: 01)

The tone of the commitment of Jamaica to education and its expectations from the multi-million system is set. Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica, reinforces the thesis that the educational system can be the catalyst for change by asserting that "those who seek an egalitarian society must first address their minds to the question of the organization of one stream of education through which all must pass." (1975:37)



Though the government is contributing the greatest percentage of its allocated educational resources to primary and secondary education, the following table succinctly demonstrates which part of the education system of Jamaica is well supported.

Distribution of Educational Program Expenditure

<u>Type of Education Program</u>	<u>Educational Program Expenditure</u> (per student-per annum; \$J)
Primary Education (all types)	140
Secondary Education (all types)	340
Tertiary Education	
Teacher Education	2,435
Jamaica School of Agriculture	3,346
College of Arts, Sciences & Technology	1,664
Community College	1,566
Higher Education (University of West Indies)	4,142

The table clearly demonstrates that the Government of Jamaica makes a far greater monetary contribution per student at the tertiary level of education than at the primary or secondary level of education. The effects of this pattern of allocation for educational program expenditures has created three dysfunctional features, namely:

(1) the educational program offered youth are largely irrelevant to rural and national development; (2) the majority of the students who finished primary and lower secondary education are still

functionally illiterate; and (3) the majority of young Jamaicans start life with a sense of failure.

Researchers indicate that Jamaican education is geared towards preparing university - bound student for the various national examinations. It is not basically concerned with the relevance and appropriateness of the educational program to rural and national development. (Kaplan, 1976:155)

Manley, when comparing the needs of "now" Jamaica and the educational system, lamented that:

The pre-condition of economic expansion in the condition of political freedom is the development within the society of the skills without which a sophisticated economy cannot function. Our educational system, on the other hand, has responded to the new challenge by seeking to expand the system in its old form. This has implied a considerable commitment of resources to provide more and more training, for a greater proportion of the youth of the country, of the same kind as heretofore. Thus, our educational system in common with the systems of many other countries in the Third World is in danger of producing increasing numbers of people fitted for the professions, the bureaucracy or white-collar careers.

(1975:159)

The implication of this information for rural community development is that formal schooling is largely irrelevant to the needs of rural youth. The academic portion of schooling is not adequate to provide students with basic literacy. Rural youth and their parents do not look upon education as a way to learn improved agricultural techniques, to gain an increased awareness of the importance of proper nutrition, or to learn how youth can best utilize local resources to make better lives for themselves. They see education as a means to escape from rural communities. Formal schooling in Jamaica raises the aspiration level of youth, with very few opportunities for these aspirations to be fulfilled. Consequently, though

the government contributes a significant amount of its funds to the formal schooling system; the returns appear to be small both for the nation and for the majority of individuals who participate in formal schooling.

Conclusion

Jamaica has made various attempts to promote social and economic development. Indeed, the development of Jamaica is impressive when defined in conventional terms. At the same time, major problems beset the country. Present in much of the developing world, the problems severely impede the desire of the Government of Jamaica to join the classification of a "developed" nation. The development efforts, separately and collectively, do not go far in meeting the developmental needs of rural Jamaica nor the nation as a whole. Major developmental efforts serve only a portion of the total population. It has been noted that some general benefits have accrued to the population as a whole. In terms of resources committed and the needs that face rural Jamaica, however, the percentage who have benefited most from post-independence development has changed little over the percentage of those who profited by pre-independence development efforts of the British. (Clark and Hodgkiss, 1974) Education has not proved to be a solution. (Beckford, 1972)

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Section 2

Nonformal Education:
An Experiment in
International Cooperation

This section is devoted to the Continuing and Community Education program co-sponsored by the Jamaican Ministry of Education and by USAID. It will cover the following aspects: (1) social and economic constraints facing Jamaica's educational system, (2) the inability of the educational system to deal with major problems facing rural areas, (3) the belief that education can bring about rural community development, (4) the goals and rhetoric of the Continuing and Community Education program in addressing the problems of rural and national development, (5) the development of the program to be implemented in rural communities, and (6) the limitations faced by the Ministry of Education and USAID in the implementation of the program.

The co-sponsors of the program have made substantial commitment of money and manpower towards many nonformal education to encourage rural development. Program goals and rhetoric are consistent with the needs of rural Jamaica and reflect an awareness of the state-of-the art both in rural community development and in nonformal education efforts conducted in other third world countries. In spite of this apparent commitment to address the needs, some major obstacles remain which hinder successful implementation of the program. These obstacles need to be examined.

The Government Mandate for Education in Jamaica

In 1944, the Jamaican (Constitution) Order in Council initiated the systematic process towards independence from Great Britain. The various

ministries, one of which was Education, were created in 1953. Full political independence followed in 1962. (British Information Service, 1962) The Education Act of 1965 consolidated the statutory and operational aspects of the system created in 1953, and established a two-part educational mandate:

- (1) to define the goals of the Jamaican educational system, and
- (2) to expand the system to meet individual and national needs. (USAID, 1973)

In order to meet the first mandate of the 1965 legislation the Ministry of Education set the following broad goals:

The rights and freedoms of the people are enshrined in the constitution and this includes the right of every individual to develop his potential through education, which is interpreted to mean that he has the opportunity to become a self-sufficient and well integrated personality and a useful and responsible citizen of an independent country.

The government therefore intends that educational opportunity must be open to all in keeping with its economic and social policy based on the principles of egalitarianism, social justice, self-reliance, national pride and a deep respect for the rights of the individual, for the rights and freedoms of others, and for the public interest. (USAID, 1973:37)

Based on the second goal of the 1965 legislative mandate, the Government of Jamaica embarked on an ambitious expansion scheme. Two such efforts included a World Bank loan of US\$9.5 million in 1966 to establish 50 junior secondary schools and a CIDA loan of US\$1.395 million for construction and/or renovation of 128 primary schools. (USAID, 1973:1, 22) New construction by these same two agencies during the years 1973-1977 included 40 primary and 41 secondary schools. The Ministry of Education completed 91 such projects in the 1976-1977 school year. (National Planning Agency, 1978:382-430) This mandate of "expansion" led to the massive growth of the educational system in every area of the island at a rate never before experienced in the history of the nation.

In 1978 the formal educational system involved the expenditure of some J\$207 million and involved 126,000 children in infant schools, 431,882 in elementary education, and 224,797 students at the secondary level. Many more dollars for education were expended by other ministries, e.g., agriculture, health, and finance. (National Planning Agency, 1978:328-430)

In 1977-1978, public expenditures for professional training by twelve different ministries amounted to J\$67.3 million or 5.3% of the total government expenditure for that year. (National Planning Agency, 1978:291-293)

Besides these major basic governmental expenditures for education, some 30 other agencies, institutions, or associations made substantial commitments to some type of nonformal education or training program in Jamaica. (Hylton, 1974:4; USAID, 1973:33-34)

In financial terms, the government made significant commitments to education, involving substantial national and international resources. However, it remains a question whether this financial commitment has succeeded in meeting the two goals mandated by the Ministry of Education in 1965. In the broadest sense, the task of "defining the goals of the Jamaican educational system" has been performed. In more concrete respects, general educational ideals remain to be defined explicitly and to be related directly to more specific policies and actions.

The second mandate, calling for expansion of facilities to meet individual and national needs, has certainly been addressed, in light of the impressive numbers of schools and educational programs now available throughout the island. The efficacy of government efforts to meet individual and national needs is less evident.

Jamaican Education Sector Assessments

Two major assessments of the Jamaican post-independence educational system have been conducted by national personnel and outside agencies. The first major review was conducted in 1964 by a joint UNESCO and Ministry of Education effort. Called the New Deal for Education, this report was intended to serve as a blueprint for expanding the education system to include greater post-primary opportunities for the population. (Ministry of Education, 1977:13) The second national assessment took place in 1973 under a joint USAID, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD or World Bank), and Ministry of Education study. This effort led to the Jamaican Education Sector Assessment Report of 1973

The 1972 Jamaican elections brought the first change of government since gaining independence in 1962. The new government wished to learn if the educational programs were reaching the targeted audiences. The government also wished to emphasize social development, in addition to economic development, by establishing a "programme for the country's human resources development as its first priority." (USAID, 1973:3) At the same time, CIDA and the World Bank needed to assess the impact of their education loans on the country. USAID was requested by the participating parties in 1972 to coordinate the effort. This assessment was to provide an evaluation upon which to base the Jamaican request for additional external help and the use of increased domestic funds. (USAID, 1973)

Assessment Shows Major Inadequacies

The joint Ministry of Education, CIDA, USAID, and World Bank education sector assessment of sixty components of the Jamaican Educational System in 1973 concluded:

Education (in the schools and elsewhere) is not adequately serving stated objectives and is at odds with many of the goals of the new nation. Although some progress has slowly been made, the system generally operates on several class levels and in the long run tends to be a negative income distribution device. In general, the poor and rural get mostly to primary where the conditions are crowded, harsh, and most ill-taught; the few who get to secondary tend to get there in spite of the primary system or probably because their home environments are more enriched, and the secondary is the least crowded and best taught. The antiquated examination system "eleven-plus", etc. arbitrarily assigns the socially and culturally poorer to a terminal upper primary school (7-9 grades of the All-Age school). The few who can most afford it get to post-secondary schools and the opportunity to enter higher paying jobs while the mass face lesser opportunities or unemployment. Finally those who acquire most education tend to leave the country, passing the educational cost burden to all the people. (USAID, 1973:58)

It appears from the 1973 assessment that the formal educational system fails to meet the needs particularly of the rural and poor populations in Jamaica. A USAID position paper, entitled, A Program of Continuing Education Including Community Involvement In, and Support For the Education Process, drawing upon the 1973 Jamaica Education Sector Assessment Team Report, reached a similar conclusion:

The critical dimensions of Jamaica's surplus labor and skill shortage, the overcrowded urban areas, unemployment (24.7%), and high rate of functional illiteracy (estimated 35%), decadent agriculture (28% decline in per capita income in 7 years; average age 55 of farmers with few young replacements), lack of infrastructure and other amenities, in the rural areas (for 65% of the population), shortages of teachers, an examination system that renders students unfit (for employment) after the age of 15, and the overall brain drain are all inextricably tied together. (USAID, 1977:1)

The three main external funding agencies (CIDA, USAID, and the World Bank) along with the Government of Jamaica questioned whether Jamaica could continue to commit 18% to 20% of the recurrent budget and 4.5% of the Gross Domestic Product to education. One alternative to the situation is to cease supporting any type of formal education, but the political realities of Jamaican culture would not permit such a drastic step. (Lacey, 1977; Stone, 1974) The Kenyan work of Kipkorir sheds light on this situation. "For most Kenyan parents, however, formal education is a means to formal or wage employment. Even though educated parents send their children to school as a matter of course, they expect them to secure paid white-collar employment upon completing their schooling. Given the normal interplay of social and economic background in relation to education, the children of the elite perform in the formal system better and have a better chance of realizing their goal of modern sector paid employment." (Kipkorir, 1975:178)

Such writers as Freire, 1970; Kaplan, 1975; Lacey, 1977; Tannenbaum, 1966; and Vega, 1979, attest to a situation in Jamaica similar to that noted in Kenya. Middle and upper class parents view education as a means for social and economic mobility needed for the future success of their own children. These parents are in positions of authority within the economic and political arena of the nation with control over much of the wealth and political power of the country. (Kaplan, 1976; Stone, 1974; Vega, 1969) This block of middle-class voters forces the continuation of both the present educational system and the government's substantial support of it, leading to what Kipkorir sees as a "formal system that perpetuates and accentuates social stratification." (1975:178)

Continuing and Community Education Program Established to Assist Rural Community Development

The underlying philosophy of the Continuing Education Programme is firstly, that education is a vital ingredient for development and as such must be available to all within the society on a life long basis. Secondly, that practically adopted educational programme can be a force for the national development. Within this framework the community must become the nucleus of the whole development process, thus affording traditionally neglected inhabitants to participate meaningfully in all aspects of community life.

(Ministry of Education, n.d.:2)

The objective of the Continuing Education program is to provide an opportunity for out-of-school youth and the men and women of the rural communities to develop the skills and other learnings which will make it possible for them to improve the quality of their lives as individuals, as members of families, and as participants in the community and the productive agricultural sector.

(USAID, 1977:9)

The decision of the Government of Jamaica to enter into an educational assistance contract with USAID was an outgrowth of the 1973 Jamaica Education Sector Assessment Team Report. According to the Jamaican Government and USAID, the major considerations for this action were:

- (1) the reality of the Jamaican political and social milieu which demands a continued formal education system for the middle class strata,
- (2) the need to avoid potential upheavals exacerbated by the perceived disparate socio-economic benefits of the Jamaican educational system,
- (3) the realization held by the Government of Jamaica that its rural populace must contribute to the general economic health of the nation, and
- (4) the interest shown by USAID, backed by a U.S. Congressional mandate to contribute to rural development efforts of other nations for humanitarian as well as strategic purposes. The contract signed on 13th November, 1975 became known as the Rural Education Sector Loan Program . (USAID, 1977)

The loan was divided into these five program areas: (1) rural primary, (2) rural secondary, (3) teacher education, (4) management, planning, research and development information systems, and (5) continuing and community education. (AACTE, 1977) This dissertation is concerned with the fifth program area.

The Continuing and Community Education program was to provide opportunities for those rural residents, youth and adults, excluded from participation in the formal education system. Total cost of the initial program was estimated to be US\$1.613 million, 45% of which was to be provided by the U.S. loan. Additional loan monies were to be spent on the development of three regional agricultural/vocational high schools, which were also to serve as regional support centers of the Continuing and Community Education program of the Ministry. If successful, the program is to be expanded beyond its 18 subcenters and three regional centers to 80 subcenters by 1983. (Ministry of Education, 1977; USAID, 1977; Williams, 1977)

A number of conventional steps have been taken by the Government of Jamaica through its agent, the Ministry of Education, and through USAID. These augur well for launching and conducting the Continuing and Community Education program. They provide money. The government lends its official endorsement to the effort. An appropriate core staff has been assembled to direct the endeavor. Position papers have been prepared regarding the program's development and implementation. Facilities, hardware, and software necessary to development of the institutional program have been procured. International consultants have been brought in to assist Jamaican staff members. In addition to USAID, other international

agencies lend support and, in some cases, resources to the effort, e.g., Peace Corps staff person to live in each subcenter village.

Goals of the program included the following: (Hylton, 1977; Ministry of Education, 1977; USAID, 1976; USAID, 1977)

- (1) to bring about community development and economic self-reliance of individuals,
- (2) to improve the levels of income of rural people and the quality of rural life,
- (3) to make education and training systems more responsive to the economic and social needs of rural communities,
- (4) to curtail the emigration of the rural residents to urban areas and engage them in productive employment and cultural enrichment,
- (5) to create a sense of "community" in local areas,
- (6) to integrate the resources of the local rural community to the fullest,
- (7) to support the concept that schools belong to the people and should be used as community centers and the focal point of community activities,
- (8) to provide an opportunity for local physical and human resources to be used in the education and community development process.

The implementation of these goals will be examined in individual case projects at Redwood, Victoria, and Sligoville. In all three situations many of the goals are not being achieved by the Continuing and Community Education program in its current form. In addition to the problems particular to each case project, the program is faced with social and organizational obstacles that severely limit the possibility of realizing the program goals.

Social Impediments to the Realization of Project Goals

Two dysfunctional elements in Jamaican social structure obstruct rural community development. Firstly, strong social stratification in rural communities creates intense competition for membership in the local upper class and for social ranking within it. (Beckford, 1972:69) Upward mobility for individuals in rural areas is diversely limited and depends not only on race but also on "dress, manner of speech, education, income, occupation, family." Only through a combination of individual effort, education, and personal connections can one move into a higher socio-economic bracket. This competition within a local community undermines its ability to function as a collective unit toward the social and economic betterment of its individual members. (Beckford, 1972)

Secondly, cooperative action with a community is hindered by a marked lack of communication and trust between upper and lower classes. "Indeed a major constraint to the efficient functioning of the co-op structure is the low level of trust built up over the centuries. The workers do not have confidence that anyone will honestly manage the affairs of their society and farm - all will 'tief' them, lie to them, hide things from them" and the "workers doubt that anybody 'like themselves' can fill leadership roles." (Feuer, 1978:61) Even those who manage to raise their status through education or new wealth "essentially become Black Europeans," forming a "creole elite". (Beckford, 1972:29) Instead of assisting others in their rural communities, these people seek the various benefits of the upper class society. In fact, having moved into the upper strata of society, they place obstacles in the paths of others to do so. "Application of the law varies with status and is mistrusted by the lower class; status schooling remains

a main function of Jamaican education. Differential treatment by these and other institutions tends to separate the upper and middle from the lower class, making communication difficult, if not impossible." (Kaplan, 1976:103-104)

In summary, the Continuing and Community Education program goals, though consistent with the real needs of citizens in rural areas, must be implemented in a historical and cultural environment that has been developed over many generations and is the antithesis of the desired ends of the program. These goals make local communities appear homogeneous in nature, whereas in reality they are not. Change in this complex situation is possible only through a long term process.

