

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN BARBADOS, 1966-1989

JOSEP R. LLOBERA

University College London/Universitat Pompeu Fabra

INTRODUCTION: THE SETTING

BARBADOS is the most easterly of the Caribbean islands; it is one of the Lesser Antilles, centre-east of the Windward Islands. It is located at a longitude of 59° 37'W and a latitude of 13° 4' N. Its nearest neighbours are St. Lucia, 160 km to the northwest, and St. Vincent, 160 km to the west. Barbados lies northeast of Venezuela and Trinidad, 430 km and 322 km, respectively. Barbados has an area of 430 sq km and a triangular shape; it is 33.7 km long and 22.5 km wide, and the total coastline is 101 km. Unlike most other Caribbean islands, Barbados consists mainly of coral limestone (85% of the surface rock) rising slightly from south to north. Only in the Scotland District has the coral been eroded to expose underlying chalky rocks. The island has no good natural harbours (except perhaps for Carlisle Bay on the southwest coast) and very few surface streams, but it has abundant underground water for both domestic and industrial use, as well as for some irrigation. The highest point is Mount Hillaby in the centre of the island, with an altitude of 335.5 m. The coast is surrounded by coral reefs. The position of the island, with its northeasterly winds, meant that, until steamships were available, shipping coming from Europe had to approach the western coast of the island while sailing westwards; the prevailing winds made eastward navigation very difficult. This may explain why the island was practically an inexpugnable fortress and has not change hands since the first English settlements in the seventeenth century.

Barbados exhibits a tropical climate with a mean annual temperature of 26°C. During the rainy season (June-November) the temperatures oscillate between 23°C and 32°C and humidity is high. It feels hot and unpleasant. This is also the hurricane season and although Barbados is at the southmost extreme of the hurricane zone, it has been badly hit several times in the past (1780, 1831, 1891). In this century, the 1955 hurricane, Janet, produced extensive damage in the meridional area. During the rest of the year, temperatures oscillate between 21°C and 30°C, but it feels cooler due to the northeast breeze. The rugged Atlantic coast tends to be cooler than the flat western part of the island which, with its sandy beaches and safe bathing, accommodates most of the tourist industry of the island. Annual rainfall oscillates from about 1000 mm in the coastal areas to 2300 mm in the central ridge; the annual average rainfall is 1500 mm.

The remaining area of original forest in Barbados is very small because most of the island was cleared for sugar cane fields. The most common tropical trees are the palm, casuarina, mahogany, flamboyant and frangipani. Shrubs and flowers are also abundant. Wildlife is limited to a few mammals including the introduced mongoose and African green monkey, and birds, including hummingbirds, blackbirds, and egrets. In terms of fishing resources, the most common and popular species of marine life is the flying fish, although the dolphin and kingfish are also caught and eaten in quite large numbers.

With a population of 254,000 in 1988, Barbados is one of the most densely populated countries in the world (in the top ten) with a density of 591 inhabitants per sq km. The annual net increase in population has declined noticeably in the past few years and stood at 0.5% in 1986. In this respect Barbados compares favourably with the average for developed countries which stood at 0.6% in

1980, and it has one of the lowest figures for the Caribbean along with Cuba and Puerto Rico. The population of Barbados increased at an annual average rate of 1.5% between the 1946 and 1960 censuses. It then slowed to a average rate of a mere 0.1% between 1960 and 1970, when the population reached 232,000, and increased again slightly to an average rate of 0.4% between 1970 and 1980, when the population stood at 244,000. The projected population for the year 2000 is 261,000, assuming relatively little change in fertility, mortality and migration rates, giving an average rate of increase of 0.2% in 1990 and 0.1% by 2000.

In 1988 the sex distribution of the population was 48% male and 52% female. A sex imbalance has been typical for many years, although it is gradually decreasing. In 1946 the population was 44% male, in 1960 45%, in 1970 and 1980 47%, and in 1985 48%. It is projected that by the year 2000, males will make up 49% of the population. Essentially the skewed distributions were caused by differential migration rates.

The mortality rate for 1987 stood at 8.1 per thousand, compared with a world average of 10, and placing Barbados at the upper end of the figures for the developed world. The mortality rate has shown a fairly steady slight decline since 1960 when it stood at 9.2. The major decline took place before this period. The mortality rate was 33 in 1921-25 and 18.5 in 1941-45. From 1946 to the period 1980-85, male life expectancy increased from 49 to 70 years, and female life expectancy increased from 53 to 76 years. Along with the mortality and life expectancy figures of a developed country, Barbados also now has the mortality pattern of the first world, the major causes of death being circulatory diseases and cancer.

The birth rate was 15 per thousand in 1987, compared with a world average of 26, and well within the range of the developed world. There was little variation in the birth rate between the early 1920s and 1960 when the figure fluctuated between 32 and 35. A major decline was accomplished in the 1960s and the birth rate by 1970 was down to 20. The decline continued to a figure of 17 in 1980 and to the latest available figure of 15. A similar trend can be seen using the total fertility rate for women in the childbearing age range, which dropped from 5 in the mid-1950s to 2 in the 1980s.

The recent low rates of population increase in Barbados have been achieved through two major factors, an active family planning campaign coupled with the provision of services, and fairly large scale emigration. The latter has lost its importance since the 1960s, with the closure of many of the traditional migration routes by the receiving countries. The family planning service, which started as a private concern in 1955, has been of particular importance since the government became actively involved in 1967. Since the early colonial period there has been an awareness in Barbados of a population problem in one form or another. Rapid emigration was initially the worry, but this later turned into official encouragement for emigration in an effort to decrease the unemployment problem. Improved health and living conditions lowered mortality in the second quartile of the present century and began to produce an increased awareness of population pressure. Following this, the family planning movement developed quickly and strongly in Barbados. Its considerable success has been hailed as a model for the developing world.

Barbados has one of the lowest marriage rates in the world, with a figure of 2.8 per thousand in 1984. The divorce rate in the same year was 0.6. The rate of illegitimacy is very high, being 73.3% in 1980, compared with a world average of 15%. The Barbadian pattern is typical of many Caribbean islands.

In 1985 the Barbadian population was 42% urban and 58% rural. There is only one major conurbation, the capital, Bridgetown, which has a metropolitan population of about 100,000.

The most recent census in 1980 gives the ethnic configuration of the population as 92% African

descent/black, 2.6% mixed, 3.3% white, 0.5% East Indian, 0.2% other and the rest unstated. The figures from earlier censuses suggest there have been quite major changes in the make up of the population. In 1946, for example, the census gave the ethnic configuration as 77% black, 17.5% mixed, 5.1% white and 0.1% East Indian. Several different factors underlie the differences. The changes in the relative proportions of the black and mixed categories is mainly the result of a major change in self-perception, which had largely taken place by 1960. In addition, the white population declined and the East Indian population increased, largely because of migration. Except for small groups of Hindus, Moslems and Jews and 18% who describe themselves as non-religious, the majority of the population in Barbados is Christian. Anglicans comprise 40%, Pentecostals 8%, Methodists 7%, the Church of God 3%, Seventh Day Adventists 3% and the remainder belong to smaller sects. Other sources may quote up to 70% of the population as being Anglican. The discrepancy is the result of different methods of data collection, for example attendance figures versus self-reporting. Catholics number about 5% of the Population Standard Caribbean English is spoken in the island along with a local dialect, Bajan. Taking into account ethnic, religious and linguistic factors, Barbados can be considered a reasonably homogeneous society in an international comparison.

Barbados has few natural resources and it is often said that its only resource is its people, and yet it has become one of the most prosperous countries of the Caribbean. In 1988, per capita GDP was US\$5250, putting Barbados on a par with countries like Portugal and Greece, and representing an annual increase of 3.5%. For the period from 1983-87 the average rate of economic growth was 2.6%, which is a small but reasonable growth rate in the context of a difficult world economic period. The growth occurred mainly in tourism and the commercial sector, whilst relative to these sugar production and manufacturing declined. The major contributing sectors to the GDP in 1987 were the wholesale and retail trade 20%, business and general services 17%, government services 14%, tourism 13%, manufacturing 10%, sugar and other agriculture 8%, and transport, storage and communication 8%. The rate of unemployment remained high in the 1980s, at about 17%, while inflation remained at a moderate 5%. In 1987 the total economically active population numbered 120,000, which corresponds to 47% of the total population. Between the ages of 15 and 64, 75% of the population was economically active (in 1986), including 47% of the female population.