Operation and Management of the Continuing and Community Education Program

After the intital commitment of the Ministry of Education and USAID to the nonformal education concept for rural development, the co-sponsor decided to house regional rural development centers in three agricultural-vocational schools that were being developed and/or constructed under a separate program area of the USAID loan agreement. The first regional center to be selected was the Dinthill Technical High School of St. Catherine parish. Six subcenters were selected. Those were: Victoria, Watermount, Redwood, Spring Garden, Davis, and Sligoville.

The subcenters were selected on a competitive basis. Some of the criteria used for selection were: 1. a detailed inventory of the infrastructure and resources of the school and the community, 2. the commitment of the teachers in the school to the concept, 3. willingness of the general public to participate in the pilot project, 4. the emergence of a Local Advisory Committee, and 5. willingness of the principal of each

school to act as the local project coordinator.

The Dinthill regional center was expected to serve as an administrative and supervisory center as well as to provide direct operational support to the subcenters. Such support included providing media equipment, assisting in community resource identification efforts, coordinating community level needs assessment surveys, and providing intensive short courses for subcenter teachers, principals, extension workers, and community leaders. The subcenters were expected to be open for courses and programs desired by the community. In addition, the subcenters were to be utilized for other civic purposes when not used for formal educational programs. The program was to be open to all persons not enrolled in the present school system. (Hylton, 1977; USAID, 1976; USAID, 1977)

A National Advisory Committee (NAC) was to be established. (Chart 1) This group, unremunerated, was responsible to the Ministry of Education, and its members would represent various national agencies. Some of the members included representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Social Development Commission, Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Community Development, the Principal of the Jamaica School of Agriculture, and other key individuals. The committee would serve the Ministry and regional personnel. In an advisory capacity, the group ideally would assist in problem solving, the communication and dissemination of information, and liaison between the program and national resources. (USAID, 1976)

The local governing body would be the Local Advisory Committee (LAC). (Chart 1) This group, also unremunerated, was to represent the total spectrum of the individual communities. This group would have policy-making

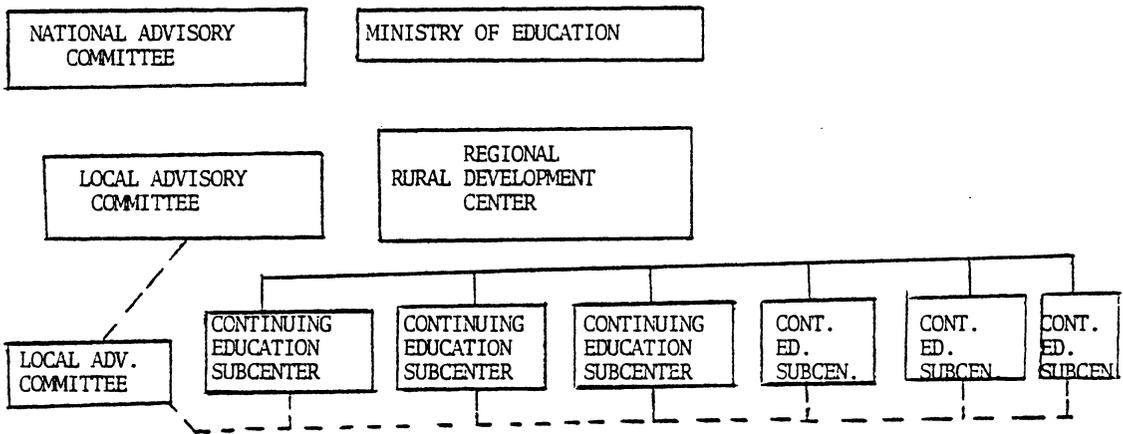


CHART 1: Organizational Chart, Ministry of Education Continuing and Community Education Program. AACTE. [Duplicated from Basic Description of Projects Designed to Implement the Jamaican Rural Education Development Program. Washington, D.C.: AACTE, 1977.

powers, provide guidance and direction to the local program, secure cooperation of other organizations in the community, and articulate the needs of local citizens. The LAC would be the link between the school and the community. Membership in the committee was to be open to any and all members of the immediate community surrounding the subcenters. (Hylton, Lewis, Blackwell, 1977:11-12; USAID, 1976)

Teachers in the subcenters were to be responsive to the needs of the greater community and develop a relevant educational program. The teachers were to conduct courses and activities in their specialty areas and assist in the development of curricula and activities along with the principal/supervisor who was to serve as the local project coordinator. Persons to offer educational programs were also to be recruited from social service agencies, the Jamaican School of Agriculture and the Extension services. (AACTE, 1977; USAID, 1976)

Under the Continuing and Community Education program, the teachers were to be paid for their efforts. At the outset of the program the decision was made to borrow the hourly rate payment system of the Evening Institute program of the Ministry. Under these guidelines, teachers in the nonformal education program were to be paid at the rates of J\$5.00 and J\$3.00 to trained and pre-trained teachers respectively. The salary was paid from the Ministry of Education through the principal/supervisor in the subcenter along with the regular Ministry monthly employee disbursements.

One important aspect of the Continuing and Community Education project was the matching fund program. This feature was to allow communities to determine their needs and, through a partnership of self-help and central

government grants, develop the infrastructure to meet these needs. The fund was established to provide up to J\$17,000 in a match from the Ministry of Education to local communities which have committed human, material, and/or financial resources. Such projects could include money for the construction of facilities that were needed by the community and the school and would enhance community development. Approximately J\$2,000 would be set aside for each subcenter to facilitate the purchase of needed equipment, supplies, and materials. These items would be requested through the coordinator of the regional center who would assist the subcenter in its request, with final approval required by the national level coordinator. The funds would be allocated on the basis of demonstrated need and the appropriateness of such items to development of the project. (AACTE, 1977; Hylton, 1977; USAID, 1976; USAID, 1977)

Overall administration of the Continuing and Community Education program is under the aegis of the Ministry of Education. (Chart 1) The Ministry is ultimately responsible for the supervision, financing, and policy direction of the program. The regional rural development center coordinator serves an administrative, supervisory and direct operational support role to the respective subcenters.

Organizational Impediments

Upon close inspection of Chart 1, several weaknesses in the structural framework of the Continuing and Community Education program are apparent. The organizational structure is not clearly delineated. There are no direct lines of communication and authority between the Ministry of Education and the Regional Rural Development Center. There are no direct lines of

communication and authority between the Regional Rural Development Center and the subcenters. This situation leads to contradictory and nebulous flow of communication, authority, and responsibility. As observed by this author, the Ministry of Education and the regional center staff often disagreed as to the scope, nature, and direction of the program efforts in local communities. The group which had last visited the target centers would determine the immediate direction of the program.

Control is still centralized at the national level. All final decisions with respect to funding, infrastructure development, programming, and other matters must be made in Kingston. This deprives local citizens of leadership training opportunities and perpetuates the legacy of centralized control rather than the localization of authority and responsibility as the program intended.

The various levels of advisory committees serve the purpose of being purely advisory. At the national level the advisory committee was to be representative of all agencies and ministries that are related to rural community development efforts. The board was formed and met in 1977. The members were informed of the existence of the Ministry of Education and USAID program, but held not further meetings. Some factors behind the non-commitment of outside agencies to the project are: (1) lack of direction by the Ministry of Education, (2) the purely advisory nature of the committee, and (3) the absence of the investment of resources by the other "participating" agencies. Thus, a major goal of the project, to create interagency dialogue and commitment, was not realized.

The Local Advisory Committee for the Regional Rural Development Center was not formed at all due to lack of agreement between the Ministry

and regional staff as to the purpose and function of the regional center(s). As originally planned, the agreement between the USAID and the Ministry called for subcenters to be in each regional center as well as target communities. The primary function of the regional centers was to serve as administrative and supervisory headquarters to the target communities. In the current situation, the three regional centers are isolated and located away from communities in order to have adequate land area to conduct educational programs. But the Ministry level team insists upon a local subcenter in each regional school because it is in the loan agreement. The situation has caused much confusion and dissension among all levels of staff and is one problem which has not been resolved. It has impeded the development of a viable regional center effort and has prevented the local centers from receiving the support and direction needed to successfully commence their local efforts.

Examining the organizational structure of the Ministry of Education in Chart 2 points up another organizational problem in the lack of definition of responsibility, authority, and communication between the various sections that make up the rural education program. Project leaders and areas of responsibility are listed in different areas of the organizational chart. There is no clear designation of the relationships between the various sections, e.g., rural primary, rural secondary, teacher training, management, planning, research and development, and continuing education. Further, there is no noticeable integration of the five areas in order to bring about a concerted effort to: (1) create intra-agency dialogue and resource rationalization, (2) jointly develop administrative guidelines and operating procedures so that all pilot projects will be uniform

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

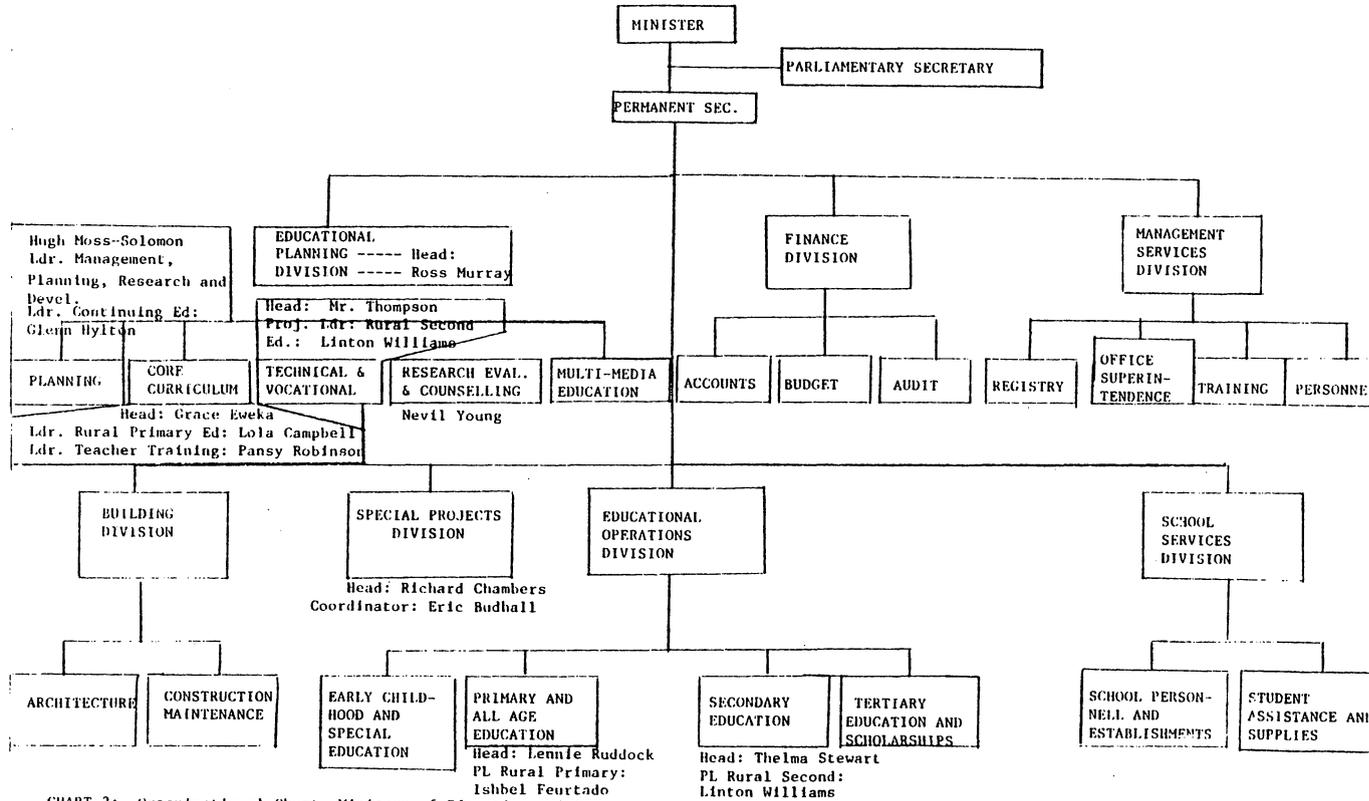


CHART 2: Organizational Chart, Ministry of Education. AACTE.

[From Basic Description of Projects Designed to Implement the Jamaican Rural Education Development Program. Washington, D.C.: AACTE, 1977.]

in the philosophy development of assisting rural community development and complement other efforts, (3) create inter-agency dialogue and resource utilization by coordinating activities with other institutions and agencies carrying out the policies of the government in education, human resources, and community development programs, and (4) an effort to institutionalize the five sections and to make these part of the main line functions of the Ministry. It would appear from the organizational chart that the five rural education sections were merely "tack ons" to the efforts of the Ministry.

Conflicts exist in the program. There is a question of relative responsibility, authority, communication, and power for example, between the Continuing and Community Education program and secondary education. Because the continuing education program is being housed in the regional vocational/agricultural schools, the secondary education track coordinator feels that he should control the program. An additional point of confusion is the term "continuing education". Each vocational/agricultural school is to establish a continuing education and outreach program. The secondary education coordinator felt that the Continuing and Community Education program should be it. The lack of differentiation between the scope and plan of work of the two sections and the integration of the necessary elements to bring about successful completion of both programs has bred misunderstanding and confusion. One additional point is that by the appearance of merely "tacking on" the rural education sections, Ministry personnel believe that the program will be short-lived. Therefore, staff members would accept new assignments only when permitted to keep their regular posts in the main line functions (e.g., secondary education)

and to work "part time" in the rural education sector.

In summary, the Ministry of Education has not clearly established the lines of authority, responsibility, and communication. The question of "turf" had not been resolved. There is confusion as to the scope and function of the five sections and as to efforts and plan of work in the target communities. The rural education sector loan program appears to be merely a tack-on to the main line functions of the Ministry. Staff members are reluctant to commit themselves to a program that appears not to have the full support of the Ministry. These same staff members are unwilling to place themselves in positions that may be short lived and that may impede their opportunities for advancement, tenure, and retirement. By being in split positions, the staff members fail to totally commit their energy, interest, and talents to either program.

Staffing Impediments

One of the basic assumptions of the entire program is that the public school teacher is competent, well-trained, adaptable, and willing to assist in the Continuing and Community Education project. In light of the realities of Jamaican rural schools, the basis for such an assumption is questionable.

There is in fact an acute shortage of trained teachers in rural Jamaica. (USAID, 1973:84) In the 1978-1979 school year, 5,288 teachers were estimated to be "pre-trained", i.e., to have graduated only from elementary school. (Ministry of Education, 1977:194) The greatest shortage of trained teachers is at the primary level where some of the teachers are barely ahead of their students. (Kaplan, 1976) There is also a pattern

of high annual teaching staff turnover. In primary schools this involves 10% of trained staff and 20% of pre-trained teaching staff in each year or the equivalent of a complete teacher force turnover every 5 years. Ministry of Education, 1977:194; USAID, 1973:93)

The greatest number of pre-trained teachers and the highest percentage of teaching staff turnover occurs in rural schools. Many teachers, as well as youth and adults, desire to migrate to urban areas rather than stay in rural communities. (Kaplan, 1976; USAID, 1973) This creates a lack of continuity in staffing and a breakdown of appreciation for and understanding of local community dynamics. (Kaplan, 1976; USAID, 1973) Apparently, then, the willingness and ability of the teaching staff so necessary to this program's success is in reality not widely available in rural communities.

A second assumption made by the CCE program is that teachers would assist the project in their speciality areas and engage in curriculum development. However, since so many of the teachers are not trained, few have special areas of training. Some teachers do possess practical skills in automobile mechanics, carpentry, or farming, but the more highly skilled individuals in the community without formal schooling credentials migrate to the cities or seek higher paying jobs in mining or large business. Salaries of pre-trained teachers are about 55% of that paid trained teachers and less than one-half the salary paid skilled persons in private industry. In addition, of the available staff, very few persons have any background in curriculum development. Again, the Continuing and Community Education program's expectation that teachers will develop curriculum in speciality areas is incompatible with the historical, cultural, and educational milieu

of even the most fitted and dedicated rural-based educator.

The effect of these staffing limitations was that the areas and scope of the CCE program were not fully understood, and consequently were not properly implemented. The teachers were essentially getting paid to perform functions formerly seen as unpaid obligations such as tutoring and extracurricular activities. In all six subcenters minimal attention was paid to sports and cultural programs but the bulk of the programs offered were in academic areas. This created a "business as usual" climate with teachers being paid to coach students to pass the Jamaica School Certificate examinations. Little attention was paid to practical skill training. Prosser evaluated nonformal educational programs in Jamaica and found that the programs "continued to reach those who were at an educational, social, and economic advantage." (1975) The general public was not reached by these efforts except in a very limited way. The rural population that had not benefited from the formal school system once again missed the knowledge, skills, and new attitudes which this nonformal education program was intended to bring them.

Today the assessment of 1973 still holds true. "Participation of the community in the educational process depends largely on initiative taken by local leadership, and only in a few places is a concerted effort made to effectively utilize the resources of personnel and potential support which surround most schools." (USAID, 1973:69)

The Matching Fund Scheme: An Attempt to Make the Institutional Structure More Responsive to Local Communities Needs

"An important feature of the continuing education project is the development of a matching-funds program operated through the subcenters.

Through this program, communities would qualify for assistance in carrying out projects that are of benefit to the school and community and are designed to further community participation in non-formal education." (AACTE, 1977:1)

As witnessed by the author, the guidelines were not established before the project was started; and the matching funds scheme came to be viewed as a program to expand the existing physical plant of the formal schools in the rural communities. In one subcenter, Victoria, J\$34,000 were expended to construct a home economics and a practical training block. These were being used by the formal school program to alleviate the overcrowded conditions of the regular school program. In Redwood, another target community, the community had constructed the shell of a basic school (for infants) and a home economics block. When they learned of the matching funds scheme the community stopped its "self-help" project, which was a proud tradition started by the missionaries after Emancipation in 1834, and after two years the site is no further developed and is overgrown with weeds.

The matching funds scheme was written in the Rural Education Sector Loan Agreement to correct the lack of facilities possessed by most rural schools. It also was to make the school the focal point of development by providing it with the physical structures needed to conduct training and provide some simple economic infrastructure to assist self-help projects. Yet the program has not been responsive to the needs of local communities. Even a year into the program, no procedures were developed to enable the communities to request funds, to have funds allocated, or to assess desired projects. Only recently was this situation corrected. Even the completed projects merely expanded the formal schooling program. This at least

provided limited success as the structure was physical evidence to the communities that funds were available and could be obtained for "approved" projects. On the other hand, a second project, requested by the Redwood community, was not authorized. The community, through its Local Advisory Committee, sought to expand the scope and thrust of the home economics department past the traditional training role to one where the center would be the start of a cooperative for the preparation of processed local food for the urban markets. In this situation the Ministry of Education actually became part of the problem by attempting to keep the projects in the traditional formal training mode. This again, forced participants to move to urban areas to practice their new skills. Here the Ministry of Education undermined its own stated goal of supporting infrastructure development to assist local communities "in carrying out projects that are of benefit to the school and the community and are designed to further community participation." (AACTE, 1977:1)

Curriculum Impediments: Training for Rural Development or Rural Urban Migration?

There is a contradiction between the curricular objectives of the initiators of the Continuing and Community Education program and the courses that were finally offered. Originally, agriculture and home economics were intended to occupy an important, if not dominant, place in the nonformal education program. This program was to teach important skills, techniques, and positive attitudes towards small-scale farming which made sense in rural agriculturally oriented areas. The aim to to enable youth and adults to farm more scientifically and profitably and thereby contribute to the economic and social development of rural areas.

However, agriculture and home economics did not maintain their place in the curriculum. In all six pilot areas, schools offered the standard academic subjects of biology, general science, mathematics, English, reading and civics. Instead of making the people better farmers and homemakers and contributing to the general improvement of the rural communities, these courses were taken as a "prep" program to give youth already in the formal school setting, better opportunities to pass the Jamaica School Certificate examination. To a lesser degree, a selected number of vocational training programs were being offered in areas including automobile mechanics, electrical installation, plumbing, and masonry. Courses especially for women included health and nutrition, arts and crafts (production of articles for the international tourist trade), and sewing.

Even though participants are studying academic and vocational subjects, there is no opportunity for them to apply their newly acquired skills within the six target communities. They have to migrate to the cities in order to use their skills. Therefore, the program promotes the migration of successful student participant out of the rural communities into the cities. (Ministry of Education, 1978:1) This was emphatically not the purpose of the joint USAID and the Ministry of Education program. The program was envisaged, "not to train youth in order to increase the rural to urban migration, but rather as a means for community development." (Ministry of Education, 1978:1)

Conclusion

In view of the social, operational, and philosophical obstacles and inconsistencies in the Continuing and Community Education project, it

appears that the Ministry of Education and USAID were not aware of the full social, political, and economic processes involved in the nonformal education method of community development. This does not appear to be a deliberate oversight. Both agencies proceeded to develop and implement the Continuing and Community Education through traditional methods without fully analyzing the long-term commitment necessary for full realization of the desired goals. Neither sponsor seems to have grasped the magnitude of effort required to coordinate all aspects involved in improving the social and economic outlook of the targeted communities. As a result, the Ministry of Education and USAID planners formulated an excellent theory of community development and nonformal education which is consistent with such efforts attempted in other developing nations. The sponsors attempted not only to change individuals within the program but also to make the institutions responsive to the needs of particular communities as well. Unfortunately, the existing institutional structures were not sufficiently flexible to accommodate long-term commitment to the program, nor were there adequate guidelines to implement the Community development theories.

Part III of this dissertation deals with three case studies. The observations highlighted in Part II will become increasingly clear in the case studies made in the Jamaican communities of Redwood, Victoria, and Sligoville. These case studies were made during three months of on-site observations, interviews of numerous individuals, and as revealed through a community needs assessment conducted by Local Advisory Committees.

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In all three sites considerable planning and commitment of financial and human resources failed in large part to achieve the project's broad objectives. The basic elements in the program were repeatedly restricted by social and economic realities which had not been fully appreciated in the planning process. Educational aims were frequently overridden by the political and bureaucratic considerations of centralized government structures.

Overview of Illustrative Cases

The intended strategy established for the rural development projects in Jamaica by the USAID and government planners clearly represented the state-of-the-art, if the standards of Coombs and Ahmed, Green, and La Belle, can be applied. For example:

1. The choice of a nonformal education approach with appropriate support from other sectors of the economy seemed fully consistent with the problems of rural development in Jamaica;
2. The community education program was consistent with the goals of the Prime Minister's 1977 National Emergency Plan and received high level policy support from the plan. (Manley, 1977)
3. Administrative responsibility was given to a well established ministry that enjoyed broad public responsibilities and a stable funding base.

Yet performance and achievements, as will be demonstrated in the descriptions of the three site projects that follow, fell short of the

high objectives set for the projects by the educational planners and policy makers in both the Ministry of Education and USAID. That shortfall looks to be considerable, as is shown in the following comparison of program objectives and actual performance:

Objectives

Achievements

The program was to reach rural communities.

Most selected sites were semi-rural or suburban. (Redwood, Victoria, Sligoville)

The program was to serve the lowest 40% of the rural poor.

Greatest participation came from the rural elite.

The program was undergirded by the concept of community development and community economic self-reliance.

The bureaucratic nature of the Ministry and USAID perpetuated the situation of "business as usual" with efforts directed to formal education programs with further pressures for rural-to-urban migration being continued

The schools were to become the focal point of the community; were to be open after school hours, on weekends, and during the holidays.

Since the schools were heavily dependent on school principals and school teachers for program offerings, the school calendar and the national formal education examination system determined the program offerings and schedule.

The program was to be a community self-help project.

The terms of the USAID loan agreement imposed certain conditions, the implications of which were not fully understood by the Ministry. The ministry imposed programs and conditions on the communities without listening to local needs and desires.

The program was to reach the out-of-school youth and adults who had not benefited from the formal school system.

The majority of the participants were current members of the formal school activities and were called "student-participants. Those adults who participated typically were those closely connected with the school and/or Local Advisory Committee.

The program was to be a Ministry of Education program designed by Jamaicans for rural Jamaican problems.

USAID had a strong influence in the 1973 Education Sector Assessment Survey. Its permanent staff and consultants assisted Jamaica in "writing" the proposed Rural Education Loan Agreement. Approval of "in-project" use of the loan money usually had to be obtained from administrators of the education sector of USAID.

Objectives

The program was to be non-political and was to serve the community on a non-political basis.

Regional rural Development Centers were to be the chief administrative and support headquarters of the local subcenter programs.

The program was to foster a sense of "community."

The program was to foster leadership training and to provide people with the process skills in such areas as: techniques and processes for decision making, group dynamics, and project planning, implementation, and evaluation skills with a view to making long-term changes in local communities.

The program was designed to stem the rural-to-urban migration of youth and adults.

Community resource utilization and identification was to be a major effort of the program.

Interagency dialogue was to be encouraged in order to coordinate efforts for bringing about development in rural communities.

The Ministry of Education, the Government of Jamaica, and USAID were serious in their commitment to rural community development.

Achievements

Much of the motivation, performance, and participation of individuals as well as groups depended on political considerations.

Regional team members continued to function from their own homes. No regional center had been established. The direction and implementation of the program came directly from the Ministry.

The program tended to reinforce many of the cleavages that existed in the community. By the use of the community "needs assessment," some communication was fostered.

A major emphasis of the program was with academic courses in order to assist students to pass the national examinations. Limited training for the LAC members was provided.

The program as currently offered increases the academic and vocational training of youth and some adults in a manner which may enhance their migration to the urban centers.

USAID and the Ministry of Education were sensitive to the need for such an effort but there was no systematic method to accomplish this objective. Ministry and other national agencies tended to stifle such efforts.

Political power and the preservation of institutional "turf" was given major consideration. Staff of the various ministries was expected to relate vertically to their administrators, not horizontally to other ministries and agencies staff.

These cooperating partners made a significant commitment in terms of resource support but the educational activities tended to follow a formal education approach and, as such, failed to demonstrate a firm commitment to methods necessary for rural development.

When the project objectives were compared with the realities of performance on-site in Jamaica, the impact on the communities by the joint USAID and Ministry of Education program appears to be slight. Why should this incongruence between project rhetoric and reality have occurred? It is not possible to state definitively, even after three months of on-site observation. But certain basic observations seem warranted:

1. There was almost total reliance upon a single government ministry to bring about the vitalization of the three rural areas, when the problems identified in the three areas clearly transcended the authority, scope of interest, and competence of the responsible government ministry.
2. There were no compelling ties with other government agencies that were engaged in related development projects or that shared in related development objectives.
3. There was a lack of strong local leadership in the rural areas. Indeed, the parish government was weak and a regional government was non-existent. Residents of the three communities were dependent on the central government to solve problems by providing leadership and resources; at the same time, residents of the communities distrusted the central government's intentions.
4. No structure was created to legitimize any local initiatives that might have emerged as a result of the community education projects; accordingly, there were no provisions for follow-up on project initiatives. The Local Advisory Committee did not have legal status and as such was not a permanent group.

5. The projects that were conducted in each community by-passed the local parish government. There was no attempt made to build residual strength into governmental organizations at the parish level, so that the results of the projects might be continued when the initial sponsors completed their "pilot" activities.

6. The role of USAID itself was divisive. The discontinuity in personnel assignments and program administration of USAID was visibly disruptive to the fragile lines of communication, trust, and authority between USAID personnel and counterparts in the Ministry of Education. Also, there was little coordination or communication within USAID itself, i.e., between its education sector and other sectors that were engaged in similar projects at some time in Jamaica.

In Part III of this dissertation, an attempt is made to interpret these observations and to formulate some implications for education and rural development policy both in the United States and in underdeveloped nations.

Project IREDWOOD--THE COMMUNITYCommunity Description

Redwood is located some 15 miles northeast of Linstead, the second major commercial and market center for St. Catherine Parish. Redwood depends on Linstead for most of its consumer goods and health care. The secondary and vocational/agricultural high schools are located there, as is the market for agricultural commodities of Redwood.

Surrounded by large plantations, Redwood is physically and psychologically isolated from Linstead and other rural communities. The community is approached by a narrow road that winds its way through the plantations. Leaving the main highway one seemingly disappears into the lush growth that in some spots overshadows the road. Few houses or stores are seen along the road to Redwood. Small dirt roads dart off into the growth for secluded destinations. As one nears Redwood, the road starts to climb the side of the ridge nearly reaching the top.

Here is the Redwood community. Small, dilapidated houses are spread out intermittently along the road. Children sit listlessly in the shadow of the houses or silently play in the grass-barren yards. Further into the community, one comes to a few general merchandise shops and rum bars. The small shops sell a variety of goods including flour, sugar, rice, a few necessities such as patent medicines, aluminum pots and pans, and candy. Each shop specializes in rum and aerated water of various flavors. The fronts of the shops are set aside for selling staple items. Women sit or stand in this area. They gossip, swap recipes, exchange ideas on how to deal with their children, or discuss a pattern for an apron. The side of the shop serves the men as a place for conversation and rum.

A little further at the extreme end of the community is "Idlers' Roost ." This is an old coconut palm tree trunk worn smooth by the seats of many pants to form a natural bench for the young unemployed males of Redwood. This is the scene of many discussions and heated arguments over politics, lack of jobs, girls, and the sights and sounds of far-off Kingston.

At the very top of the ridge is an old Baptist Church and the Redwood All-Age School. Built under the Canadian International Development Agency loan, the school is affectionately called the "sweat box ." The building is all metal with a low ceiling which contains little insulation. The windows are metal louvers, small and mostly broken. The site offers no shade. Being desperately overcrowded, poorly ventilated, and poorly lit, the students are surprisingly energetic and animated for such an environment of oppressive heat and odor. There is no real community center other than the school so the facility is well used for many community activities as well as formal schooling programs.

Transportation is sporadic and expensive. A bus passes once each morning and afternoon except for Linstead market days when it goes three times a day. Between Redwood and the bottom of the ridge there is little transportation which adds to the isolation of the community. The people mostly walk the long road up and down, few in the community have cars and taxis are scarce and expensive.

The faded, worn homes give a forlorn air to the community. A few of the houses are tumble-down board houses. Most are small cement-block, tin-roofed dwellings. There are stand pipes that bring water to the yards of the homes but few have running water. Electricity

is provided in the community but few people can afford it. The price of electricity has increased over 180% in the past two years. Many houses are in a bad state of repair. The principal's wife fell through the floor of the teacher's cottage.

Employment

Redwood is a fairly stable community. Some of the younger members are leaving for "town", which usually means Kingston; but because the school does not prepare students properly for the secondary level examinations and most lack skills that are marketable, the young people soon return home or are "stuck" in the community. Over one-half of the young men are unemployed. Most of them said that they could find work on the surrounding plantations, but they are not willing to work for a wage of J\$5 per day, doing work they find strenuous and demeaning. Work on a sugar cane plantation is hot and dirty. The fields are dusty as the wind whips the dust from the ground, and the air at times is heavy with soot from the burning fields. The cane fields are burned to remove most of the weeds and grass that grow around the cane stalks. The sugar cane is cut by hand. When cutting sugar cane, a man takes the stalk, one at a time, and severs the base with a blow from his machete. The machete, light at first, takes its toll of a man's strength after dozens upon dozens of blows. The leaves are trimmed from the stalk and thrown into small piles on the ground. Other laborers load the stalks on the high, narrow trailers which take the cane to the refinery. The twelve hours a day spent on the plantation at this harsh, physical labor seems like eternity. In addition, plantation employment is not steady. If there is a

heavy rain or the sugar processing plant is broken down the workers do not report for work. Seven months is the maximum number of months most men could work in a year's time. The rest of the months are spent in cultivating home gardens. Hence, home gardens are extremely important to the families of these seasonal workers.