ECONOMY AND EDUCATION

BARBADOS belongs to the category of what DeLisle Worrell has called small island economics, and as a consequence it is extremely sensitive to external economic factors; because of their unpredictability, it is very difficult to protect the economy from the ravages of these external forces. In the 1960s the Barbadian economy diversified into tourism and industry from an economy which had been overwhelmingly agricultural (or more precisely sugar-based) in the previous period. The annual rates of economic output grew at a quite impressive 6.5% during the 1960s. In this transitional period, the percentage of the agricultural contribution to the GDP evolved from 28% in 1960 to 15% in 1970. No other sector shows such a sharp differential contribution in the decade under consideration, though the contribution of government rose from 10% to 16%. However, if we take the quinquennium from 1955 to 1960 we can observe some major reorientations in the Barbadian economy, for example, distribution jumped from 10% to 23%. As a whole, the 1960s were a decade of accelerated growth with low inflation (less than 10%), though unemployment was still high (over 10%). From the standpoint of 1970, the perspectives of the Bar-

badian economy looked very favourable because the outlook for both manufacturing and tourism were that of growing sectors through a pertinent policy of fiscal incentives to attract foreign investment in the context of a booming international economy.

The 1970s and 1980s were unstable decades from the point of view of the international economic order, with a variety of disturbances (huge oil price increases, inflation, ups and downs in economic growth, stagflation, erratic patterns of exchange rates among leading world currencies, high interest rates, etc.). Countries like Barbados were particularly affected by the recessions of 1973-75 and 1981-83, which had a negative impact on tourism, on inflation, on production, on debt and on employment. In spite of all these shocks -most of them fortunately short-lived- the Barbadian economy performed reasonably well in the 1970s and 1980s, with an overall average annual increase in real GDP of 1.6% between 1970 and 1984; by the mid-1980s, inflation had been brought down to about 5%, but unemployment peaked at about 19%. The external debt, as a percentage of the GDP, escalated from 9% in 1970 to 18% in 1985 (from \$15 million in 1970 to \$220 million in 1985). To service this debt the required payments represented 1% of the exports of goods and services for 1970 and 4% for 1985 (from \$1 million in 1970 to 30 million in 1985). However, compared with Jamaica (with an increase from 2.6% to 41% in the same period) and Guyana (from 3.3% to 10.2% in the same period), the Barbadian increase was moderate.

By the time independence was on the horizon, that is, in the early 1960s, a number of economic models began to appear as an alternative to the plantation economy that had dominated the colonial period. For a quarter of a century the advantages and disadvantages, strengths and weaknesses of each of these models were widely discussed in the Caribbean. Three major models of economic development need to be considered here: the Cuban model, the New World model and the Puerto Rican model. The Cuban model relies heavily on central planning and statification of the means of production as the key features to promote autonomous development and to achieve an egalitarian society. The New World model is mainly concerned with overcoming economic dependence, as well as other forms of dependence which are seen as the causes of the underdevelopment of the area. The main solution to the endemic poverty of the Caribbean is said to be in the breaking up of links with the metropolitan economies; the new multinational economies are envisaged as the contemporary equivalent of the plantation system. Balanced economic development can only be the outcome of a situation in which the major economic decisions are taken by the local governments. The New World model is in favour of a policy of nationalisations, the development of native technologies and import-substitution. The Puerto Rican model is a variant of modernisation theory and it is fundamentally a model of capital accumulation aimed at off-setting the deterioration of the terms of trade of the Caribbean countries (and underdeveloped countries in general). The key to development is the ability of the economy to increase its savings, the latter depending on the level of profits. According to W. A. Lewis there should be a ratio of around 12% savings to national income. Although the model is likely to generate inequalities because it requires that the level of real wages should remain unchanged during the early period of development, these inequalities can be dealt with through redistributive policies.

With the hindsight of being in the 1990s it is possible to say that Cuban model is at the end of its credibility having failed, for a variety of reasons, not only to provide with sustained economic growth but also to create an egalitarian society. Even its show-case successes in the welfare area are now at risk because of its economic dependence on the Soviet system which is at present collapsing. The New World model never developed an articulated economic policy, assuming that it would be sufficient to reverse dependence features. Those Caribbean countries which toyed

with these ideas and gave a prominent role to the state and insulated their economies from outside influence, etc, did not achieve economic development and paid a heavy price in terms of persistent poverty and other socioeconomic scourges. Barbados followed the third model; both political parties agreed with minor variations that the economic initiative should be left to the private sector and that the economic policy should be one of encouraging foreign capital to come to Barbados through fiscal incentives. The state sector was kept to a minimum, although governmental policies aimed at a redistribution of incomes and at creating a welfare system.

According to Michael Howard, the Barbadian government pursued two major objectives in the 1960s: foreign investment in the manufacturing sector and public participation of a minimalist type in the economy. In the early 1960s, settler-type investment from abroad was encouraged, but industrialisation was not as successful as planned and the level of unemployment remained higher than expected. In addition, the limits of import substitution in such a small economy soon became obvious. An attempt was then made to develop export industries. The Barbadian state participated in a limited number of economic ventures in the agricultural and tourist sectors; in the former area, the government's aim was to encourage private initiative to follow in its steps, in the latter the aim to generate jobs. In the 1970s and 1980s, there was a growing awareness that economic development could not be left to foreign investors alone, but that local investment should also be increased. In that context the government tried to stimulate the development of a local class of small capitalists. To that end public investments were placed in such a way as to provide an adequate framework for economic development. Tourism and industry remained the major areas of expansion in the government plans during the past two decades, though the emphasis within each sector changed over time. In the period from 1970 to 1988 the Barbadian economy became more oriented towards the USA (the UK losing its leading position) as the following figures of trade direction suggest:

	EXPORTS		IMPORTS	
	(% of total)		(% of total)	
	USA	UK	USA	UK
1970	18	37	20	30
1988	22	18	30	11

Let us now consider how the three most important sectors of the Barbadian economy - agriculture, manufacturing and tourism - performed in the past three decades.

A look at Barbadian agriculture from 1960 to 1990 shows that the pattern of land ownership changed little as compared with the previous period: over 70% of the total cultivated area is in the form of large farms (more than 80 hectares). In addition to these large estates there a large number (50% in 1970) of small holders (less than 2 hectares) usually cultivating poorer soils. Both types of farms tend to cultivate sugar cane. Attempts at diversifying agriculture had only a limited success. The reasons are varied: the conservatism of the sugar producers, the suitability of the sugar cane to the Barbadian soil (it prevents erosion and it is more resistant to disease than many crops), the lack of agricultural expertise to introduce new crops, etc. Cotton, which had been cultivated in the past, was the favourite alternative export crop by 1970, though its production has oscillated from 160 tons in 1975 to 20 tons in 1980 and an all time low of 7 tons in 1984; in 1987 it peaked at 172 tons, to fall again to 120 tons in 1988. None of the vegetable

and root crops which were introduced in response to an increasing demand both from the local population and the tourist trade has been a success. In fact, production diminished for most crops both in the 1970s and 1980s. Only livestock and dairy production did better during this period. So sugar continued to be the main agriculture product, but its overall role in the Barbadian economy kept declining. By 1980 sugar provided only 10% of employment and of foreign currency. During the 1980s sugar production fell from 140 thousand tons to about 80 thousand, with a particularly bad harvest in 1986. The number of hectares cultivated fell from 16,500 to 11,500 and productivity also went down.

For historical reasons (in particular its association with slavery) agricultural work has been unpopular for many years, and especially since Independence. The young generation considers any activity related to agriculture as servile. But even independent farming is seen as an undesirable profession. In the past, secondary education was the passport to a non-agricultural job; today, when the majority of youths obtain secondary education, very few are willing to find employment in the sugar industry. In fact, by 1980 about 90% of agricultural labourers were over 30 years of age, and in the late 1960s and early 1970s the industry had to import immigrant labour from neighbouring islands. The falling supply of labour for the reasons expressed can only be compensated by increasing the yield per hectare through mechanisation, scientific husbandry and improved management. In spite of its decline in the past 30 years, sugar will remain in the foreseeable future the cornerstone of Barbadian agriculture. Sugar is a product with a variety of uses and with a demand which is likely to persist. In addition to the ecological advantages of planting cane, a reorganized sugar industry could still constitute a pillar of the Barbadian economy. However, whether society will be able to overcome the cultural aversion to sugar cane cultivation it is not clear. In the other areas of agriculture, Barbados has yet to find half a dozen export crops which would provide badly needed foreign exchange earnings.

The educational changes that have taken place in Barbados from 1960 to 1990 have had a negative impact on the development of agriculture. Agricultural activities have an extremely low status in Barbadian society -appropriate only to uneducated people- and no appeal to secondary school leavers, who often prefer to remain unemployed rather than become agricultural labourers. It is possible that the number of small farmers would grow if better land were available, appropriate crops selected and red its facilitated. Generally speaking, the secondary school curriculum pays little attention to agriculture, and this, combined with the negative image of the plantation portrayed by history books and transmitted by oral history, contributes to fix the image of agriculture as a profession to be avoided at all cost. No doubt the fact that the work force is badly paid and the work is tough and unpleasant helps to compound the prejudices against this activity. At the tertiary level the training available is by general agreement inadequate and not sufficiently practically oriented.