A favorite past-time enjoyed by the young men at Idlers' Roost is exchanging ideas about the government's "promises." One such "promise" was from Michael Manley, who when seeking the return of the Peoples National Party to the majority in 1977, promised jobs and houses for all those who needed them. The homes were to be taken from the rich and given to the poor and the jobs were to be provided by the government. The parliamentary election was in 1977 and the young unemployed men still remember the Prime Minister's promises. This is another reason given by the young men for not working on the plantations and chance missing the homes and jobs offered by the Prime Minister. These young men felt it better to wait for the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow rather than sweat daily for only a few pieces of silver.

When not at the "Roost" the young men aimlessly walk up and down the road, through the school yard and around the school building, and back towards the community center. Other times of the day they gather at one of their friend's homes to listen to the radio or the cassette tape player. Frequently they gather in the center of the community at one of the shops to drink rum and play dominoes.

The young girls who are out of school and unemployed usually stay at home during the day. They work with their mothers cleaning the home, washing dishes, washing clothes, carrying water, and caring for the younger

children of the family. A big responsibility is to work with their parents in the family garden. Each family has a small plot of yams, English potatoes, tomatoes, red beans, cabbage, maize, and other edible crops. Each family garden will have bananas, plantain, paw paws, and pineapple. A few chickens and goats complete the picture of a typical Redwood home for which a young woman is responsible. A few of the women are engaged in "higgling". This is buying produce from the local farmers and reselling it in the Linstead market. Since transportation is scarce and expensive, getting the produce to market is always a problem.

A young woman's social life is limited. There are sporadic social activities and dances at the school, trips to Linstead on market days, attending church services, or an evening stroll along the road in the community center talking with friends and passing conversation with the young men who hang around the rum bars and small shops. By the age of 14 or 15 young girls usually have some type of social relationship with one of the young men in the community. By this time some have started their own families. However, in the eyes of the community a girl does not really become a woman until she has produced a child. A young woman in her twenties who has not had at least one child is called a "mule." For the young man, a child is necessary to prove his manhood. A young man will not marry a woman if she does not bear him a child. This does not imply that the young man must support his child. If she does produce a child he still may not marry her because of the increased responsibility. This responsibility falls on the woman or her parents. If she goes to the city to work as a domestic, a day laborer, or some other low paying job the parents must take full responsibility for raising the child. This situation is prevalent among

the lower class. This creates real social and economic problems for rural communities. The problem is highlighted in the Redwood case, but is characteristic of rural Jamaica. Over 70% of the children are born out of wedlock. It is common for a young woman to have two or three children each fathered by a different person.

The government of Jamaica has an active family planning and birth control program, especially among the lower class. Yet the historical and cultural emphasis is placed upon a man having children as a proof of his "machismo" (virility). The joint USAID and Ministry of Education plan for community development has not addressed the problematic number of young girls who are producing children without the means to support them. There is little emphasis in the loan agreement on educating people about the impact of such procreativity on their own community's development. Nor is there much effort to take public account of the social and economic costs of this practice. Little in the plan serves to assist local communities in developing an economic base which will allow for real improvements in the lives of parents and children.

The parents are concerned about the youth who are unemployed. Most parents are sympathetic to their plight, but few can offer practical suggestions to alleviate the problem. Others in the community have little sympathy for their plight and make punitive suggestions such as "beat them" or "no work, no eat."

Most adults feel that the government has to provide the answers to the unemployment problem. They want the solutions to be provided in Redwood itself, not in the cities. Some reason that a trade school built in the community would provide the young men with skills in automobile mechanics,

electrical wiring, plumbing, and other trades. Others feel that small businesses should be established to provide jobs. Many back the government's plan of promoting through the National Institute of Craft, the development of a craft industry as one means of using local resources and local labor to earn foreign exchange. Villagers in rural areas would use straw, bamboo, banana leaves, and wood to make craft items for the international tourist market. The items would be brought by the National Institute of Craft and sold through retailers on the north coast, the main tourist area.

The craft industry idea caught on quickly, more quickly in fact than the National Institute of Craft could handle. Craft items were produced in enormous quantity but at the expense of quality and variety. No attempt was made through market research to learn what the international tourist wanted to buy.

The majority of the items were marketed through higglers directly to the tourist which cut the government out of the foreign exchange earnings it desired. Furthermore, the rural communities were finding few outlets for their products because urban communities were capturing the wholesale market with little problems or expense for transportation. Consequently, many rural people saw the Continuing and Community Education project as being a substitute for the Ministry of Industry and Commerce's National Institute of Craft.

Few people consider Redwood a farming community. Only about 15% of the people said that farming was their main occupation. Most people own their own land and homes. The individual holdings are small, averaging about one and one-half acres. They are located on marginally productive land since

the plantations long ago took the best farm land. The chief market crops are pineapples and vegetables. Many of the people grow food stuffs for the market, but the older people garden for family consumption.

The high rate of unemployment in Redwood is partly due to a shortage of agricultural inputs and the lack of a market for products produced. The farmers cannot get the seeds, fertilizers, and essential tools for farming. These items are not only expensive but must be imported, and the supply is not timely, reliable, or steady. Even the Jamaica Agricultural Society cannot guarantee the farmer necessary supplies because of the severe shortage of foreign exchange. Months might pass before machetes and hoes could be purchased. Farmers might be ready to plant crops but find fertilizer and seeds not yet available. In addition, the credit and loans essential for agricultural production are difficult to obtain. Though the Agricultural Extension Worker can theoretically grant a farmer in Redwood up to J\$5,000 on land from one-half acre to five acres as a crop lien in order for the farmer to purchase the necessary inputs, often the Extension Worker does not have the funds to loan.

A related problem is the inaccessibility of Extension workers to provide technical services. Farmers often do not know who the Extension worker is or what kind of services he could provide. The teachers at the Redwood All-Age school say that the Extension worker has not worked with the students and staff at the school to help them learn about food production, introduce new crops, or raise the productivity of the soil. The farmers in the community indicate that the Extension worker, if available, works with those who have already qualified for loans with few services being provided to the other farmers in the community.

There is a lack of a local market for the produce even if the farmers could produce more. Because the local Linstead market cannot absorb all of the produce, such as citrus, bananas, yams, and potatoes, there is much waste. The Agricultural Marketing Corporation of the Government of Jamaica contributes to this problem. The corporation will not or cannot take all of the farmers produce at certain times. At other times when it is buying for canning or export it will take only specific sizes of produce like carrots or potatoes. Nor will the corporation give the farmers contracts to guarantee them a certain price for a specified quantity of a crop.

An additional marketing problem is the unwillingness of affluent members of the community to buy local food products. These people prefer imported food while the poor have to eat their own produce. When people say that they do not have "food" this refers to flour, rice, and tinned fish -- all imported items. Domestic food is often more expensive than comparable imported items. The cost of imported cooking soybean oil is J\$2.50 per quart while the local coconut oil is J\$5.00 per quart. The cost of imported rice is J\$.36 per pound while the cost of domestically produced yam is J\$.40 per pound. A pound of rice will feed four members of the family with some left for the next meal while the same amount of yam will only feed two members of the family. Rice is easier to fix and requires less energy to cook. Consequently, due to the uncertain market and the lack of necessary agricultural supplies these farmers are forced to work for wages on the local plantation.

There appears to be no agreement within the community as to how these problems can be solved. The farmers are certain that the situation is not

self-correcting and that nothing can be done unless the government makes changes in its policy and assists the small farmers in their efforts. This includes changes in the way loans are given, the types of markets developed for the produce, and the amount of inputs that could be obtained by the farmer.

These considerations increase the difficulties in supporting local food production. One of the explicit purposes of the USAID and Ministry of Education loan agreement is to bring economic independence to the rural communities. However, the Continuing and Community Education program will be hard pressed to bring economic independence to communities hamstrung by lack of market for their produce and faced with few alternatives for employment.

About 15% of the men in the community are skilled laborers. Due to the lack of jobs in Redwood, these men must go to Linstead for work. Such jobs include masonry, electrical wiring, plumbing, and automobile mechanics. The construction workers earn about J\$90 per week and the automobile mechanics earn approximately J\$75 per week. A few men and women earn salaries working in Linstead as store clerks, bookkeepers, and waitresses. These people earn between J\$40 to J\$55 per week. Almost one-fourth of the money earned by the community is earned by these people. Yet there is little left to spend in the community at the end of the week. The round trip bus ticket is J\$3.00 per day. Meals, if bought in a restaurant, cost between J\$1.50 and J\$2.00 per meal. Most of the people eat patties, a small flat pastry with a meat filling and a fruit flavored drink, each costing J\$.30. These simple food items help only to satisfy the hungry stomach. Nutritional value does not meet the minimum standards for a healthy diet.

A small percentage of community people earn salaries as public school teachers and ministers. These along with the shop keepers, make up a very small portion of the community but are influential in running the affairs of the community. A few of these people who have higher paying jobs have started to build more substantial modern homes giving a thin veneer of prosperity to the community.

Community and Individual Needs

The Regional Rural Development Team assisted the Redwood Local Advisory Committee in developing a Community Needs Assessment Survey. The purpose of the survey was to identify with the help of Redwood citizens some of the major problems facing the community and some of the programs and activities they would like offered in the community. The advisory committee was very enthusiastic about this effort. Of the 110 households in the neighborhood, 41 were contacted and 127 individuals shared their ideas and thoughts with the committee members.

When questioned about the major problems facing the community the people said that the things needed most to improve the standard of living in Redwood were roads, a community center, electricity, and a health clinic. These, they felt, would help to strengthen the community and provide opportunity for some form of economic and social development. When asked what was needed to improve the lives of those in the community they overwhelmingly expressed the desire for additional education, both formal and vocational. There was no agreement on what specifically was needed concerning education. Some thought that the government should acquire local land and put up a building for a trades and vocational school. This group felt

the main problem was the lack of skills in young out-of-school youth looking for work. Others in the community felt there was no purpose in setting up a school to teach the young people a trade because there were no jobs in the community anyway. These people would like to see a better quality general education. General education, they reasoned, would help the people to learn seven or eight skill areas and the young men and women would have a choice to do what they wanted. Many of the older people, particularly the farmers, did not want the young people to get additional academic training. They wanted their sons and daughters to stay at home and help them farm and have families just as they are doing. Some of the adults who had students in the school desired additional academic training for their children so that they could possibly pass the examinations and attend McGarth Secondary or Dinthill Agriculture Technical School in Linstead. Very few people in agriculture or related activities felt that educational programs in their fields were needed in the community.

This Needs Assessment clearly indicated the gap between the goals and framework of the Ministry of Education and USAID and those of the Redwood community. The Continuing and Community Education program was to offer agricultural and home economic training programs to the adults, yet this is the very area in which they do not want or do not feel the need for additional training. There was no agreement among members of the community as to the type of training needed by their people but much of their concern centered on youth who were in school rather than those who were out of school.

A deep sense of frustration was shared by all age groups in the Redwood community. The adults wanted the out-of-school youth to work. These young people wanted jobs but were not willing to work on the plantations or other laboring jobs. The adults wanted these same youth to get ahead in life but did not want to see too many vocational skill training programs offered because these skills might give the youth entry into the urban labor market and take them away from Redwood. The adults needed the youth to assist in developing home plots, and the young people resented being asked to farm or garden. Both adults who had children in the Redwood All-Age school and the children themselves wanted more academic course offerings in the school so that the children could do better on the national examinations. The teachers were untrained or poorly trained and felt helpless in trying to assist the students to reach higher achievements on the examinations.

About one-half of the community members who were contacted by the Continuing and Community Education program advisory committee were dissatisfied with the quality of interaction among community members. The people contacted felt that there was too much idleness among the 15-25 age group, little hope existed for an improvement in the economic situation of the community, and there was a lack of cooperation among the various community members to tackle community problems. For instance, if one person was having problems with his potatoes he would go to the Extension agent and request help without asking if his neighbor was having the same problem. Whatever the person learned from the Extension worker was not shared with his neighbor. The Extension worker continually worked with individual problems rather than being able to depend on the "multiplier effect" (neighbor helping neighbor).

Even in this small community of 110 households or approximately 545 persons, communication was limited. Many people said that they did not know the Extension worker, the sports director from the Institute of Sports, or the home economics worker of the Ministry of Agriculture. Only the local shop keeper, the school principal, and The Daily Gleaner news correspondent knew how and where to contact these community-based workers. These community change agents felt that the community did not want their contributions so they were content to stay in the Parish headquarters and assist the community on an "invitation only" basis.

Redwood--Continuing and Community Education Program

Program Offerings

The program offerings of the Continuing and Community Education program in Redwood could be appropriately labeled, "business as usual" because it emphasized academics such as English, biology, general science, and mathematics, and offered only a few programs for the adult women. The students were called "student-participants" by the principal/supervisor and the advisory committee. Although the program was intended to reach the out-of-school youth and adults, the "courses" offered catered to upper class youth who were in school, and to those who had already participated in the formal school program. This contradicts the explicit aims of the Ministry of Education and USAID loan agreement.

Many of the youth in the community could not afford school uniforms, the textbooks, or the school lunches, so they had to miss much of the time. Others could spend the normal day at school but were needed by their families

to help with the chores on the farm or work with the family after school hours, so they missed this special coaching time that could have helped them prepare for the national examinations.

A few other programs were offered. Mrs. Walker, principal of the school, offered a home economics program and a family life program. Women came from as far away as two miles to attend the classes, carrying their coal pots and the food on their heads. The principal assisted the women in learning how to produce interesting foods out of the local produce. This proceeded well until the women expressed the need for further training in other self-generating activities such as production of processed foods, basketry, sewing and other handicraft which would generate income for the family. The principal/supervisor could not provide their needs and the classes were soon disbanded due to the lack of interest and participation.

Here lack of guidance and direction from the Ministry of Education was a clear handicap. One of the members took some of the products of this class and said that she would try to find markets. The products were not returned nor was the promise of markets kept. The Ministry of Education did not fulfil the promises made by its staff members and did not provide active support for involving other ministries which could have assisted in this effort.

The youth wanted vocational training so they could learn skills that could give them a source of employment. However, neither the principal/supervisor, the teachers, or the Local Advisory Committee knew how to tap community resources for people who could provide such training. On the other hand, community people were aware of skilled persons who could do the job, but they were reluctant to ask for help. The prevailing attitude in this little community is "no sharing, nor competition."

A few non-academic programs were being offered under the direction of Mr. Bowen, teacher and president of the Local Advisory Committee. Mr. Bowen was active with the young people of the community. He organized several sporting teams for the out-of-school young adults, had supervised the preparation of the playfield, and assisted in getting a drama group going with the upper primary school children. The children had written their own skits and used these to put on drama days to raise money for the school.

Teacher Participation

Under the Continuing and Community Education program the teachers were to be paid for their efforts. In the tradition of rural schools in Jamaica, the Redwood teachers were to donate their time to assist the better students in their preparation for the national examinations and to offer some cultural and sporting programs during certain times of the year. At the outset of the program the decision was made by the Ministry of Education to apply its hourly rate payment system of the Evening Institute to compensate the teachers for their efforts. The salary was paid along with the regular check of each teacher and was at the rates of \$5.00 and \$3.00 per hour for trained and pre-trained teachers respectively.

This was a boon for the teachers. Now they were to be paid for activities and coaching that before was considered an obligatory part of their teaching job. Teachers could offer courses in home economics or sporting events that should have been carried out by community workers from the Institute of Sport or the Ministry of Agriculture already in the area. With a second job, the teachers were able to raise their economic standing in the

community. Extracurricular academic and sporting programs were held as never before. Since teachers formed the dominate group of professionals on the Local Advisory Committee, there was no protest of this duplication of effort.

Capital Expenditures

There is no real community center in Redwood, other than the All-Age school. The school is over utilized and in bad need of repair. Few repairs are made by the Ministry of Education because no money has been allocated for this purpose, and because no person from the Ministry has been identified to handle such efforts.

The school is a cheerless place in which to work. The school building is a long, open shed divided into classrooms by portable blackboards. The interior has a worn, drab look. Light from single bulbs are supplemented by natural light which filters through broken louvers and open doors. Posters, maps, and placards are the only color in an otherwise bleak interior. Some two hundred crowd in a space ample for 100. The school yard is without grass and rocky. During the rainy season the whole area is a sea of mud.

Through the efforts of the community, a basic school (day care center) was started to provide facilities for infants and extra space for the regular school program. This project was a "self-help" endeavor. "Gala days", dances, benefits, and other activities were held to raise the necessary money.

The project was moving slowly when the Continuing and Community Education program came to Redwood. The Local Advisory Committee was led to believe that the Ministry could allocate funds to complete the construction project.

However, procedural guidelines did not exist for the community to request the funds nor for the Ministry of Education to grant such a request. Since final approval rested with USAID, the Ministry was not able to appropriate the funds to assist Redwood. The people waited for the Ministry to act, while the Ministry failed to communicate to them that it could not provide the funds. Finally, the worthy project collapsed and the site is now overgrown with weeds.

The community, through the Local Advisory Committee, requested the construction of a home economics block. The Ministry team was in favor of the expenditure until it was learned that the home economics center was to become the basis of a cooperative to produce processed foods for the Linstead and Kingston markets. The Ministry felt that its efforts and resources should be directed only at "educational" programs. There has developed a conflict between the Ministry staff and the Regional Rural Development Center staff and the community over what should and should not constitute a "development" project. In a project that is to foster "community development" the Ministry of Education has become a roadblock by reverting back to its traditional programs which have already been judged inappropriate for rural communities.

Local Advisory Committee

"Same Cutter, Same Job" is an old Jamaican proverb applied to the Redwood Local Advisory Committee by one of its members. The members of the advisory committee were teachers, shop owners, ministers, and large scale farmers of the community. These people were also members of the Parent-Teacher Association and the Community Council. In the Redwood case the elite

had assumed control of the advisory committee. This contradicts the intention of the Ministry of Education and USAID program which was to actively encourage leadership training opportunities for all segments of the community.

Those involved in the Redwood advisory committee had a vested interest in keeping the course offerings as they were. Their children attended the school and were also participating in the preparatory classes for the national examinations. The teachers were boosting their monthly earnings by offering such academic courses and sporting programs. Although the Ministry team felt that the programs were not in keeping with the USAID loan agreement, for some time they continued to pay out many dollars in compensation to teachers. During the time of this author's consultant work in Jamaica, this situation was changed so that no payments were made for academic course offerings and instructors of practical skill training courses and vocational training programs would be paid only if local community resource persons could not be found.

Bringing roads, electricity, a community center, and a health clinic to Redwood were needs identified by community members. Other needs related to employment opportunities. Yet these problems were not addressed by the Local Advisory Committee. The advisory committee was more concerned with having a post office in the community. The debate raged between two factions of the committee to determine the location of the post office. This led community people to resent involvement in any community activity, since their efforts had no discernible positive results.

Political factionalism between members of the Peoples National Party and the Jamaica Labor Party also affects Redwood's attempts for community

development efforts. For example, the Jamaican Labor Party member may work to get a post office. In the next election, if the boundaries were shifted to the Peoples National Party constituency, the Jamaica Labour Party would fear that this effort would become a positive campaign issue for the Peoples National Party candidate. The two political parties would rather engage in a "stand off" than individually or together assist Redwood. This type of situation highlights the need for a governmental agency, either local or national, that can institutionalize rural development programs.

Summary

1. The program is one of "business as usual." The youth who are able to benefit from the Continuing and Community Education project in Redwood are those already involved in the formal education program. This contradicts the goal of the USAID and Ministry of Education loan agreement to reach out-of-school youth and adults. The Ministry itself seems unable to allow the program to operate outside the boundaries of formal education.
2. The people are suspicious of outsiders, new programs, and the central government and are willing to participate in the program only as far as it would advance their individual interest.
3. Interpersonal relationships within the community and the Continuing and Community Education program follow strong traditional authoritarian patterns of control. Vested interest groups in the community have gained control of the Local Advisory Committee and are using it to further their own interests.
4. There is the lack of a local or national agency that can bring about long-term changes in the social, political, and economic structures of Redwood.

5. Multiple factors within the structure of the community have led to an environment where the people are not motivated, lack a positive self-image, and lack the process skills necessary for development of their community.

7. The Ministry of Education did not establish appropriate guidelines to provide the funds necessary for certain aspects of the Continuing and Community Education program to perform its role in community development.

Project II

VICTORIA--THE COMMUNITY

Community Description

Victoria is located in a lush green valley called Thomas Y Vale.

Victoria is approached best from Linstead, a famous old market town that is still the commercial, marketing, and social service center for a large area of Northern St. Catherine Parish. The people of Victoria are very much a part of the modern urban life of Linstead. Many people work in Linstead and its surrounding industries. The people receive their major health care in the Linstead General Hospital. The students who pass the national examinations when finishing at the Victoria All-Ages school attend secondary or vocational school in Linstead. The food crops grown in Victoria are transported to the Linstead market. Many people of Linstead who are seeking refuge from the urban bustle have established homes among the jungle foliage and low hills of the sprawling Victoria community.

The road to Victoria plunges west out of Linstead, across a high metal bridge over a stream that reflects the mood of the day around it. The stream runs sluggishly and flashes a brilliant blue and white on a hot afternoon during the dry season, or it can rage in a brown torrent during the rainy season. A series of horn blasts from approaching vehicles tells one whether to start across the narrow bridge from around the blind corner.

Immediately across the bridge the road starts its winding path north through thick growth of every conceivable kind of tropical tree and bush -- most of which is edible. There are mangoes, breadfruit, bananas, citrus, sugar cane, and paw paws. Tucked in along the main road and off the myriad

by-roads are hundreds of homes. These range from a few old tumble-down board houses built during the days of the British to the common small cement-block and steel reinforced dwellings. Interspersed among these less affluent houses are a few large modern houses notable to the traveler for their modern architectural lines and their setting in well-manicured grounds filled with ornamental foliage.

For two miles the road wanders through various communities, running through Banbury, past the road to Wakefield and continuing to the Victoria All-Age school, the main structure of the community. Just where the boundaries are between Banbury, Victoria, Wakefield, and Connell is quite vague. The boundaries are probably officially and uncontestably recorded in British documents located in Spanish Town, the Parish capital. But in the minds of the people, the function under discussion usually determines the boundary. When the local people discuss "their" school the boundary encompasses one area. When determining where to collect the mail the boundary takes a different dimension. Church affiliation, social affairs, and the shops one uses create different boundaries. The boundaries of the various communities, like the postage stamp plots owned by the various families, are complex and historical. They are only readily understood by and important to the long-term residents of the area.

The community of Victoria is strung out along the main road. Every few chains, about 22 yards, there is a small shop. The shops usually sell canned goods, staples such as flour, rice, sugar, necessities such as patent medicines and household articles, and candy. These shops are located in the front or side of the house and are managed by the women of the family. Some of the shops, besides providing the basic items, specialize

in rum and aerated water of various flavors, and are jointly managed by husband and wife teams.

Just before Victoria school is another major building. At the square, which is not a square, but the place in the road where the road to Lemon Ridge turns off, is the establishment known as Chin Loy's Invincible Rainbow Saloon. Chin Loy's establishment deals in a variety of items including eggs (from Chin Loy's chicken operation), cement (from Chin Loy's building supply operation), gambling, and rum (also part of Chin Loy's operation). Mr. Chin Loy is a dominate force in the community and one who does not want to see the Continuing and Community Education program become too successful. Mr. Loy feels that if the program is successful it may draw off too much of his clientele and occasional work force.

Across the street is another rum bar struggling to make a go of it with the overflowing crowd and temporary dissidents from Chin Loy's. This area is the scene of many major discussions, political, cultural, and economic, some quite violent--all earnest and loud. Near these two major shops is an outdoor movie area where movies are shown once a week. There is no seating, most of the clientele are standing throughout the event, shouting opinions and mimicking the action. Most of the films are U.S. westerns or feature Oriental karate. The movies are long on action and violence, and short on message. They are discussed at great length at the rum shops and enacted time after time in the yards and on the road by the children and some of the young adults.

During the day the road is busy, filled with children, taxis, and trucks. Each morning the students walk through the mist wearing their uniforms--boys in khaki and the girls in their navy blue jumpers and white blouses. The

taxis are the main means of transport for the people to get to their jobs and home. The taxis are also used to deliver messages and small packages. Drivers are a quick source of news flowing to and from Linstead.

There is a brisk trade at the shops during the day as the children buy tidbits for school and the women of the community come together in the shops to swap family gossip and the latest happenings in the community. In the evenings the men gather for rum and sociability. Many evenings, women, older men, and younger children decked out in their best clothing, head to a local church for a song fest or a revival meeting.

Employment

Victoria is an active and thriving community. It has many of the aspects of a suburban community with a Jamaican twist. There is a fairly even mix of various employment activities.

Many of the men "work out", most of them at the Alcan bauxite plant near Ewarton. Ewarton is a thriving mining community about 6 miles north of Linstead. The people who work in the Alcan mines have stable employment and earn 2 to 3 times the salaries of their neighbors who are employed in construction or manufacturing jobs. Mining does not have the prestige of civil service or other "white collar" jobs, though mining jobs have a status of their own. Most of the workers are highly trained as large equipment operators, machinists, shipping specialists, or managers. The mines contribute to a "pocket of wealth" in northern St. Catherine Parish by providing employment with high wages. This has contributed to the standard of living in Victoria. Some of the men who work in the mines own their own automobiles or have bought taxis, and some of them are even building new homes.

Almost one-fourth of the men in Victoria work in some type of professional occupation including law, teaching, bookkeeping, or management, or skilled occupations including automobile mechanics, electrical wiring, masonry, and carpentry. A small number of wood-working shops, managed by the owner and employing a few of the local young men, produce hand-made furniture for the surrounding homes. There is an active automobile repair business in Victoria. Only a few men work for very low wages as sugar cane cutters for the plantation near Wakefield. The work is hot and back-breaking and provides employment for only about seven months of the year.

About one-third of the men in the community are farmers. Working with their wives and children, they produce fruits and fresh vegetables. Many raise goats as a source of milk. These are eventually slaughtered to be used for "curried goat", a Jamaican delicacy. Most farmers have chickens for meat and eggs which are sold for extra income and/or used in the family diet. Some of the men operate citrus businesses selling the fruit directly to the Linstead market or through higglers. A few of the men in the community are buying trucks in order to carry the agricultural products to Linstead for the farmers and higglers and to also bring back construction materials and consumer goods.

Women are important to the economy of Victoria. Many of the homes on the main road have set aside a small portion of the house to sell basic household necessities and to provide a communication center for that portion of the community. Women will stop in throughout the day to swap ideas for new recipes, tips on raising children, or discuss a new dress that one is making. Besides working with their husbands on the small farms and growing crops for the Linstead market, many of the women are higglers. These women

go from house to house and collect vegetables and fruits, transport them to Linstead, and sell the produce at retail to the towns people. This is a time honored profession reserved for women in rural Jamaica. Besides providing an economic link between Victoria and Linstead, these women also provide a communication link between the two areas. Messages to children in the Linstead schools or to husbands to bring home some store item are carried by the higgler. These women help to supplement the family income and provide an outlet for the excess fruits and vegetables produced by the farmer. Other women take things they made themselves and sell these in the market. Such items include coconut oil which is used for cooking, bammi, a type of banana bread, and craft items such as baskets and other hand work. Still others assemble at the school gates with baskets of oranges, coconut drops, and other "goodies" to sell to students and teachers at break and lunch time. A growing number of women also "work out" as nurses at the Linstead General Hospital, as clerks, bookkeepers in the larger commercial establishments, waitresses in the Linstead hotels, or as public school teachers.

Salaries vary greatly dependent upon the type of industry within which the person is employed. The worker in the Alcan mine at Ewarton earns about J\$170 per week. The worker in the construction industry in Linstead or Victoria earns approximately J\$90 per week. Other persons working in the Linstead bakeries earn about J\$55 per week, while those making processed foods for the Kingston market earn about J\$70 per week. Taxi drivers make about J\$120 per week and the truck drivers about J\$50 per week. Men and women who work in the Linstead retail stores, restaurants, and hotels earn between J\$40 and J\$55 per week. Sugar cane cutters work on a daily basis at

J\$5 per day.

The general economic slump in the Jamaican economy is now being felt in Victoria. The economy in Victoria and Linstead has been expanding so that young people between the ages of 15-20 who did not go on to secondary school could find employment. Today, there are fewer jobs available and growing numbers of unemployed youths hang around the rum shops all day playing dominoes and drinking rum. Because of the high value placed on education and work by the older people, friction is starting to build between them and the unemployed youths.

Community and Individual Needs

The Regional Rural Development Team of the Continuing and Community Education program assisted the community in developing a Community Needs Assessment Survey which was conducted by members of the Local Advisory Committee. The LAC members went from house to house asking the people what they felt was needed in their community and how the continuing education program could assist the people.

This was a monumental task. LAC members had never engaged in such an activity and they were not sure of the purpose. Some thought the central government was trying to find out how much money people earned so that it could collect more taxes. Others thought that the survey was just another census. Still others thought the survey was just a waste of time. The members were finally convinced that the effort was worthy and could be of help to the community. In all, 150 persons were interviewed by the 25 member advisory committee.

Local Advisory Committee members found that community needs and individual needs ran parallel. The individuals questioned by the advisory members said that employment opportunities were a number one priority for community improvement. These same people ranked employment and increased amounts of income as their greatest personal needs. In order to achieve these goals the people felt that additional education programs were needed in domestic science, arts and crafts, vocational skill training, and more formal educational programs to prepare students for the national examinations. One training program requested in Victoria but not noted in any of the other pilot communities was driver's education. This request may indicate the suburban nature of Victoria. Very few people mentioned any need for additional agricultural knowledge. Most of the people contacted by the advisory committee said that they wanted to see a community center built.

Community Relations

Victoria community seems to be at ease. The people are cheerful and a hail of "hellos" and "good days" are offered each time one enters or leaves the community. One must carefully maneuver around the cars, taxis, and trucks that are continually parked along the road in the late afternoons and early evenings as people gather at the slightest provocation to swap small talk and daily news. Men, women and children are constantly moving on foot along the road at night. The men head to the rum bars for lengthy political discussions, women and children attend the almost constant church services at one of the numerous congregations in the area. At about 9:00 o'clock p.m. the people start heading home to be up early in the morning to work at Alcan, in town, in the fields, or at school.

When the advisory committee members were conducting their survey, most found that the people felt very positive towards the community and their neighbors. A high percentage of the people contacted said that there was a good cooperative spirit in the community. There is a continuous influx of new residents of Victoria, presently making up almost one-fourth of the community. People moving into the area are more often than not relatives of families that have lived in Victoria for many years.

There is a constant referral to the "come yah" or "born yah" background of individuals. The "come yah" is a new comer who has moved into the area to work and enjoy Victoria's close proximity to Linstead. The "born yah" is one who has lived in the area all of his or her life. Leaders of this group usually have a considerable influence with the original families of the community. There is sometimes a division of viewpoint between the "come yah's" and the "born yah's" in which the conclusion seems to be "Well, what would you expect from a "come yah"?"

Anyone who is a "come yah" and who is an outstanding success is looked upon with suspicion and some jealousy, unless the source of their affluence is very obvious and they can win their way into the trust of the people. Most of the really well-off are of Chinese or East Indian extraction, always looked upon with some suspicion by their black neighbors. The blacks are held in quiet disdain by the Chinese and East Indian because of their lack of culture and historical connection with a great world culture. The majority of the Victorian citizens are black and the many community organizations are made up largely of the black population. The other nationalities contribute financially to numerous community projects but usually hold themselves aloof from actual participation in the community development efforts.

VICTORIA--CONTINUING AND COMMUNITY EDUCATION PROGRAMProgram Offerings

The program offerings of the Continuing and Community Education program were mostly academic. A formal timetable of activities and courses was developed by the principal/supervisor and the teachers. Monday through Friday's offerings included reading, mathematics, English, foreign languages, and civics. Even though these academic programming efforts were in line with the stated needs of the people reflected in the LAC survey, they contradicted the Ministry of Education/USAID loan agreement. The program was to offer mainly agricultural and home economics assistance to make the people better farmers and consumers. Instead, the program became simply an extension of the formal school program.