The Barbadian economic profile for 1980 in terms of sectors of origin indicates that the primary sector constituted 11% of the GDP, the secondary sector was 20% of the GDP (of which 11% was manufacturing), while the tertiary sector represented 69% of the GDP (of which tourism was 12%, distribution 22% and government 22%). The percentage changes in the sectoral contribution of manufacturing to the GDP over the past three decades were relatively small (8% in 1960, 9% in 1970), although these figures hide internal changes in the industry (artisans displaced by modern technology). For the 1980s, the index of manufacturing, set at 100 for 1982, was 105 in 1981, 97 in 1985 and 104 in 1988. However, the contribution of manufacturing to foreign exchange rose from 9% in 1970 to 18% in 1980.

The production of manufactured goods, which was initially seen as the panacea for unemployment and for the excessive dependence of Barbados, has proven to be less successful than expected. It took off as early as the late 1950s, though the main thrust occurred in the 1960s; since then it has been erratic, although the 1970s were better than the 1980s. A large percentage of manufactured goods are sold in Barbados, though there has been a growth of export goods relative to those sold locally. A great variety of industries were installed - garment factories being the first major expansion, followed by furniture, construction materials, etc. The most important foreign investments were in the area of electronic components for export, with a growth index from a figure set at 100 in 1970 to 688 in 1988. Because many of the industries installed were capital intensive, the impact on the level of employment was only moderate: from 7000 employees in this sector in 1970, to 7600 in 1980, and 8700 in 1985 (though there were 11,450 in 1983). In addition, foreign investments are volatile, not only because they are very sensitive to increases in local labour costs, but also because the overall international policy of investment may also be affected by political and other considerations, totally outside the control of small countries like Barbados. The withdrawal of the electronics firm Intel from Barbados in the late 1980s, with a loss of 2000 jobs, is a case in point.

In the medium term, it is difficult to see a major change in the role of manufacturing in Barbados. Although the country has a well-educated, relatively skilled labour force, labour costs are high and the sector depends too heavily on the local market. In a competitive world, the ability to continue to attract electronic or data processing firms may not be there. It would certainly be desirable to have a share of the international market (particularly of the American one) in one of the leading industrial areas. In any case, there is room for the expansion of manufacturing to serve the tourist industry. As to small businesses, they may profit if there is general expansion of demand triggered off by the export sector, though they could benefit from management training and better credit facilities.

It has already been mentioned that the view that an increase in manufacturing is followed by a proportional increase in employment has been proven false in Barbados. The need for a redistribution policy was hence accepted by different Barbadian governments in their Economic Plans. Because industrial development was seen as one of the prongs for their policies of economic growth and diversification, successive governments from the 1960s onwards were aware that without the technical skills these objectives would be unreachable. It was essential that primary schools should be expanded and upgraded, and more importantly that technical and vocational training should be imparted within the secondary school system. Unfortunately, the hierarchical educational system of Barbados which was inherited from the colonial period was never tackled frontally; only partial and piecemeal modifications were introduced. The resulting system was unable to respond in a flexible and adequate way to the needs of the country. We have seen how both the primary and secondary educational systems are geared towards academic certification; from a very early age Barbadian children are divided between those with academic abilities and those without. The ethos of Barbadian society is against vocational and technical training; parents and schools instil in children the idea that non-manual jobs are better than manual jobs. Notwithstanding the fact that the distinction between one type of work and the other is becoming obsolete in large sectors of industry where knowledge is an essential skill, vocational and technical training still has a stigma attached to it, and young people often prefer unemployment to work in any trade that requires technical training.

The sharp status division between newer and older secondaries perpetuates the idea that vocational and technical skills are only for less able pupils. No doubt the existence of the Samuel

Jackman Prescod Polytechnic and the Barbados Community College, as well as some of the other tertiary institutions, are a positive, if insufficient attempt to come to terms with the problem of providing technical training for a fast-developing society which is trying to keep up-to-date with the technological revolution that the world is experiencing at present. Barbadian society has to overcome a serious cultural obstacle to economic development if it wishes to participate in the fruits of this revolution, namely the abhorrence of things technical and scientific at the secondary school level and in society as a whole. The belief that the ideal job is a clerical one is a heavy weight in the minds of Barbadians, and unless they can overcome it, sustained economic development will always be at risk. If the country wants to achieve an increase in output of about 5% a year, Barbados has to have a well-trained and modern work-force, with all the necessary technical skills. Courtney Blackman is eager to recall that a scientifically trained worker is the precondition for successful industry. This statement is ever more appropriate today than when it was uttered. Information technology requires a high level of knowledge, and if Barbados wants to attract investments in this area (as politicians and industrialists alike are crying for), it must be prepared to train its labour force to these high standards. But to attract youngsters to these areas, the school system and society as a whole must change the negative image that "industrial" work has had until now.

Tourism is at present the main pillar of the Barbadian economy, and the most successful sector in the past thirty years. One has only to remember that from the late 1950s when tourism made up very small part of the GDP, the contribution of tourist receipts rose to 11% in 1960 and to 31% in 1970; after that the percentage was about 28% until 1985. If we look at the number of tourists between 1960 and 1980, the annual growth was about 15%. While in 1956 only 20,000 tourists came to Barbados, by 1970 the figure was 156,000, by 1980 the number was 370,000 (in 1982 it fell to a low of 304,000) and in 1988 the total was 450,000. For the years for which information is available, tourist receipts as a percentage of goods and service exports represented 40% in 1970 and 50% in 1985. The tourist share of nominal GDP was 9.8% in 1983 and 10.8% in 1987. In terms of foreign exchange earnings, by 1980 tourism represented about 60% of the total. The annual average real growth of tourist expenditure between 1960 and 1980 was over 9%, but while it grew 16% between 1961 and 1969, in the next decade the growth was only slightly over 3%. By countries of origin the USA has been the most important source of tourism, though its percentage of the total -like that most of other areas of provenance- has oscillated over the years. While in 1960 Americans represented 23% of the total, by 1970 they had increased to 36% of the total and in 1988 they had dramatically risen to 41% of the total. The percentage of tourists from CARICOM countries has progressively decreased over the years: 41% in 1960, 21% in 1970, 22% in 1980 and 15% in 1987. Canada provided 10% of tourists in 1960, 25% in 1970, 23% in 1980 and 15% in 1987. The UK starting from a very low percentage of the market (6% in 1960), it increased to 8% in 1970, 15% in 1980 and 19% in 1987.

Tourism is an extremely volatile industry, and in addition to being sensitive to a variety of non-economic factors (particularly level of service and personal safety), it depends very much on the general economic situation of the countries which provide the tourists as well as on the level of the prices of the host country. The period from Independence until 1973 was one of sustained tourist growth, particularly with visitors from the North American market. A combination of cheap airline fares and reasonable local prices induced package tours to target Barbados as one of their main Caribbean attractions. In the aftermath of the world economic crisis of 1973, the American market plummeted and the Canadian one barely grew. The European market gen-

erally did better, including an increase of British tourists of about 15% between 1973 and 1976. The tourist growth during the period of crisis was negligible. After 1976 there were three years of rapid growth (from 224,000 tourists in 1976 to 371,000 in 1979) during which the contribution of tourism to the Barbadian economy practically doubled. Again, the main thrust in these years came from European markets. Between 1979 and 1982 the actual number of tourists decreased; the US and world recessions of 1980-82, and the increase in Barbadian prices account for the tourist crisis. In addition, promotional activities were not as intensive as they needed to be. The period between 1982 and 1990 has seen a steady increase in both arrivals and expenditures, but there are obvious dangers, particularly the fact that Barbados is becoming less competitive. Excessive taxes on the tourist industry are the main cause of the progressive increase in Barbadian prices. Furthermore, the type of tourists coming to the island is changing: they tend to be less well to do, spend less money and stay a shorter time. Finally, the increase in racial tension and in crime could diminish the appeal of the island to foreign visitors.

Tourism tends to generate less employment than other sectors of the economy. There are no reliable statistics concerning the number of people employed in the tourist sector of Barbados. Traditionally, a distinction is made between direct (hotels, restaurants, etc.) and indirect (transport, construction, etc.) employment, but the second is very difficult to estimate. Dawn Marshall has suggested a ratio of 1:1, but government sources have indicated a higher ratio, up to 1:2. In 1960 there were about 2000 people directly employed in tourism; this figure had doubled by 1970; by 1975 the industry employed 5000 people. After that date there was a decline, and by 1985 about 4200 persons were employed by the sector. In the past few years the tourist industry has tended to be less labour intensive (due to more self-catering), hence generating less employment growth than expected. Furthermore, tourism in Barbados is rather seasonal (it peaks in the winter season, that is, from December to April), with the effect that rates of room occupancy have tended to be much lower during the hot season (particularly from July to September) and employment has slackened. The type of employment created by tourism requires skills in a variety of areas: from construction workers to waiters, from maids to chefs, from hotel managers to tour operators, from taxi drivers to jacks-of-all-trades, etc. The government has been aware of the importance of the industry for a number of years and has tried to create a pleasant environment to attract tourists to the island. "Tourism is our business", goes the TV slogan, reminding Barbadians that they can easily kill the hen that lays the golden eggs if they forget manners and politeness towards foreign visitors.