As in Redwood, the participants in the Victoria program were all part of the regular formal school program. The after school academic program was geared to coaching students to pass the Jamaica School Certificate examinations so that they could hopefully go on to McGrath Secondary or Dinthill Agricultural Technical High School in Linstead, or to St. Jago in Spanish Town. The program's intent to involve unemployed youth to upgrade their knowledge and skills towards contributing to community development was completely bypassed.

Those young people between the ages of 15-25 who do not go on to secondary school and are not working constitute a worry for the older people of Victoria. There is great shame on the part of both groups--the youth for not passing the examinations and not holding a job and for the parents whose sons and daughters did not pass the examinations or were not selected to

attend school due to the limited spaces available. There is little understanding or patience between the two groups. All wish they could have done better but their sense of frustration is aimed towards each other without realizing that the educational and economic systems themselves may be the greatest obstacle to any achievement on the part of this out-of-school group. Little is being done through the Continuing and Community Education program to reach this group.

Due to the personal dynamics of Mr. Ansel White, former principal of Victorial All-Age school and director of the Regional Rural Development Center at Dinthill, and Mrs. Gloria White, principal of Victoria school, the Continuing and Community Education program is succeeding in offering a variety of programs for adults. The program is geared mostly to women, with areas of participation including arts and crafts, Family Life Education, and cultural activities. About 30 women participate in the arts and crafts program. The activities include batik, tie dying, sewing, bamboo and coconut crafts and others. At the end of the educational activities the women wear their items, use them in their homes, or sell them to higglers who supply wholesalers on the north coast dealing in the international tourist market. The women experience immediate satisfaction through these activities.

The Whites have made a great effort to involve the various other ministries and agencies in the continuing education effort. Persons from the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Health, the National Institute of Craft, the Small Enterprises Development Company, as well as the Parish government departments, participated in the programs. Mr. White knew the local staff members of these agencies and ministries and could effectively draw them into the Victoria program. These various organizations appreciated

the program in that it gave them positive figures to report monthly to their respective administrators. Yet after a year of coordination at the local level nothing has happened to create interagency dialogue and cooperation at the Parish or national level.

An example of the lack of interagency dialogue developed when the Jamaica Council for Voluntary Social Services was established by a USAID grant to assist other organizations in the utilization of community resources. Such activities were to include resource identification, publishing a catalogue of such information, and the training of local leaders in resource utilization. The CVSS plan of work identified the Continuing and Community Education program as one project with which it was to cooperate.

One of the regional team members who was working in the Victoria community met a member of the CVSS. The two persons were excited about the possibilities of working together and decided to approach their respective administrators and to "remind" them of this opportunity for cooperation and the accompanying mandate. The national coordinator of the Continuing and Community Education program said that he knew of the director of the Council for Voluntary Social Services and that he had written a portion of the USAID implementation plan. He stated that he would contact the agency, offer the efforts of the continuing education team, and give to them the results of the community resources survey developed by the regional team and this author. The staff person at CVSS did not fare as well. The staff person was rebuffed with a simple statement of "You stay away from those people!" Neither national director has made any attempt to contact the other nor to coordinate efforts of resource identification, staff training, or a system for sharing resources with the local communities. Here is

another contradiction of the stated goals of the Ministry of Education and USAID loan agreement. The program appears to be frustrating the very efforts it is supposed to endorse and is mandated to carry out.

Capital Expenditures

Victoria school is overutilized. It is used for formal school programs and community meetings. The three cinder-block and tin-roofed buildings are little more than long sheds which are divided into classrooms by movable blackboard partitions. The desks are small and rickety. It became necessary to establish two shifts of classes to accommodate the large number of students. Ventilation and lighting are poor. The play field, located below the school, is without grass and is always filled with water that runs off the barren soil at the top of the hill.

Even though the school is in a state of disrepair, the community and the students look upon it with great pride. This school is a symbol to them of a way up in the socio-economic standing of Jamaica. Without successfully passing through various stages of the formal education system there is very little hope for a good job or of having a better life than their parents. The walls in the school are covered with the handiwork of the children. Maps of the world, slogans to be memorized, songs to be sung, and lessons to be learned are all exhibited. The adults who live in the community and use the school for their meetings or training programs also display their wares. Each person's work is shared and admired by others.

The Local Advisory Committee called a series of meetings to explore possibilities for extra classrooms and play field. Everyone agreed that these are needed, but a great debate raged over where to locate the facilities.

Would a "community center" be built? Would the facilities needed for the community and the school be combined into one building? Would the play field be located at the All-Age school which is considered Upper Victoria or would it be located in Lower Victoria where there is little existing infrastructure? After much debate the Whites filled the role of arbitrators. The community center and the additional classroom spaces would be the same building and would be located at the Victoria school. The Continuing and Community Education program matching funds program would provide one-half of the funds for such an effort if connected with the school. In order to help Lower Victoria and to obtain funds from the Parish government, a basic school would be built in that end of the community and at the same time the funds from this effort could be applied towards a good playing field in an area more suitable than that available at Victoria All-Age school.

The central government is willing to contribute to rural development but would not provide funds for expansion of a formal school program. On the other hand, the Parish government is very active in promoting basic schools for infants, but is not willing to contribute money and materials to either the formal school program or rural community development. The compromise brought about by the Whites defined this building project in terms which made it eligible for funding from both government sources.

Various ministries and agencies have assisted in this community improvement effort, oftentimes in spite of their administrative procedures and guidelines. Due to the lack of direction and decisiveness within the various ministries and the Parish government, the Local Advisory Committee members have been able to manipulate the situation to bring about the desired changes.

The classrooms were built to relieve the overcrowded situation of the school and allow the practical skills and cultural training areas to be used for their intended purposes. The classrooms and the play field are fully integrated into Victoria's All-Age school physical plant. Renovation of the existing home economics training area and the purchase of new equipment was accomplished through the continuing education effort.

A contractor, a member of the LAC, was hired to design and construct the buildings. The agreement was that the money to purchase the materials would come through the "match" from the Ministry of Education and the Parish government. Both skilled and unskilled labor would be provided by the community to the contractor as well as some local building materials. The LAC coordinated the effort. Community work days and evenings were well supported by the parents of the school children. Funds were raised by holding benefit dances, cultural events, and sports days. Materials and monetary donations were received from the Chinese and East Indian segments of the community. The Ministry and the Parish government provided the main monetary funds to pay the contractor. The building and renovation scheme was completed on time.

Local Advisory Committee

The Victorial Local Advisory Committee is made up of teachers, contractors, ministers, shop keepers, and skilled workers. The principal/supervisor is the official representative of the Ministry of Education on the advisory committee. The committee reflects the upper middle class in the Victoria Community.

None of the out-of-school youth or the lower class participate in the planning activities of the Local Advisory Committee. Some of the lower class women did participate in the practical skills training program and some of the lower class parents assisted in the construction program. The greatest involvement of the out-of-school youth has been in the sports area. This again contradicts the goals of the Ministry of Education and USAID program. The loan agreement was established to bring all segments of the community into the planning process and to provide leadership opportunities for not only the upper class citizens but for the lower class citizens as well. The Local Advisory Committee, through the needs assessment survey, attempted to gain input from all strata in the community but the upper class citizens who have a vested interest in various developmental aspects of the community still control the committee's activities.

Teacher Participation

As in Redwood, the Continuing and Community Education program pays teachers for their coaching and cultural efforts which are traditionally freely donated as part of the teachers' community position. This additional income is equivalent to a second job. There has been no disgruntlement among the members of the advisory committee or the community in general about the payment program. Of course, a significant number of teachers are on the advisory committee and the community is geared to people having second jobs.

The presence of the Whites keeps the teachers from offering programs in sports, Family Life, and cultural activities. The Whites were very much interested in using the resources of the other agencies and ministries that were in the Victoria-Linstead area and would only "hire" the teachers for the

after school "coaching" programs in the academic areas. During the author's work with the Ministry of Education, the payment plan was revamped to exclude payments for academics and to provide payments for vocational and practical skill training only if no other resource persons could be located.

Summary

1. The "success" of the Continuing and Community Education program can be measured in conventional terms such as number of classes offered, the number of student-participants who pass the Jamaica School Certificate examinations, average monthly attendance at specified meetings, and the number of hours the teachers offered programs per month.
2. Victoria is probably closer to true community development, in Jamaican terms, than the other pilot areas.
3. Interagency cooperation and dialogue will occur at the local level through individual initiative rather than through direct governmental action and policy.
4. In light of the information gathered from the case study in Victoria the Ministry of Education and USAID may not reach their broad goals of:
 - a. Retaining the rural population in the rural areas,
 - b. Developing the program along the lines of community development and individual economic self-reliance,
 - c. Fostering the beliefs that the schools belong to all the people, and that the program is to serve the rural areas of Jamaica.
5. Due to the personal dynamics of key individuals that have brought the program closer to the loan agreement as envisioned by the Ministry of Education and USAID, the program will be difficult to institutionalize and

replicate in other areas of Jamaica.

6. The Ministry of Education and USAID have had insignificant impact on the learning needs of out-of-school youth and adults of the lower class strata.

7. The Continuing and Community Education program, though adding to the general social and economic development of the Victoria area, tends to reinforce the traditional role of the authority figures in the community. There has been little room for the inclusion of those who most need the opportunities for training in leadership skills and the opportunity to practice these skills in practical situations in order to gain self-confidence.

8. Agriculture suffers from a cultural and social stigma. People desire educational programs that will allow them to get away from agricultural activities. Based on the observations of the Ministry of Education and USAID nonformal educational program in Victoria, the broad goal of giving the people the knowledge, skills, and attitudes to be better farmers will not be realized until other social, economic, and political factors in the Jamaican environment are addressed. The Ministry of Education and the USAID have little control over these confounding factors and these must be addressed in the context of the broad national policy strategies of the central government.

Project III

SLIGOVILLE--THE COMMUNITY

Community Description

Sligoville, a community of 1,061 persons, is a unique community in several important ways. It has good access to the capital city of Kingston, but being high in the mountains gives the community an air of remoteness and privacy. Located 18 miles north of Kingston, the road winds seemingly vertically up the steep mountains. Upon leaving the city, one sees that the hillsides are covered with the homes of Kingston's wealthiest who seek respite from Kingston's hot, dry climate. Then the road winds alternately through isolated bush areas and elongated communities that hug the highway to keep from tumbling into the ravine below. The road starts straight up, again leaving the hot, sultry weather of the lowlands for the crisp, cool alpine-like climate of Sligoville.

Sligoville was the first "free village" created after the Emancipation of slaves in Jamaica in 1834. The Baptist missionaries "opened" the area for the newly emancipated slaves and built schools and churches. The missionaries assisted the people in building homes and developing the land for small subsistence plots. As more "Sligovilles" were created in the rugged interior of Jamaica, a permanent marketing system was created between the free villages all over the island. Food crops were grown, and the excess produce was sold in the market centers. The marketing system helped bring remote villages into the cash economy of the island.

Sligoville and the other early free villages introduced the time honored practice of "higging." A higgler would move from community to community buying produce, carrying messages, and sharing the news of the coastal

areas with the interior. Along with the exchange of news and products for the urban centers, the higglers brought new agricultural crops such as coffee and citrus which became lucrative peasant cash crops.

Of the six pilot project areas in the continuing education program, Sligoville most nearly resembles the Jamaican village of the 1800's. On both sides of the road are the traditional two-story block and wood structures. The lower floor is a store carrying different types of pots and pans, blankets, farming implements, patented medicines, staple food items, and rum. The second floor provides the living quarters of the shop owner and his family. A portion of the store is set aside for selling cooked food such as fried plaintain (bananas), boiled yams, rice, red beans, and curried goat. These are some of Jamaica's delicacies. Side and back areas of the store are set aside for selling rum and beer. This is where men gather in the evenings to discuss politics, weather, crop prices, or whatever strikes their fancy. A little further towards the village "square"--which is actually a branching of the road to other parts of the mountain community--is the post office, the police station, and the health center. A few recently constructed one-story shops and a garage complete the setting of the town proper.

From the "square", the road immediately branches right and up a steep incline to the actual top of the mountain. With a sharp turn to the right and up a deeply eroded macadam road, one finally reaches Sligoville All-Age school. The mountain top has a bowl-like feature as if some huge meteorite had crashed into it centuries ago leaving a huge round indentation. One is awed by the breath taking view of the mountain range and the valleys below the school. Seemingly, Jamaica stretches out on all sides.

Sligoville is divided into three areas. These divisions are formed by the sharp mountain range and are named respectively: James Mountain, Cedar Ridge, and Sligoville proper. Water and electricity have reached Sligoville and the service is available to those few who can afford it. Water and electricity are not available in James Mountain or Cedar Ridge even though the connections are available less than one mile away. Portable water is obtained from some local springs. The majority of the residents use rain water caught by a variety of ingenious methods. Service roads to all parts of the Sligoville area are very poor. This factor, combined with the high rainfall, presents difficulties for farmers trying to get their produce to market and for the children going to school.

Nonetheless, Sligoville is becoming a desirable place to live for those fleeing the city. There are a number of reasons why people move to the Sligoville areas. Some are leaving the heat and alternately dry and wet seasons of the plains for the constantly cool, moist climate of Sligoville. Increasing physical violence in and around Kingston also has convinced those of wealth to retreat to Sligoville where large scale theft and murders are less frequent. Some others have simply joined the back-to-the-land movement seen in the more developed countries where the people are fed up with the city and its problems and seek the simple, slower paced life associated with rural Sligoville.

Employment

The economy of Sligoville is dependent upon agriculture with 66% of the workers farming for the major source of their income and an additional 21%

of the community engaging in some type of part-time farming activity. About 15% of the members of the community work outside of agriculture in some type of skilled job including welding, automobile mechanics, carpentry, furniture making, masonry, and electrical wiring. Another 5% of the workers in the community are involved in higgling activities and others are shop keepers or taxi drivers. About 2% are employed as public school teachers, post office workers, policemen, and members of the local staffs of the various ministries such as Extension workers and Social Development Commission workers. Due to the large number of farmers in Sligoville and the time consuming effort spent in farming, few of the community engage in secondary jobs, except for the wage laborers who own small plots. This is unusual in a sense that most laborers in the other pilot project communities work at two, three, or more jobs.

There are three types of farmers in SligoVillage: wage laborers, small-scale farmers, and large-scale farmers. These three categories of farmers must be viewed in the characteristic Jamaican context. In Sligoville, a large farm is anything over ten acres. Wage laborers own an average of one to three acres. In order to earn additional income, wage laborers and some small-scale farmers hire themselves out to the larger farms to supplement their income. Wage-laborers help during the planting and harvesting seasons and in the improvement of the land. Some of these activities include the clearing of brush and weeds from pasture land and the elimination of rocks that work their way through the soil during the year.

Large-scale farmers own more than 10 acres but usually less than 100 acres. The income from these farms is sufficiently high that large-scale farmers usually need not work as laborers on someone else's farm. This independence

is a major source of pride for these land owners, and a mark of social status in the community. Many small farmers and wage laborers hope to earn enough to buy additional property so that they too one day can become large-scale farmers.

The farmers in Sligoville grow corn and plaintain as their principal cash crops. Plaintain, an inferior type of banana, is one of the staples of lower class Jamaican diet. Vegetables are grown for the Kingston City market, as well as livestock, usually goats and cattle, both for family consumption and cash sale. Crops grown commercially for export include coffee and citrus.

There are major problems that face the farmers in Sligoville. The feeder roads are very poor which hampers the transporting of products to the city market. Electricity is available only to the large farms whose owners can afford the expensive service. Very few of the farmers engage in modern agricultural practices, hence their agricultural output typically supports only a subsistence income. A regular local market for produce is not available. This restricts the production of agricultural commodities.

Farming is a family affair, whether it is a large property or a small plot. Father, mother, and children work side by side to "hack" out the soil for planting with hoe and shovel. This is a back-breaking, jarring job. One must really "labor" in order to get the job done. The topsoil is fairly thin and rocky. In order to raise the productivity of the soil the family's domestic animals are "staked out" to graze on the area. Few farmers can afford the expensive, scarce chemical fertilizers and the other chemicals which might help increase productivity. Animal manure is worked into the soil as a fertilizer. The more lucrative export crops of coffee and

citrus require less labor to cultivate and are easier to grow because the soil and climate conditions of Sligoville favor these crops. For reasons known only to the Ministry of Agriculture Extension Service and the Agricultural Marketing Corporation neither of these agencies have promoted these crops. These crops are grown in a limited way, and due to the lack of modern agricultural practices, the yield has been discouraging.

Farmers can sell produce such as maize, plaintain, and vegetables, but the market for produce is not stable. If the farmers produce more than the market can absorb the crops may go to waste. At the same time the country imports food stuffs which cost the nation precious foreign exchange. For example there was at one point an acute shortage of onions on the island. The people love onions in their food and the international tourist hotels were in dire need of this commodity. Onions were very scarce and were bringing J\$4.50 per pound in the Kingston market. The central government encouraged the farmers to plant more onions in order to reduce the price and to keep the government from having to import onions from the United States. The farmers produced more onions with the hope of reaping a large profit. In a short period of time, an overabundance of onions brought the price down to J\$.50 per pound which was less than it cost to raise the crop. Many of these were left to rot in the fields and the farmers stopped raising onions. The price has since risen to J\$4.00 per pound and higglers now find it lucrative to fly to Miami, Florida in order to buy as many onions as they can at approximately US\$.19 per pound and fly these back into Jamaica to reap a huge profit. The flight to Miami has now been appropriately dubbed the "onion run."

Community and Individual Needs

The St. Catherine Regional Rural Development Center staff worked with the Sligoville Local Advisory Committee to develop a Community Needs Assessment Survey. The advisory committee members were to contact people in the community on an individual basis and find out what they considered to be the most pressing problems facing them and the community. The 20 advisory committee members conducted the survey among 120 residents in the community.

Even though the 120 individuals represented only a little over 11% of the Sligoville population, this was the first time any survey had been conducted in the community by influential community members themselves. The members of the advisory committee are predominately from the upper class strata of the community. The areas of James Mountain, Cedar Ridge, and Sligoville proper were covered. An indirect result of the survey was bridging the communications gap between the "come yahs" (new comers to the community) and "born yahs" (those born and raised in the community), between those who "live independent" and those who must hire themselves out, and between adherents of the two main political parties.

The people contacted by the advisory committee members said that roads, running water, electricity, and local markets for their produce and livestock were the most pressing needs facing the community. When asked about their personal needs the same responses were offered with the addition of more educational opportunities and jobs. The young out-of-school adults were the ones most interested in provision of additional jobs in the area. Those contacted expressed frustration with the government, with the Agricultural Marketing Corporation, and with the Jamaica Agricultural Society. The people

said that they did not believe these organizations were in fact helping the people raise their standard of living, since only minimal social and economic infrastructure had been provided to the community. In the survey, few people mentioned agriculture as an area they wanted to know more about. This probably reflects the known difficulties in transporting and marketing the produce, and the equally familiar labor required to grow and harvest the crops in Sligoville.

Community Relations

Sligoville, as a community, seems to be politically oriented. It is the only community of the six pilot projects in which the principal/supervisor listed the political affiliations of all the advisory committee members. The principal/supervisor attempted to place an equal number of members from the Jamaica Labour Party and the Peoples National Party on the advisory committee. The community reflects this political orientation. When the advisory committee members asked how the problems of poor roads, running water, electricity, and markets could be resolved, over one-quarter of the people felt that a political solution was needed. They suggested electing a new government, exerting pressure on the members of Parliament, sending a deputation to the Parish Council, or simply agitating. These responses were unique to the Sligoville pilot project area.

The Counselor from Sligoville to the St. Catherine Parish Council, Mr. Lawrence, is in fierce competition for status and influence with Mr. Vita, member of the national parliament. Mr. Vita openly resents any moves by Mr. Lawrence to work with the community. Mr. Lawrence feels that he knows his constituency and does not need the supervision of the Member of Parliament.

The community takes sides according to their individual interest. Public meetings are often spirited and loud. This situation has continued for many years and has engendered hard feelings which are perpetuated along political party lines.

Both men appeared at the "launching" of the Continuing and Community Education program for Sligoville. At that time the two men made a public truce, but it was short lived. Politics, in the form of fighting between the two main political parties and friction between Mr. Lawrence of the Parish Council and Mr. Vita of the Parliament, has continued to affect Local Advisory Committee meetings and has caused the demise of many other community organizations. Due to this in-fighting, the Social Development Commission has only about 15 youngsters who attend its arts and crafts course. The Jamaica Movement for Adult Literacy (JAMAL) has closed its program to the community. The Basic School Committee has ceased to function.

The Ministry of Education did not properly handle requests for construction programs. The playfield and a basic school project was not supported by the CCE program. However, this information was not transmitted to the community via the Local Advisory Committee. Now the debate rages over "who held up whom." The stalled work is partly because of the fighting of the politicians over who controls the capital development projects and who is to get credit for helping the community. The politicians both point to the central government and say that it is the government's "non-political" programs, such as the Continuing and Community Education program that is not fulfilling its promises. In the meantime the basic school site is overgrown with weeds and brush, and the play field is only partially finished. Presently over 200 preschool children must walk over one mile in order to attend a

basic school that was built in Sligoville proper rather than being accomodated in the James Mountain and Cedar Ridge areas.

There is a growing animosity between the "come yahs" and the "born yahs ." The come yahs have been buying some of the larger farms and building houses on them. At the same time a developer from Kingston has bought the Sligoville Great House. This was a large property owned by a Britisher who had settled in the community and developed a large property for cattle raising and cultivation of cash crops. When the owner left, the land became the community "common ." This proved to be a boost to the general economy of the community because it gave a large parcel of land to the people for livestock raising. This situation continued for a number of years without interruption. Now that more people want to live in the mountains and get away from the problems of Kingston , the situation has changed. The developer wants the land so it can be used to build houses for the affluent members of Kingston society. The people refuse to stop using the property. This problem looms large for the community in the future and has major implications for the social interaction of the community as well as the future economic development of the area.

Sligoville--Continuing and Community Education Program

Program Offerings

The program offerings at Sligoville have been very limited. The major thrust of the program has been in the areas of academics and vocational subjects including English, biology, general science, automobile mechanics, and electrical installation. When Mr. Turner, Director of the Special Projects of the Ministry of Education that controls the USAID loan program,

asked the principal/supervisor about the opportunities for these skills to be used in the community, he was told that there was very little scope for using them. Mr. Powers, principal/supervisor of Sligoville school, said that the participants see achievement in the program as a better opportunity to pass the Jamaica School Certificate examinations. Passing five parts of this examination at least provides the hope of social mobility.

Dr. Johnson, Education sector director of USAID in Jamaica, expressed the view that it was surprising that in a predominately agricultural community the program did not encompass agriculture. Mr. Powers related that the school children in the program were using it to assist them in their migration efforts rather than to gain additional skills to help their fathers and mothers on the farms. Mr. Hylton, national coordinator of the continuing education program, emphasized that the program is for community development rather than to train participants for migration.

The Continuing and Community Education program was designed to train people to improve skills and knowledge about agriculture and home economics, thereby helping to keep the rural population in their home areas. Yet the program offerings are of an academic and vocational nature, being more of an extension of the formal school program. This effort may actually make it easier for the young people to leave Sligoville and go to Kingston by assisting them in gaining educational credentials that will make them more competitive in the urban job market. The principal/supervisor was well aware of why the young people wanted the training, but the Ministry had not provided the direction and dynamics to force the program to go in the intended direction. The program only helped to reinforce the material and social stratification that already existed in the community. It thus far

has failed to reach the out-of-school youth, the adults who could least afford to attend school, or who have to work on the farms after school.

Conflict and poor communication hampers development in the three areas of the community. People from James Mountain and Cedar Ridge resent all educational activities and buildings being located in Sligoville proper. Duplication is needed to reach the people. The Local Advisory Committee is aware of this jealousy. To bridge the communication gap and to make the people in James Mountain and Cedar Ridge a part of the Continuing and Community Education program the advisory committee agreed to offer its first education activity in each of the three areas. This is to be the Family Life series. The program is a series of films and lectures which the advisory committee coordinates by drawing on the efforts of the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the mobil viewing equipment of JAMAL. It is hoped that through this team approach interagency cooperation might be reached and at the same time some of the barriers that exist in the community eliminated. The activity is in the planning stages and there is no indication whether it will have these desired effects. At least the planning that is involved has forced the advisory committee to deal with the problems of each area of the community. The educational activity is being offered as an outgrowth of the survey, and the various agencies at the local level will be jointly sponsoring the effort.

Teacher Participation

As noted in the Redwood and the Victoria project studies, the teachers of the Sligoville school are offering the programs to the school children. Few of the out-of-school youth of the 15-25 age range are being reached.

The course offerings are highly academic, preparing the students to take the Jamaica School Certificate examinations, which would make them eligible to go to secondary school in Spanish Town or Linstead if they pass the national examinations. If they fail the examinations or if there is not enough room in the secondary school for those who pass, the youth are left with academic training that may not help contribute to their families' economic well-being if they stay in the Sligoville community. The vocational courses are being offered by the teachers, some of whom have no practical experience in the areas they are teaching. The students are getting the theory of automobile mechanics and the theory of electrical wiring without any practical training. Individuals who are experienced are reluctant to share their skills because they feel that the program will be a threat to their livelihood unless they can be assured of ready and expanding markets for the students who would be coming out of this program.

The teachers are paid to offer the courses to the students. All but two of the 15 teachers are from outside the Sligoville community. Most are women and a good number are trained. With a salary of approximately J\$5,000 for the trained teachers, the extra salary of J\$5.00 per hour to the teachers is important. There are few opportunities for a second job in Sligoville. Many of the teachers requested to be placed in Sligoville because of its location and healthy climate. With the opportunity for extra pay this may be one way that the teachers can improve their socio-economic standing in the community.

The paying of teachers has created problems for the Continuing and Community Education program. It encourages teachers to offer academic subjects to students who already have the economic means to benefit from the formal

school program. It encourages teachers to offer vocational subjects in which they have no training. Since teachers traditionally are expected to spend part of their leisure time working with the better students, under this program the teacher no longer provides this community service. Finally, incentives are not being provided to recruit those community persons who possess the skills and equipment necessary to offer a practical vocational program.

Capital Expenditures

Sligoville school lacks the facilities to accomodate its 500 students. The school is divided into two buildings. Both are cender-block, tin-roof structures which are poorly lit and ventilated. The upper building, for the upper primary students, is completely open on its lower side exposing the students in the other building to the hubbub of the ongoing lessons and subjecting those students to the noise from the playground and the toilet area. The site itself is spacious but steep and rocky. The playground that was to be added at the bottom of the hill has not been completed because of the political battles between the two political leaders in the community and the lack of commitment of the Ministry of Education to its "matching fund" scheme.

Several basic schools had been started which would have provided facilities in each of the three areas of Sligoville but these have not been completed. So the Sligoville All-Age school continues to be the only real community center that exists in the three areas of the community. The school, already in a bad state of repair, will be used for more programming efforts.

Local Advisory Committee

The Local Advisory Committee of the Sligoville project is controlled by the elite of the community. Teachers, shop keepers, ministers, some of the large-scale farmers, and the two elected public officials make up the committee. In the original membership of the Local Advisory Committee, the young out-of-school adults were represented. One of these young adults was elected secretary. However, it became evident from the beginning that there had been some circumstance which caused the secretary to bitterly mistrust the Parish Counselor. The young man stopped attending the meetings regularly and eventually resigned his membership. The other young adults on the committee left with him too. This left no direct representation of the youth in the community and provided less opportunity for this group to present their problems to the committee. The principal/supervisor has tried to strike a balance between the political factions in the community. The amount of support he receives and the attendance at the meetings is dependent on current issues and what the various members of the community think he is going to do about issues discussed.

The Local Advisory Committee has been interested in learning process and leadership skills, oral and written communications, community resource utilization, and lobbying skills needed to address the problems highlighted in the community survey. The committee initially did not take a great interest in offering many programs or in building home economics blocks or other buildings as in other pilot communities. Committee members felt that the problems brought out in the community survey were standing in the way of economic development of the area. They felt that if the community did not take definite action to develop itself, then the

private developers from Kingston were going to eventually own all of the land and the established families would be pushed out of the area. After many discussions and debates the community realized that even though the members of the Local Advisory Committee had the most to lose, all citizens in the community would be affected if the area became a subdivision of Kingston and that the people of Sligoville area would need to be a part of the solution.

The Local Advisory Committee, with the assistance of the Regional Rural Development Center staff, decided that the educational activities needed should center on such areas as: decision making, group dynamics, planning, implementation and evaluation techniques of program development, and training in leadership and communication skills. When this was expressed by the leadership of the Local Advisory Committee to the central ministry staff the immediate reaction was cool. The Local Advisory Committee was faced with the withdrawal of the Continuing and Community Education program if it did not come up with programs such as consumer education, arts and crafts, home economics, or agriculture. The central ministry staff felt that the program should be run along the lines of the other target communities. After a joint meeting between the central ministry staff, the Regional Rural Development Center staff, and the Local Advisory Committee, it was decided that the community would continue its effort in the adult training programs that were being planned for the areas. The advisory committee reasoned that it would try this approach, keep the ministry support, and see if in the future the Ministry would provide the training it felt necessary to tackle the problems facing the community.

Again, the Ministry of Education has made itself an obstacle in the very road to economic development that it is ostensibly trying to clear.

The Sligoville advisory committee is not interested in spending a great amount of money on expanding the school facilities or in offering the traditional academic courses after school hours. The advisory committee is more interested in gaining the process skills needed to pressure the national and parish governments to respond to their needs. The Ministry of Education, it would appear, is not willing to "pay the price of success". One fear expressed by central ministry staff members concerning the Sligoville project was that if successful it would prompt accusations of "rural agitation" from other ministries.

A recent and interesting situation has occurred which helps to illustrate the above problem. A radio program aired over the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation station was covering remarks about the Ministry of Education and included some comments about the Continuing and Community Education program and the community development effort of the Ministry. The Minister of Youth, Sports and Community Development, hearing about this program, immediately wrote the Minister of Education questioning the Ministry's activities in his bailiwick of community development. After much exchange between the two ministries the word was passed down from the Minister of Education that the Ministry would not indulge in community development activities or even use the term in the Continuing and Community Education team's work. The team was to now concentrate on "community education." Here was an opportunity for two ministries to create inter-agency dialogue and work jointly at the national and local levels to serve the rural parts of Jamaica. Instead of uniting the two ministries under the banner of rural development the issue became one of "turf" protection. Apparently, the Ministry of Education is unsure of its efforts and goals in

the Continuing and Community Education program.

Summary

In the Sligoville project, the contradictions become apparent between what the Ministry of Education and USAID hoped to achieve through their joint effort and what actually resulted. Clearly, the stated goals of the co-sponsored program are not being realized in the Sligoville community.

1. The Continuing and Community Education program has little control over related areas of development such as roads, water, electricity, and markets that are needed to bring about economic development to the Sligoville community.
2. By offering an extension of formal educational programs, the joint Ministry of Education and USAID program does not appear serious in its attempt at rural community development.
3. The national and parish government leaders appear to be more interested in protecting and expanding their political base rather than concentrating their efforts on helping their constituents.
4. Rather than working through a coordinated effort towards community development, the various ministries seem to be more concerned about protecting their individual mandates.
5. The Ministry of Education and USAID have lost an opportunity to help in solving the problems facing Sligoville by not providing the leadership necessary to provide the training programs desired by the Local Advisory Committee.
6. As exhibited in Sligoville, the Ministry of Education and USAID have done little to achieve the policy objectives and goals in the loan agreement. The educational activities tend merely to extend the offerings of the formal

school program and to serve those individuals in the community who are already at a social and economic advantage.

7. There are many confounding factors that are impeding social and economic development in Sligoville that the Ministry of Education and USAID cannot address through their nonformal education approach. Only by a cooperative effort of mutual policy planning with the other ministries and agencies involved will such developmental needs be met.

8. In view of the political forces and historical divisions that exist in the community, it is questionable whether the program will ever be successful in conventional terms unless the Ministry of Education makes a definite commitment to follow through on its developmental goals.

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This part of the dissertation deals with an interpretation and possible implications of the thesis for those who are professionally involved with and/or who are funding nonformal education programs in developing nations. The following observations are drawn from the earlier discussion in Part I and from the assessment of the nonformal education program currently underway in Jamaica in Part II.