In addition to direct and indirect employment, tourism has also generated an informal sector, generally consisting of people placed at the lower level of the educational scale. I am referring to the area of petty traders which includes fruit sellers, beach vendors, hair braiders, etc. These are people who would otherwise be unemployed; they tend to be young, unwilling to work in any other area and usually unskilled. The government of Barbados and the tourist industry in general see this informal sector as a nuisance and an activity potentially damaging to tourism. Some beach vendors (particularly coral vendors) are perceived by most tourists as pushy (though Americans tolerate them better); they often peddle drugs along with coral. They tend to be young men, elegantly dressed and using quite aggressive selling techniques. There have been some attempts to register beach vendors, but with only limited success. About 2000 people work at present in this informal sector.

The formal educational system has done little to encourage a friendly and receptive attitude to tourists among Barbadian children, although there are constant admonitions that it should be part of the curriculum (perhaps as a section of civics). Politeness and friendliness to tourists

(who are mostly white) are often perceived by the younger generation as a sign of servitude comparable to that of the subjected colonial mentality. As has been noted, both the Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic and the Barbados Community College have on the whole responded rapidly and efficiently to the immediate demands of the tourist industry by providing a great variety of tailor-made courses. The same cannot be said about the University which has looked at tourism disdainfully, and has not made provisions for example for an undergraduate or a masters degree in tourism.

POLITICS AND EDUCATION

In a region characterised at the political level by instability, polarisation and violence in the past thirty years, Barbados has been an oasis of parliamentary democracy, social consensus and peace. Since Independence, political life has been dominated by two parties -the Barbados Labour Party and the Democratic Labour Party- espousing similar social democratic reformist philosophies, that is, committed to a gradualist improvement of the total well-being of the community by democratic means. The major transformations of Barbadian society occurred under the aegis of the DLP, led by Errol Barrow, which was in power between 1961 and 1976; the stint of the BLP in power between 1976 to 1986 under the leadership of Tom Adams (who died in 1985) did not mean a change of the general political philosophy of the country. With Barrow's death in 1987, came the end of an era and the exhaustion of the post-Independence political dynamics. Both Barrow and Adams (who was the son of Grantley Adams) had certain charismatic features, as well as a certain unfulfilled authoritarianism; they were popular leaders and emanated authority. The DLP, which won the 1986 elections, is at present led by the more subdued figure of Erskine Sandiford. By 1989 a splinter group of the DLP constituted a new party, the National Democratic Party, under the leadership of Richie Haynes. It is too early to know how important this split will be in the political life of the country. In any case, at a time when the thrust that characterised the post-1960 period is coming to a halt (partly because many of the objectives set out at that time have been achieved), and no new vision for the future has yet emerged, the increasing politicization of race in the society as a whole and also at the party political level, casts some doubts on the political future of the country.

It has already been mentioned that although Independence came to Barbados in 1966, the period between 1961 and 1966 saw radical changes in governmental policies, particularly in the area of education. It is true that when Barbados entered the decade of the 1960s, the country had already obtained a large degree of internal self-government. At the political level, the period of the late 1950s and early 1960s was dominated by the fate of the Federation of the West Indies in the context of the movement of political emancipation from colonial tutelage. Both the BLP and the DLP were federally oriented (the DLP less wholeheartedly), but believed that the Federation could only be successful if at the same time they were pushing for independence from the UK. Many of the small islands were convinced that they were too small to be economically viable on their own. But by 1962, after Jamaica had withdrawn its support for the Federation and Trinidad had put forward its plans for a unitary state, the demise of the Federation was inevitable. After this fiasco, Barbados decided to achieve independence on its own, albeit after some failed attempts were made to create a smaller federation with the small Eastern Caribbean islands.

The victory of the DLP in 1961 with 14 seats out of 24 in the House of Assembly (the BLP obtained only 5 seats although it actually polled slightly more votes than the DLP in total) came as a surprise to many political observers. The 1956 election had been about which party was likely to further enhance industrial and political development. Because the BLP under Grant-

ley Adams had been associated with a number of political achievements in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and, because at the level of industrial development all parties adhered to the Puerto Rican model, the 1956 victory went to Adams in acknowledgement of his past achievements. It is interesting to note, however, that although educational issues were part of the electoral campaign, they were far from being paramount. There is no doubt that there was a growing demand for education which the educational system was unable to satisfy; as a result, private schools mushroomed to take advantage of the situation. During its term in office the BLP was unable to satisfy the promises to encourage industrialization to a sufficient level so as to alleviate unemployment; indeed, on the contrary, the number of people without work grew and the government had to encourage migration to the UK, the absence of Grantley Adams from Barbados (he was appointed Federal Premier Minister in 1958) did not help the BLP's popularity. By the time of the 1961 election, the dominant factor was education. The record of the government in the 1956 to 1961 period was poor; it had failed to tackle the growing educational problems of the country, particularly the dearth lack of schools at both the primary and secondary levels. The BLP was not willing to engage in the kind of expenditure required to create an educational system which would pave the way to economic development by providing a well-trained work force at all levels.

One of the key electoral appeals of the DLP in its 1961 Manifesto (which was centred on education) was the electoral promise to provide free schooling aid to private schools and hot school meals. This commitment was already present in the 1956 Manifesto, but by 1961 the popular clamour for better education was much more powerful and reverberated in the media. The press tended to concentrate their reporting of the election campaign around the issue of education, insisting that this was the time for choosing the party which would take education seriously. Although it would be untrue to suggest that the BLP was not equally committed to the development of education, the party was not in favour of introducing free education all at once, but was rather inclined to slower progress towards this objective. It was obvious that this gamble did not pay off electorally. On the other side, the DLP pounded the electorate daily with a dose of educational issues, insisting that they would provide an educational system which would not only prepare the individual pupil for personal development, but that would also enrich the community both economically and culturally. The fact that the teaching profession was extremely unhappy with the government, largely for financial reasons, also contributed to make education the main focus of the election. To be sure, the DLP also made a wide range of promises to diversify the economy of the island and to encourage foreign investment, but educational issues were decisive.

It must be emphasised that the victorious DLP kept its promises, particularly in the area of education. The aim that each child should have a good education was paramount in the DLP policies of the early sixties. In 1962, the DLP abolished fees in public secondary schools and made provisions for the teaching of technical and vocational subjects in 10 schools (6 grammar schools for boys and 4 comprehensives). In the next year, a programme for free school meals for primary school pupils was introduced. In the same year, the College of Arts and Sciences of the UWI was opened. In 1964 the Barrow government opened a new secondary school: Springer Memorial (to be followed by Ellerslie in 1966). With the development of tourism the government saw the need to create an institution to train the personnel; this led to the opening of the Barbados Hotel School. By 1966 the government had achieved the objective of providing free education for all children in the primary and secondary schools of the public sector. In addition, assistance was made available in 1965 to 16 approved private schools in the form of 1500 pupil

grants. It is not surprising that by the end of the decade Barbados was ahead of most Caribbean countries in the area of providing basic primary and secondary education.

The DLP also introduced legislation in 1963 to encourage industrial development; by 1966 around 2500 industrial jobs had been generated. In the area of housing, although not enough was done, accommodation was provided by the government at a rate of about 150 units a year. In the context of moving towards independence both the DLP and BLP insisted on the democratization of government. The colonial bureaucracy had to be restructured so as to ensure that decisions would be taken by the democratically elected parliament rather than by the "experts" appointed by the Crown.

In 1966, when Barbadians went the polls again, they trusted the DLP not only to take them to independence, but also to another period of economic development. In their electoral manifesto the DLP emphasized that the way to achieve this objective would be by expanding industry and tourism in the context of continuous investment in human capital (education). The BLP paid much more attention to the question of unemployment and welfare in general. That the majority of the electorate was contented with the way in which the DLP had conducted the affairs of state while in office, it was clearly reflected in the electoral results: the DLP obtained 50% of the vote and ended up with 14 seats, while only 32% of the voters casted their ballot for the BLP (8 seats); the Barbados National Party, with 10% of the vote, was allocated 2 seats. On the 30th of November 1966 Errol Barrow became the Prime Minister of the newly independent island state of Barbados.

Between 1966 and 1971 the economic achievements of the country were very visible; many industrial sectors grew, and so did tourism. Around 1000 new industrial jobs were created in this period. Most economists believe that this was the first time that the standards of living of the population increased to such a level as to lift Barbados from the status of being a poorly developed country. All the indicators of quality of life point to the fact that the majority of the population benefited from these developments. Educationally speaking the major developments of this period were the creation of two institutions of tertiary education: the Barbados Community College and the Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic in 1970. In addition, the Barrow government made available new site at Cave Hill for the Barbados campus of the UWI in 1967. A further new secondary school was built in 1971 (St. Lucy), while the School Libraries Mobile Service was introduced in 1968. By the end of the sixties it also became obvious that television could play an educational role, so the government introduced educational programmes to the state-owned television station.

Although the DLP retained power in 1971 with an increased majority, 57.4% of the vote and 18 seats, as against 42.4% and 6 seats for the BLP, some signs of crisis were appearing in the horizon. To start with, inflation at about 10% was worrying, and at the same time the economy experienced no real growth. More important was the social and political unrest which came under the black power label around 1970. This was a regional phenomenon, and although in Barbados it failed to make a noticeable impact as a mass movement, it worried the government enough to pass the Public Order Act of 1970 and to suppress any activity which could be construed as subversive. However, the issues raised by the black activists had a profound impact on the political culture of Barbados. Issues such as the identity, the dignity and the economic power of the black masses could no longer be ignored altogether. The DLP saw no contradiction in passing the Act while a year later it conducted an electoral campaign aimed at associating the BLP with the interests of the racist white minority.

The 1970s, the final years of the long period in office of the DLP were characterised by an un-

precedented economic crisis, partly triggered-off by the increase in oil prices in 1973-74. Inflation rocketed: by 1974 food prices had practically doubled as compared to 1970. The government was unable to solve the pressing economic problems of the country, so inflation continued and there was growth in unemployment with most economic sectors (but particularly industry) feeling the pinch. The majority of the population was affected in one way or another by the crisis. At the constitutional level, a number of changes proposed by Barrow concerning the independence of parliamentarians, the legal profession, the civil service and the Church, were received very critically.

At the educational level the Barrow government was still able to achieve a number of objectives. It opened another secondary school in 1972 (St. George), as well as a number of educational facilities for pupils with special needs in 1975 and 1976. The School of Education of the UWI started its Post-Graduate In-Service Diploma in Education in 1973, so that graduate teachers no longer needed to go to Jamaica for this course. Perhaps the most important development was the raising of the school leaving age from 14 to 16 years in 1976. Finally, the principle of co-education was introduced into the system. A survey of political socialization realised at the time showed that 33% of Barbadian school leavers aspired to get a job immediately, while 31% were hoping to attend university and 23% did not know what they were going to do.

The 1976 election saw no major changes in the pattern that had characterized Barbadian politics since the 1960s: both parties agreed to differ only in minor areas, while embracing a model of political and economic development that could be labelled capitalism with a social-democratic face. However, the BLP under the leadership of Tom Adams exploited the weaknesses of the DLP, particularly in the area of corruption, and castigated attempts by the party to curtail the democratic way of life. While the economic proposals were similar for both parties, the emphasis of the BLP on creating 3600 jobs touched a sore point of the latter DLP years. At the same time they promised extensive social reforms in the direction of a free national health service. In the area of education they contemplated the abolition of the Common Entrance Examination.

The electoral results gave the BLP 52.7% of the vote and 17 seats, and the DLP 46.4% of the vote and 7 seats. The economic achievements of the BLP during its first term of office were quite notable: real growth of about 2% a year, a major reduction in unemployment to half of what it was in 1976 and a major increase in investment (doubling of the 1976 figure). There was a general recovery of the economy with a visible improvement in the standard of living of ordinary Barbadians. In education, the BLP continued the policies of the DLP; two new secondary schools were created between 1976 and 1981: Roebuck in 1976 and St. James in 1979. An important new development was the planned construction of 10 new primary schools with the help of the World Bank. In addition, the facilities of a number of secondary schools were improved. The Education Act of 1981 (implemented in 1983) was conceived to democratize and to introduce the principle of equality in the educational system. The opinion of Mrs. Enid Lynch (a BLP senator) in 1981, that "the development of educational facilities during Tom Adams first term of government was the greatest such enterprise to be undertaken in the island since the days of William Hart Coleridge", is, however, somewhat exaggerated. The truth of the matter is that by the time the BLP came to power, the major educational reforms had already been introduced by the Barrow government. This, incidentally, is well-recognized by educationalists such as Erskine Rawlins, Elsie Payne and Leonard Shorey. It would be another matter and much more accurate to say that, on the whole, the BLP manifestoes of the 1960s and 1970s were as committed to further the development of education as those of the DLP.

It would be fair to say that by 1981, when the BLP was returned to office with a majority of 17

seats as against 10 for the DLP (the Assembly had been enlarged to 27 seats) the reasons for the electoral success were not its educational achievements, but mainly its economic and social record. Although it would not be true to say that Barbados was endowed with a perfect educational system, in the 1980s no major changes were made to it. There was room for improving primary and secondary schools, as well as for the building of a few more schools at both levels that was done. In the late 1970s and early 1980s the BLP sought the implementation of educational ideas which were common to both parties: raising the school leaving age to 16, a policy of co-education and a decentralization of technical education so that rural areas would have a better access to it. In spite of repeated promises of democratization from both parties, the distinction between older and newer secondary schools has prevailed and the mechanism that allows this to continue (the Common Entrance Examination or the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination) has not been abolished (perhaps because in the absence of a clear alternative, the public outcry that would follow is something that no party is willing to risk). The establishment of the Barbados Community College, with an 'A' level section, was no doubt a way of democratizing the system and expanding it to incorporate more people. The idea of educational zoning was widely debated in the early 1980s and accepted in principle by both parties, but it failed to capture the consensus of the Barbadian people. It is true that zoning without upgrading the poorly-endowed schools would be unfair. In the 1983-1988 Development Plan a number of objectives were programmed for secondary schools, including the use of new technology and the increase of technical and vocational studies. By the end of the decade it was clear that neither of these objectives had been fully achieved.

The general election of 1986 brought a resounding victory to the DLP (60% of the vote and 24 out of 27 seats). It was not that after 10 years in power the BLP had exhausted its momentum, or that the DLP had presented an original and appealing alternative. Two factors seem to have contributed to the electoral success of the DLP: the deterioration of the economic situation of the country (unemployment up to 20%, high income taxes, etc.) and the "racial factor" the accusation that the BLP was manipulated by "white shadows". It is not really possible to assess the relative importance of each of these factors. The racial question was brought into the open by Donald Blackman (who had been a minister in three BLP cabinets, but by 1986 had joined the DLP). He maintained that the white elite was essentially racist and that it had not only economic but also political power, the latter through the complicity of the BLP, hence the expression "white shadow". Dr. Blackman managed to focus the election around this racial issue; the BLP attempted to counteract his popularity (he gathered 20,000 people in one of his meetings) by saying that he encouraged black racism -but to no avail with the masses.

Some of the measures taken by Barrow after the election (tax reform, job creation scheme, budget reduction, etc.) were generally welcomed. After his death in 1987, Erskine Sandiford promised to continue his policies. However, the intra-party squabbles started in the same year, when Richie Haynes, Minister of Finances, resigned over the Prime Minister's policy of increasing taxes again. This led to the creation of the National Democratic Party in 1989, which meant that the DLP lost four seats.

RACE, CLASS AND EDUCATION

TRADITIONALLY Barbados was a rigidly divided society along racial and class lines; economic, political and military power were concentrated in the small, white plantocracy. The majority of the population -the original slaves- were landless and powerless blacks, totally subordinated and at the mercy of the white minority planters. Two other groups were also present in inter-

stitial positions: the poor, geographically located, marginal whites and the thriving and mobile coloureds. Notwithstanding some occasional collective outbursts and violence, Barbados was a relatively conflict-free, well-integrated and consensuated society. The "little England" ideology (and hence the absence of strong African traditions), the wide, popular appeal of a powerful and conservative Anglican Church, the safety valve of migration and the belief that progress, no matter how slow, was at least possible, all contributed to create a conformist society. This state of things lasted approximately until the 1930s. There followed what could be referred to as a reformist oriented society, in which the basic traditional structures of power were challenged by democratic means. From the perspective of 1990 there is little doubt that major changes have taken place. Nobody can dispute that at the political level there was a total "negrification" of the system; however, at the economic level the issue remains more controversial in so far as the white elite is still strongly entrenched in a dominant position in both industry and business. But, does that mean that there has been no shift in the relative economic positions of the different racial and class groupings? And, to what extent has education contributed to further or to block socio-economic mobility?