There seem to be at least six key failures in current projects that need to be acknowledged and avoided, if possible, by adult educators, educational planners and policy makers, as well as the United States agencies that fund such projects overseas. These are:

1. Uncritical Acceptance of Education as Development Strategy

Adult educators and national planners of developing nations need to reexamine any uncritical advocacy of education as a development strategy. There was little evidence in the literature or in the Jamaica case to suggest that education--formal or nonformal--alone can materially change the basic economic and social patterns of rural people. Nor is it clear just how, if at all, education can best be fitted into a broader economic or political strategy for rural development.

2. Failure to Build Strong Local Leadership

In Jamaica and in other nations, there has been a failure to build strong local leadership in rural areas. Local organizations already exist in the target communities. In Jamaica, for example, these include the churches, the Jamaica Agricultural Society, and the Parent-Teachers Association.

The joint Ministry of Education and USAID nonformal education program in Jamaica also attempts to foster local leadership through Local Advisory Committees (LAC). But most of the members of the LACs in the three project sites were also the leaders in other community organizations. By serving in multiple leadership roles these individuals continued to dominate those positions of authority that predate the joint project in the communities. Thus, even with a new program being offered in the communities, few others in the communities were brought into positions of leadership. The central government's Community Council movement has basically been nonexistent and/or ineffectual in the three target communities. The Prime Minister and the Parliament are placing new emphasis on local community leadership development via the Community Councils. This emphasis may provide more opportunities for identifying and training leaders, but the semi-active Community Council in Victoria is controlled by the same dominant group as the LAC. This may suggest that little true change in the leadership structure will occur in the absence of strong central government support and direction that actively recruits and trains potential local leaders.

3. Failure to Strengthen Local Governments

The Parish governments are dependent upon central government for their mandates and their funding. The central government controls the collection of taxes. Parish governments have very limited taxing authority. This makes them dependent on central government grants for the maintenance of their operations. The various ministries, as agents of the central government, expend the major proportion of the national budget. These ministries

by-pass the parish governments in providing services, resources, and personnel to assist in local community development projects. As a result, the local residents look to the central government to take the initiative in dealing with local problems. Community change agents are sent into rural communities by the various ministries to deal with local needs and to provide the delivery of services. Yet the parish governments are physically closer, hence more accessible to the people, particularly in rural areas. The ratio of elected parish officials, called counselors, to the people is much smaller than the ratio of Members of Parliament to the number of citizens in each parish. When central government by-passes the local government structure to provide leadership in local problem solving efforts, the people still focus on a central power rather than looking within their own communities for solutions to problems, fulfillment of needs, and resources for development projects.

4. Failure of Responsible Ministry to Train Personnel

Educational planners simply cannot rely upon the current staff of an established government agency to carry out new and radical programs without retraining its staff members. This was clearly demonstrated in Jamaica. Supervisory personnel from the Ministry of Education repeatedly sought to eliminate new initiatives from projects under their jurisdiction. Retraining of regular ministry staff and supervisors would seem to be essential in order to reinforce and support new program activities rather than continuing established ways and attitudes. The Ministry of Education has sent seven of its staff members to be trained in North America. These individuals are soon to return to their assignments in Jamaica. The impact

of these individuals on future development of the program would be an interesting topic for future study by a student of nonformal education and community development.

5. Failure to Coordinate Governmental Programs

Many central government programs operate in the rural areas of Jamaica. Each ministry operates independently of the other. There is no provision for overall focus and coordination of the various activities of staff members on-site in the rural communities. Not only is there no coordination in the field, but there is little provision for program coordination of these programs at the policy level. Consequently, the several ministries' development projects in rural areas naturally come into conflict with one another. The effect can be debilitating in those communities that lack strong local leadership. At best these overlapping and conflicting projects tend to confuse local citizens. They may lead to a situation in which the central government inadvertently increases conflict within the rural community rather than providing a comprehensive, unified program for its development.

6. Failure of USAID to Focus and Coordinate Its Own Development Activities

USAID divides its diverse field office activities into separate program sectors, including agriculture, health, nutrition, population control, and education. The projects undertaken in each sector are loosely coordinated by the mission director in the host country. However, the projects in any one sector are essentially isolated from those in other sectors. The results lack focus and impact. Moreover, USAID's uncoordinated programs are

duplicated in structure within the host nation's government ministries. USAID personnel in agriculture deal only with agricultural counterparts in the host government, for example. In multiple project programs, neither USAID, the cooperating ministries, nor the local governments are in a position to coordinate and focus project activities appropriately. Moreover, USAID personnel at the project level are held accountable by superiors in the home office in Washington. Hence, USAID personnel are judged by Washington standards, not in relation to the development project.

The rotation of staff members every 18-24 months can have a strong negative impact on the commitment to and interpretation of program activities in host nations. Another possible dysfunctional feature of the operation procedures of USAID is the United State Congress yearly review of funding needs and projects of the agency. This situation is potentially disruptive for conducting long-term development projects.

Implications of the Study for Professional Educators and Community Developers

The Government of Jamaica and its partner USAID sought comprehensive results in rural community development through their nonformal education program. The commitment of both partners and the results obtained so far have fallen short of these broad goals.

The implications of this thesis are addressed to:

1. Adult educators as they seek to respond to the needs of developing nations for alternative patterns of public education for rural populations,
2. Educational planners and policy makers as they seek to evaluate the efficacy of education as a principal development strategy in developing nations,

3. USAID and other United States agencies that are engaged in sponsoring educational projects overseas, particularly in the rural areas of developing nations.

I. The Use of Education as a Development Strategy

A. Education--whether formal or nonformal--is considered to be of great importance to rural citizens in developing countries. Formal education is viewed by parents as a possible means for their children to reach a higher rung on the socio-economic ladder. Hence, parents desire more formal schooling opportunities for their own children. When the formal educational opportunities are limited or possibly nonexistent, nonformal education is seen as a viable alternative to the formal schooling process. As revealed through the literature and in the Jamaican case, neither formal nor nonformal education contributes significantly to the social and economic development of rural areas. Education is seen more as a means of escape from rural areas to the cities.

B. The implication of this finding is that education, as a development strategy, has limits. Advocates of nonformal education probably need to lower their expectations of education as a tool for rural community development. This does not mean that education is less valuable to the overall development strategy of a nation. However, the literature and the case indicate that:

1. Education, both formal and nonformal, can make a significant contribution to a larger strategy for rural community development that includes agriculture, commerce, transportation, health, nutrition,

communications, as well as family planning. All of the developmental facts of rural communities must be combined to make a significant impact on rural areas.

2. Education can provide a valuable public service by offering such programs as: literacy training, vocational job skill training, consumer education, home economics, farming and many other areas of direct concern to rural citizens.

3. Adult educators need to revamp the "formal" nature of their educational programs. If education is to provide school age youth, out-of-school youth, and adults with the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed in rural areas, the educators must be trained in how to conduct such efforts. Several features of this training would include: (a) Establish curricula reflective of the needs and at the same time sensitive to the desires of citizens in rural areas, (b) Providing practical experiences along with the instructional program so that theory and application are coupled, (c) Providing training for the teachers and other adults who are offering the educational experiences in what it means to educate people for community development. (APEID, 1977:6, 8)

II. For Project Design and Implementation

A. The program objectives need to include both the change man approach and the responsive structure strategy of development in the comprehensive manner theorized by La Belle (1976). By applying this strategy attempts to address necessary changes in the psychological and behavioral states of individuals (Beckford, 1972; Freire, 1970). In addition it provides the

governmental structures that make available adequate supplies of financial, human, and material resources.

B. There must be the creation of linkages--both intra-agency as well as inter-agency.

1. One intra-agency linkage would be the creation of a rural education services board that would have the heads of the various tracks--i.e., primary, secondary, technical, teacher training, and evaluation--all coming together on a regular basis to coordinate programs serving various consumers of these services. This would also allow for the exchange of personnel, materials, and training that could prove helpful to professionals working in other tracks.

2. Interagency cooperation could entail the following: (a) The central government could use an interdisciplinary approach developed by Owens and Shaw called the "training-knowledge-communications system." (1974:122) This effort combines the professions of agriculture, engineering, medicine, and accounting with those of professional educators. These combinations of professionals, operating at the parish levels, could work through the local schools and staffs to teach, supervise, and inspect community development projects and at the same time to train local leaders and the community-at-large to eventually conduct their own developmental efforts. (b) An inter-agency board could be established at the parish level which would coordinate various ministerial efforts within that parish. This would help to: (1) conserve scarce local and national resources, (2) create a pool of resources to provide the necessary skills, training,

information, and in some cases the economic inputs needed to address the problems in rural communities, and (3) allow government agencies to jointly research problems faced in a particular sector--e.g., sanitation--that may assist the efforts of a companion agency such as agriculture.

3. A third linkage is that of the community to the parish and national governments. Havelock and Havelock (1973) have developed a training model based on the work of Kenneth Tye called the Political Linkage Agent. Under the political linkage training model, local leaders would be trained to serve as an active link between the national ministries concerned with rural development, any regional authorities or governments, and the target communities. The three tasks that the political linkage agent would be involved in are:

(a) improving the communication link between the community and the government(s), (b) helping the local communities to identify problems and to focus on identified goals, and (c) identifying the appropriate resources and assisting the community in obtaining these. One goal of this effort would be to train more of the community members so that the elite no longer occupy positions of leadership and authority by default.

C. Training is needed at all levels in the community development process.

Ministry of Education in Jamaica is attempting to train teachers, the principal/supervisors, and the members of the Local Advisory Committees in what it means to engage in community development as well as nonformal education projects. The Ministry has sent seven of its staff members to the United States to be trained in various institutions in the areas of

education and development.

Both professionals, at all levels of government, and the lay public need extensive training to learn the skills, knowledge, and attitudes that can make a community development program successful.

D. Programs should have the benefits of carefully planned oversight and evaluation. As a cooperative effort, the international funding agency, the host government, the lay public, and the actual implementers of the program could all be involved in assessment and evaluation.

E. Not all problems can be addressed at the local or regional levels. Some issues that must be dealt with at the national level include:

1. The method and nature of taxation,
2. The procurement and distribution of national resources, i.e., financial, human, and material,
3. The intergovernmental relationships that shall exist among the various ministries involved in rural development efforts,
4. The national development priorities.

These decisions must be made by the elected national government leaders and/or chief heads of state who control the political processes of the various nations. Through these decisions made at the national levels an efficient and effective organizational structure can be developed that provides for the flow of: a. communications, b. authority, c. responsibility, d. information, and e. resources among and between the various levels of government.

III. For International Involvement of USAID and Other Government Agencies

The very bureaucratic nature of USAID may, itself, impede the implementation of long-term development projects in host countries. USAID, as well as other agencies overseas continue to operate on a sectorial, fragmented basis. Within this organizational structure each sector, be it agriculture, education, or population control, competes for the same limited resources allocated by the head office and the United States Congress. These sectors, in turn, operate within narrowly defined mandates which, based upon the development literature, especially as detailed under the responsive structures strategy of development, seem not to address the overlapping, multifaceted issues facing rural areas in developing nations.

The federal government, through the Congress of the United States and the President, needs to clarify the foreign policy issues involved so that USAID and other agencies can have a clear mandate to seriously engage in rural community development efforts in other nations.

Then USAID could develop the organizational structure in its field offices deemed appropriate for the host country. Instead of employing vertical lines of authority and communication within individual sectors USAID could facilitate intersectoral cooperation by establishing horizontal lines of communication between its sectors. This could take the form of an intersectoral governing board which would:

- A. handle all requests for funds and/or grants from the host nation,
- B. approve or disapprove all such requests on the basis of a coordinated development plan,

- C. commit the needed human, financial, and material resources from a common pool of resources controlled by the intersectoral board, and
- D. submit requests on an intersectoral basis from the office in the host nation to the parent office in Washington, D.C.

By example and through its leverage as an external resource base, USAID might effectively bring about reform of the host country's national level government. The organizational structure which evolved might prove more responsive in providing services to the targeted rural areas.

IV. The Dilemma Remains

Poor management clearly aggravates the problem facing development in Jamaica, but it is not clear from the evidence presented that the situation will be substantively altered by better management. The situation is political, and as such, non-rational. Furthermore, it is not clear that management in USAID and the Government of Jamaica can be improved in the ways suggested. The traditional nature of the governments in the developing nation and the political nature of USAID support may mitigate against "rational behavior" (even when there is good evidence that improvements can be made).

The initial outcomes of the participatory methods used in the three cases are all promising, nonetheless. The increased participation in educational programs by members of the various communities; the completion of community needs surveys; the identification of community resources; and the increased intra-community communications leave one with a more positive

feeling about potential change. Hence, the dilemma ultimately may be resolved. Still, on balance, the dilemma remains: the established systems that have proved ineffective in solving community problems are still supported by the very people the institutions and programs fail to benefit. More rational and sometimes demonstrated systems fail to gain the needed support necessary to introduce them into operational procedures.

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VITAE

Samuel Lee Hancock was born in Hanover, Pennsylvania, on December 2, 1947. In 1965 he graduated from Blacksburg High School, Blacksburg, Virginia. In 1969 he received the Bachelor of Science degree in Business Administration and Accounting from Cedarville College, Ohio. In 1972 he received a Master of Education degree concentrating in the areas of Business and Vocational Education and Administration. This degree was received from the University of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Hancock was a department chairman and instructor in the Greene Vocational School District's data processing department for two years. During this time he served as advisor to the Ohio Office Education Association and worked on a number of curriculum development committees. Special services were provided to Miami University (Ohio) in the area of community resource development.

For three years Hancock served as teacher and professor in educational programs in three Asian countries. He served on the faculty of the University of Papua New Guinea, at Goroka, Papua New Guinea, Yaminashi Eiwa College, Kofu, Japan and served with the New South Wales (Australia) Department of Education in Orange, New South Wales. His duties involved textbook and curriculum development and teaching economics, education, and international affairs. Additional duties included the supervision of student teachers and conducting in-service training in economics for elementary and secondary teachers and university level instructors.

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EDUCATION AND RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT:

A CONCEPTUAL MODEL AND JAMAICAN CASE

by

Samuel Lee Hancock

(ABSTRACT)

Rural citizens in developing countries are becoming the focal point of social, economic and political development efforts. These people traditionally have been left out of the developmental process. National leaders have now realized that the citizens of rural areas have the potential to contribute significantly to developmental efforts of their nations.

One important part of most developing nations' strategy for social and economic development is education. The principal form of education has been that of formal education, the trappings of which were borrowed from the nations' former colonial masters. The education systems increasingly have been seen as working against national development objectives, particularly in the rural areas.

Educational planners and policy makers have found an alternative in non-formal education, whereby rural people theoretically obtain the skills, knowledge, and attitudes necessary to initiate their own development projects. However, developing nations lack the human, financial, and material resources needed to concurrently offer both formal and non-formal education programs. Outside funding sources have been sought pursuant to United States foreign policy. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has given impetus to experiments in non-formal education in some

60 countries of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America.

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine relationships between education and rural community development, particularly as these relationships have been reported in underdeveloped nations. The methods of inquiry involved:

1. a substantive analysis and synthesis of the development literature, and
2. a detailed case study of non-formal education and rural development in Jamaica.

The dissertation develops a thesis, namely that three general relationships may be observed between education and rural development. They are:

1. Formal education is intended to raise rural children to literacy and productivity in the development of their native areas. Instead it tends to raise students' expectations towards employment in urban centers, thus bleeding rural areas of trained skills. Formal education has become an entrenched system both as a monopoly of central government bureaucracy, and as the one road recognized by rural adults as leading to a better life. There is a conflict between expectation and delivery, complicated by lack of realistic means for appraisal and change.
2. Alternatively, certain forms of non-formal education may hold promise for improving the quality of living in the rural areas of developing nations; however the conditions necessary for a definitive test of non-formal education in rural community development are not likely to be developed under the sponsorship of the education establishment of the developing nations, even when such test is stimulated and heavily supported by outside agencies such as the United States Agency for International Development.

3. Moreover, the idiosyncratic policies, organization, and funding practices of USAID, the principal source of financial aid for development projects among developing nations, themselves influence the design and outcome of development projects in ways that mitigate against successful development.

Clearly, this poses a dilemma for those governments that seek to develop their rural areas. Traditional institutions and programs have been used to improve conditions in rural areas. Yet these very institutions and programs may be part of the development problems. International development literature is replete with theoretical and promising new programs that cannot be fairly tested. There is no indication that national governments could or would assimilate these programs into standard practice, moreover, the status quo is supported by rural populations.