In broadoutline, the major changes in the racial and class structure of the country over approximately the past fifty years have been the following:

- 1) A consolidation of the agro-commercial bourgeoisie. This is not the old plantocracy modernized, but to a large extent a new class in so far as it incorporates newcomers, people whose ancestors were not planters, but poor whites two or three generations back. At the time of Independence a number of whites left the island and settled elsewhere (USA and the white Commonwealth). Those remaining tend to have their children educated partly or totally abroad.
- 2) The influx of two small but influential groups of people. Firstly, with the increase of foreign investment in the areas of industry and tourism, a small but economically powerful group of white expatriates came to Barbados to occupy middle to top managerial positions in the new firms. They integrated easily into the white Barbadian minority. Secondly, from the 1950s a small number of East Indians came to Barbados from elsewhere in the Caribbean and from the Indian subcontinent mostly as peddlars. They have managed to raise themselves into the middle to big size range of business. Today they constitute less than 1% of the population. As we shall see, although the East Indians are not an homogeneous group in themselves, they have preserved their cultural identity, which keeps them apart from both blacks and whites. They put high value on traditional educational ideas (discipline, etc.) and make sure that their children are well-prepared to obtain high scores in the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination so that they enter the most prestigious secondary schools.
- 3) The appearance of a black middle class. A large percentage of the members of this class belong to the professions and the civil service, though they are also found in business and manufacturing. However, while they are totally dominant in the professions and the civil service, blacks are grossly underrepresented in the other two areas. Throughout the historical period under consideration, political democratisation and education have gone hand in hand, facilitating the emergence of this class and the breaking of the white and coloured quasi-monopolies in these areas. As a result of these developments, there has been a spatial distancing effect between the new black middle class and the black working class; while the latter live in villages, the former live in the new housing developments of the "heights" and "terraces". Economic expansion started in the late 50s, and the coming of Independence accelerated the process by opening more positions to those black people who were able to profit from the increasing educational facilities.

4) The stability of the coloured population. On the whole, light coloured people have maintained their privileged position in society; they are a small circulating elite which, in so far as it can pass-as-white, moves more freely from the professions, to industry, to commerce and to politics. It is part of their historical outlook to value education highly.

5) The diversification of the black working class. Barbados has moved from being a sugar-oriented economy to a country in which industry and tourism are prominent and agriculture plays second or third fiddle. In addition, with the expansion of the public sector, a vast number of white-collar jobs have appeared. In this area, many educational changes which took place in the 1960s were tailor-made to fit these developments.

6) The slow disappearance of the poor whites. The remnants of the red legs are still located in certain rural area and have an economic status no different from poor rural blacks. Progressively, some have been moving out to Bridgetown or they have been migrating abroad. They are numerically dwindling and will cease to be a distinctive group in the near future. Those in the rural settings do not make full use of the educational facilities available, perhaps because they do not perceive much benefit in education, or because they are culturally extremely inward-looking.

There are two facts that are well-established in terms of evidence, and that hence are not open to dispute: the corporate private economy of Barbados is owned and controlled by a small white elite, and a marked racial division still prevails in the island. From these two statements two very different elaborations have followed. The radical school has maintained that the changes that have taken place in the past fifty years have not challenged the traditional racial and class structure, while the social-democratic school has sustained the view that Barbados has undergone a silent structural revolution. While the former point out that the biggest corporate conglomerates such as Barbados Shipping and Trading, Plantations, Goddard's, and Industrial Enterprises, as well as the main employers' organisations (the Barbados Chamber of Commerce, Barbados Manufacturers, etc.) are dominated by white elites, the latter emphasise that the locus of economic power has partly shifted towards the state which now plays a prominent role in the Barbadian economy. More or less explicit in the argument of the radical school is the assumption that Barbados is essentially an economically unequal society and this inequality follows racial lines: the social democratic school, without denying the existence of inequalities, points out that, unlike in many other Third World countries, the differences are not extreme and that through education large numbers of people have become upwardly mobile. The radical school maintains that white Barbadians are racist and enforce a *de facto* racial discrimination in the private economic sector that they control (by barring access of blacks to middle and high rank managerial posts and by blocking black entrepreneurs through credit restriction), and in addition they opt for separate social lives and they marry either among each other or they find white partners abroad. The social democratic school, without denying the racialist overtones of many white Barbadians, emphasise the fact that black people have progressed in many areas, not only in government, in education, and in the professions, but even in the private economic sector where blacks are reaching higher positions.

Courtney N. Blackman, one of the outstanding Barbadian economists, has pointed out that Barbados today can be compared to the less developed of the developed countries. The economic changes that the country underwent were quite dramatic; a look at a variety of indicators of quality of life places Barbados among the quasi-developed countries, ahead of Greece and Portugal within the EC. Although poverty still exists and unemployment is relatively high,

wealth is better distributed than in many other countries. The main point to be emphasised here is that the majority of the population enjoy a reasonable standard of living, having access to what are considered the basic goods and services that satisfy basic needs as socially defined. Blackman's major argument is against those who suggest that there have been no important changes in the locus of economic power in Barbadian society in the past fifty years. His criticisms are addressed against those who defend a narrow conception of economic power; for him economic power is "the ability to make effective decisions about the use of significant blocks of wealth and the expenditure of large sums of money". The Barbadian government is in precisely such a position because it has access to more resources than any private entrepreneurs; in a country where government expenditure is around 35% of the total national expenditure, surely it must play an important role and the state is without doubt the redistributive agent that has impeded the possible polarisation of Barbados along Third World lines, with a small rich minority and a large poor majority.

An interesting problem is why a black indigenous capitalist class did not develop to any great extent. The radical school maintains that blacks have been denied access to this sector through a variety of blocking practices. In addition, the encouragement to foreign capital did not help the formation of a local bourgeoisie. These statements may well be true to a certain extent, but are they the only reasons? It is a fact that there is a thriving black small business community, but they have difficulty in expanding. Different explanations are offered; the most common is that the financial institutions, which are controlled by whites, make credit difficult to come by; the banks say that this is not a racially inspired policy, but simply a response to the fact that most of these businesses are poor financial risks. In addition, it has been said that many small black businesses lack the managerial skills to make the big jump, and hence when they do, the rate of bankruptcies is high. There is, however, another cultural factor which is an obstacle to the emergence of a black business class: this is the belief that this is an area the whites have reserved for themselves and that no amount of effort made by blacks can lead to success. In addition it is not so much that young, bright black Barbadians have no alternative but to go into the professions or the civil service, but that they despise the entrepreneurial culture.

One non-white group which has managed to create for itself a privileged position within the Barbadian economy is the East Indians. In a few years they have made tremendous strides in the commercial sector. They started as itinerant salesmen, giving credit to poor, rural Barbadians. At present they have moved into retail dealing, mostly in clothing, but they have also gone into industry, tourism, etc. In the racial demonology of the black masses, they are now seen as alien exploiters. The fact that East Indians have preserved their language(s) and culture(s) of origin has distanced them from the majority of the Barbadian population. In the past few years they have figured prominently in calypsoes and they are the subject of hostile and aggressive feelings which border on anti-Indian racism. They are considered a threat to black business and they are seen as generally unpatriotic. More generally, people resent their economic success. In the past few years, racial issues have been much more in the open than they ever were in the past. If a precise date were required, the 1986 elections mark the dividing line. Certainly, prior to 1986 there had been instances of racial arguments, in particular in the early 70s there were racial tensions following the black power movement, but they were nipped in the bud by Barrow's swift intervention. At elections racial invectives might be used, but things would soon settle down. However, after the Blackman factor in the 1986 election, racial discussions, arguments and tensions have been on the increase, to the point that they have dominated much

of the recent discourse of Barbadian society as it is expressed in the media and in private political discussions. Events such as the decisions by Dr. Blackman, the Minister of Transport, to award a major contract for highway construction to a black bidder independent of whether the tender was the best and most economical one (and to justify it in terms of "redressing historical injustices"), as well as the failed attempt, preceded by a vigorous and at times vicious campaign, by black power activists to capture positions on the board of the Barbados Mutual (an insurance company which is one of the most important financial institutions in the country and in the region), have raised the level of racial confrontation to hitherto unheard pitches. Barbadian society is divided as to the desirability of having the racial issue in the open. While the establishment and the new black middle class are opposed to anything that could challenge the carefully woven status quo, the black power activists often find resonance in sectors of the lower middle and lower classes, who see in the white (or Indian) minority an easy scapegoat for their lack of economic success. A few DLP politicians are also willing to use racial demagoguery to consolidate their positions among the masses, particularly when they can score racial points against their arch rivals in the BLP; whose leader, Henry Forde, is often accused of being a "stoolpigeon" for white interests. Those black public figures who are outspoken against the politicisation of race are often scorned by black power militants with insults such as "house-niggers" or "Uncle Toms".

Comparison of the social structure of Barbados in 1940 and in 1990, or even in 1960 and 1990, produces a picture of tremendous contrast. While in the early period, Barbados was a poor, colonial country with a sugar-oriented economy and a rigidly divided structure along racial and class lines, today it is a reasonably wealthy, independent country with a diversified economy and a new and more flexible racial and class structure. There is little doubt that education has played a major role in these changes. Without a free, competitive educational system from primary to tertiary levels, the black population would not have been able to take advantage of the opportunities that economic development has brought to the island. As has been mentioned before, the decade of the 1960s was decisive in educational matters. All recent studies of social change in Barbados show that the pre-condition for inter-generational mobility over the past two or three generations has been to have reached higher levels than primary education, usually secondary education plus professional training or university education. It might rightly be argued that the educational system is elitist, but no longer along colour lines. Prior to 1959, the top secondary schools were monopolised by the white minority, even if some coloured and black children also had access to them. It would be true to say that the top secondary schools are still class biased, but this is because middle class parents make sure that their children are well prepared, with coaching if necessary, in order that they succeed in the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination; this is a problem of circumventing meritocracy, but it is not a racial issue.

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

THE development of the educational system in Barbados has followed closely the development of the British system, at least until recent years, and the situation of women within that system, both as pupils and as teachers, has been no exception. With the first major flourishing of schools in Barbados in the nineteenth century, most of the provision was limited to primary education. There were more or less equal numbers of boys and girls attending these schools, attributable particularly to the lack of parental discrimination as to the importance of education to children of both sexes. However, the pupils were segregated into separate classes, and the beginnings of a pattern which later developed more strongly can be seen, whereby rather less was expected of

girls academically (there is evidence that girls only learnt reading whilst boys did the full three Rs) and different vocational-type subjects were taught to the two sexes (e.g. needlework for girls and carpentry for boys). Secondary education at this time was provided only for a limited number from the middle classes, mostly boys. It wasn't until after the Mithcinson Report of 1875 that the first two girls' secondary schools were founded, namely a first grade school, Queen's College in 1881, and a second grade school, Alexandra, in 1896. The reasons for the Report's recommendation for the creation of secondary schools for girls were typical of middle class thinking of the time, that better educated mothers could provide better influence on their children's development. This idea of the role of women being to serve others as mothers and as wives, limiting activities to the home was a reality for white middle class women and the education provided for them was clearly not intended to broaden their horizons or opportunities. Similar thinking influenced the curriculum of the primary schools although lower class women lead very different lives from those of the middle classes both in Britain where the ideas originated and in Barbados. The curriculum of the new girls' secondary schools resembled that of second grade boys' schools, with the addition of "civilising" subjects such as music, drawing and singing and domestic subjects. However, despite its limitations, the extension of secondary education to some girls was an important step forward and a stepping stone to later developments. No doubt making use of the rudimentary education afforded them, some Barbadian women, mostly coloured, developed their own small businesses in the nineteenth century ranging from domestic services such as dressmaking to the running of guest houses, so beginning a tradition of independent business activity amongst women. However, amongst the black majority, whilst men were developing craftsmen's skills, some of which were started in schools, most women of the same group remained unskilled agricultural labourers.

With the expansion of the education system in the twentieth century, and particularly with the accelerated increase in secondary education from the 1950s, girls benefited as well as boys, though at the secondary level this benefit was not always equal, especially in the early period. During this time, there were more than twice as many places for boys in secondary schools than for girls, there were fewer scholarships to girls' schools, the curricula were more restricted, physical facilities were inferior in girls' schools, and the teaching provision was poorer. It was just not considered as important to educate girls as it was to educate boys who were expected to fill the professional and administrative posts available to those with secondary education and higher education. Girls' education was still largely seen as preparation for homemaking and motherhood and when its development was recommended it was with this in mind. The Moyne Commission of 1939 (reporting in 1945) said that girls' education should be expanded so that they could provide better marital companionship. However, their report also recommended curricular expansion in the more academic girls' secondary schools to enable their pupils to compete equally for entrance to teaching and other professions which limited numbers were beginning to join.

Nursery and primary education have for long mostly taken place in mixed schools, and with the recent trend towards amalgamation of primary schools, single sex primary education is becoming increasingly rare. At this stage, at least in so far as the formal curriculum is concerned, girls and boys receive the same education. However, early education clearly does not combat forces causing strong sex-stereotyping of subject choices in later years, and it may well play a role in the socialising of children resulting in this differentiation.

With fewer girls' secondary schools built in earlier years, there were fewer places for girls at older secondary schools, until the recent trend to co-education and policy changes following the Shorey Report of 1974. This was despite the higher number of female entrants for the Sec-

ondary Schools Entrance Examination, and their consistently higher marks in the exam. This situation persisted as late as the mid-1970s, so denying generations of girls access to an academic secondary education on the same grounds as their male peers. As well as helping to adjust this balance, the trend to co-education has also opened up the better equipped and resourced boys' schools to girls. Places are now awarded more or less equally to the sexes, although some account is taken of the generally poorer performance of boys at age 11.

As well as being discriminated against in access to the older secondary schools, girls were also discriminated against generally in access to secondary education until the mid-1970s, fewer girls gaining entrance to any secondary school until 1976. This is an important cut-off point in opportunity in the Barbadian education system and the imbalance in treatment of the sexes was a clear reflection of the lesser importance given to girls education by the controlling authorities. However, since this time, girls have fared better than boys, fewer of their number being consigned to vocational centres or senior schools, or to the senior forms of composite schools, where only a very limited education is available. Indeed the imbalance of the sexes in these schools is now clearly in favour of girls; the most recent published Ministry figures for 1983-84 reflecting a growing trend for there to be many more boys than girls in these schools, with 2119 boys to only 826 girls.

Before the recent increase in co-educational secondary schools, the curricula in girls' and boys' schools were significantly different, particularly for non-academic subjects. In girls' schools, domestic science and commercial subjects were the most commonly offered, whereas in boys' schools the industrial arts such as woodwork and metalwork were taken. This divide was particularly clearer in the newer secondaries which aimed to give a more vocational education, and even where schools were mixed, classes were often divided by sex for these subjects. In addition, at girls' schools, facilities for the sciences other than biology were often completely lacking. The National Commission on the Status of Women in Barbados, which reported in 1978, noted this situation and recommended various measures to overcome the differentiation of education provision for the sexes, seeing it as limiting the opportunities for girls in particular. Since then, the situation has become less obviously divided with increased co-education and common non-academic subjects for boys and girls in the early years of secondary school - increasingly both sexes do home economics and the industrial arts- and both have the opportunity to study the physical sciences. However beyond this opening up of opportunity and degree of compulsion to at least taste a wider range of subjects, when pupils are offered choice in higher forms, the old divisions along sex-lines commonly persist. A few boys may choose cookery and few girls metalwork, but these classes still generally reflect the age-old gender division, and girls still tend to shy away from the Physical sciences. These divisions tend to act to the detriment of girls for example in limiting their employment opportunities and the possibility of their attaining higher paying, higher status jobs. The much more complex, problems of socialisation of gender roles which are markedly different have to be tackled in order to raise the status of women in Barbadian society.

At age 16, most Barbadian schoolchildren leave school. At this stage, girls have persistently left schools with better qualifications for some years. Since the mid-60s at least, more girls have gained the Barbados Secondary School certificates. Since, at least the late-70s they have also passed more Certificate and the London Chamber of Commerce certificates. Since at least the late-70s they have also passed more of the higher level 'O' level or CXC exams. More girls than boys stay on to do an additional year at schools in the newer secondaries where they can improve their achievements in these qualifications. However, until very recently, in the mid-80s,

fewer girls than boys stayed on at school to tackle 'A' levels, the next stage on the academic ladder (data only available on sixth forms and not for the Barbados Community College). However, the number of girls passing 'A' level subjects has been higher since the late-70s at least, although of those achieving three or more 'A' levels, there have usually been more boys. At this top level, boys have at least until very recently been achieving better. Girls have done better overall in school education, but at the top it is only in the last few years that they have caught up with all boys. The reasons for this are difficult to entangle but they might include discrimination in selection for sixth-forms until recent **the top it is only in the last few years that they have caught up with bht boys**. The reasons for this are difficult to entangle but they might include discrimination in selection for sixth-forms until centralisation of procedures, differential teacher encouragement for excellence, and differential socialisation for the value of academic success.

Following the academic route, enrollment at the Cave Hill campus of the University of the West Indies has shown a gradual trend to increasing numbers of female students. In 1964-65 only 25% of students enrolled for first degrees were women, but by 1983-84 this had increased to 52%, and it reached 55% by 1987-88. Enrollment for certificates and diplomas showed a similar trend reaching 53% females in 1983-84 and 52% in 1987-88. For higher degrees, too, by 1987-88, 52% of enrolled students were women. However, the overall state of equality attained by the late-80s, disguises underlying differences in subject students in the Natural Sciences Faculty were male and in the Arts and General Studies specialisation which continue to reflect traditional patterns. In 1987-88, the clear majority of Faculty and Social Sciences Faculty there were more females. In law, women just outnumbered men, which goes against traditional trends, but in medicine, men heavily outnumber women. However, where these figures do imply the continuance of traditional patterns, they are not as marked as elsewhere in the Barbadian educational system, particularly in technical and lower level vocational training. In the Natural Sciences Faculty, for example, female students make up over a third of the enrollment. A different pattern is found at the Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic which offers vocational training, particularly in the traditional male areas of engineering, mechanics, carpentry, etc. In 1987-88 of a total of 1800 students, only 400 were female and 325 of these were to be found on courses in commercial studies and human ecology where there were only 35 male students. At this level, and in this type of education, sex-stereotypes are pervasive. This is apparently the result of socialisation of gender roles in respect of employment categories which is strongly differentiated in these areas. For long, the skilled craftsmen in Barbados have been male, since the beginnings of specialisation after Emancipation, and this pattern has become strongly entrenched.

The opposite pattern is found at Erdiston, the teacher training college, where females dominate enrollment, although not nearly so markedly, and males have made up about a third of the student body for at least the last 15 years. Typically, as one of the **aring professions**, teaching has attracted a large proportion of women. It has provided an important route for upward social mobility to a good salary and high status. In latter years, these qualities have been somewhat eroded as other opportunities have opened up in the post-colonial period. Some say that had teaching been male-dominated, it might have maintained its position better and that a female dominated profession is more easily allowed to slide. However, teaching still provides a good opportunity for women to enter a professional level career. Within the profession, though, women have not fared as well as their male counterparts in terms of promotion. For example, despite the larger numbers of women teachers, only one third of heads of government second-

ary schools were women in 1988, and only five out of eighteen heads of the coeducational schools. This situation of male domination at the top of staff hierarchies is also found in the tertiary institutions of the island, where until the appointment of a woman as principal of the Community College in 1988, all the heads had always been male.

At the Barbados Community College, female students outnumber male students, for example by 1049 to 743 in 1983-84. This is largely explained by the presence of the Divisions of Commerce and Health Sciences which provide vocational courses in traditionally female areas, although the balance is somewhat retrieved by the Division of Technology which is traditionally, and persistently, very male-dominated. The college has clearly increased opportunities for vocational training for women, and in this respect it helps to counterbalance the heavily male-dominated polytechnic, although the courses at the Community College are also at a higher level.

Since the earliest figures available from 1964-65, women have dominated the enrollment for adult education courses in Barbados, typically by as much as five to one. This represents both a desire to improve formal qualifications such as 'O' levels, and a greater interest in more general courses. Some special programmes have been designed for women, particularly by the Women and Development Unit of the Extra Mural Department, both to raise general awareness of their situation and to provide particular skill training and help with the setting up of small-scale income-earning enterprises.

In summary, whilst women have not always received equal educational opportunities to their male peers, they have benefited from the long tradition of education in Barbados and its recent great expansion. Quite clearcut gender divisions still persist, particularly in the choice of both academic and vocational study areas, although they are much more marked in the latter. In terms of qualifications, girls tend to achieve better than boys, except at the topmost levels, and very recently they have begun to overtake at the university level. Because of the considerable gender-bias at the Polytechnic, females are gaining far fewer technical qualifications in a much narrower range of specialisms than males.

Women have traditionally occupied central roles in Barbadian society as they have throughout the West Indies. Considerable prestige is attached to motherhood and homemaking and the woman who performs well in these areas is afforded high status. A large proportion of households are headed by women, around 40%, in many cases in the absence of a permanent resident male partner. Whilst lifelong marriage to one partner and children only from this union are the expectations of the upper levels of the middle class, unions in the lower and lower middle classes follow a different pattern. Women generally only have one sexual partner at a time and relationships may persist for a number of years, but they commonly have a series of such relationships, with children from several or all of them. Further, marriage generally occurs later in life, often not until the end of a woman's reproductive period, and most unions are either 'visiting' relationships, whereby partners do not reside together, or common-law relationships. A frequent pattern is for a woman to move sequentially through visiting to common-law relations and then to a marital union, though not necessarily with the same partner. Children are primarily the responsibility of their mother; fathers are expected to provide women with maintenance for their own children, but in practice this can be irregular and paternity may be denied. Women often view the birth of a child as a likely binding factor in a relationship, but there is evidence to show that relationships are actually most likely to break up during pregnancy

with the man leaving for another woman. The hope that children from a series of fathers will increase income from maintenance money is also not borne out by figures showing that women with more partners and more children are more likely to have to apply for welfare help. The relative instability of sexual unions in Barbados is a factor in the independence of men and women. Women generally value their independence and may prefer to live in their own household, and certainly to manage the household affairs and to have some financial independence. Kin and same-sex groups provide important support networks. Grandmothers, aunts and siblings give valuable assistance especially with childcare and female friends group together for purchasing, income-earning and social activities. Status within a community is an individual attribute, in which education level and income are important factors, as well as the roles of motherhood and homemaking for women. Women are not judged by their partners' positions. Income-earning ability can be enhanced greatly by education and so it plays an important part in increasing stature through occupation as well as the prestige which it bestows in itself.

Women have traditionally pursued mixed coping strategies, juggling their immediate domestic responsibilities and the need to provide income. In doing so, petty earning activities such as domestic services, hawking of fruit and vegetables, and seasonal agricultural work, have provided a suitable flexible solution for many women. Children may accompany their mothers or be left with relatives or friends. If household duties require, a woman may stay at home for a day or two and, for example, her goods may be sold for her by a friend until the problem is resolved. Motherhood itself may bring income through maintenance money and later through offspring, although education is compulsory to age sixteen and is highly valued so that it is unlikely to be sacrificed for immediate financial gain unless absolutely necessary. These traditional strategies, however, have suffered from some of the effects of the modernisation of the Barbadian economy. Street hawking has become less rewarding since the advent of large supermarkets and instead of selling their own produce, many hawkers actually purchase goods for sale from these new outlets, so cutting their profits and their independence. Personal domestic service, with the flexibility and other benefits an individual relationship can earn, has been a declining area of employment and domestic service in hotels and restaurants has increased, requiring more regular hours and commitment. Services such as seamstressing and washing are no longer so widely needed because of the easy availability of mass-produced clothes and electrical domestic appliances. Agriculture, too, has become increasingly mechanised so closing more possible temporary employment possibilities.

As well as their domestic roles, Barbadian women are active in many aspects of community life. They form the majority of most church and gospel hall congregations, and a large number of preachers in the less formal religious groups are women. Social events, particularly those centred around the church, picnics and other outings, are organised by women, as are many special interest groups.

In the teaching profession this is very noticeable in such groups as the Foreign Language Teachers Association and the Association for the Teaching of English where women provide leadership, motivating force and the organisational workforce. A major area of community life into which women have not moved is the realm of politics. Whilst they may play background organisational roles in constituency parties, they have rarely stood for election either for the local Vestries before their disbandment, or for the House of Assembly. The requirements of prospective elected representatives to brandish their personal qualities and beliefs, and to undermine those of their opponents are considered too dirty and unbecoming for women. As

such, except for a few notable exceptions, including the recent appointment of Dame Nita Barrow as Governor General, women have generally been excluded from the expanding field of political power. This extends to the trade unions, including the teachers' unions. Apart from the immediate past secretary of the BSTU, few women have held office in these organisations.

An important change in the lives of Barbadian women in the last thirty years has been the highly successful development of an island-wide Family Planning Association offering free contraceptive services. This was started in 1955 as a private concern and soon after it became a public service. At a time when Barbados was undergoing rapid social and economic change in the 1960s, conditions were very favourable for a successful drive to decrease the birth rate and so stem the fast increase in population. This occurred dramatically during the 60s and has continued since. A birth rate of 34 per thousand in 1960 fell to 20 by 1970 and again to 15 by 1987. The total fertility rate of women in 1955 was 4.2. This fell to 2.5 by 1970 and again to 2.1 in 1980. There is some argument over the importance of emigration in achieving these declines but analyses suggest that the uptake of family planning was the major cause. Evidence worldwide, and from Barbados itself, shows that education levels, as well as socioeconomic conditions, play important roles in the uptake and successful practice of contraception to limit family size. Without a fall in the birth rate, Barbados would probably have developed far more slowly as migration destinations were closing and resources would have had to have been used to provide services for an ever, and quite rapidly increasing population, rather than for improving conditions for a relatively stable number as has been the case. This has affected education as well as other areas, and the increased provision has been made considerably easier, and in many instances possible, by a stable and now falling schools role. So education has probably both helped to bring about and benefited from the fertility decline of the last thirty years.

Whilst women other than those of the white middle class have traditionally worked outside the home, there has been a varying percentage who have not worked at any one time. This may be voluntary or involuntary and the distinction can be difficult to make. Many women may like to take up some form of employment given the opportunity but suitable jobs may not be available. Over the past fifty years the female workforce has shown quite major changes, both in its overall size and in its dispersion between different sectors. This has been a period of great economic and social development and most importantly of structural changes, which have altered the types and conditions of work available. General progressive development during this period disguises some of the detrimental effects it has had on the employment situation for many women. During the period from 1946-70, the working population decreased in total, as did the female workforce alone, though the male workforce actually showed a slight increase, and hence there was an important shift in the sex balance of workers. This has been more or less maintained since 1970 with a slight increase in the relative proportion of women workers. The total workforce stagnated through the late seventies and decreased again slightly to 1986. Official unemployment figures are high, they are probably somewhat underestimates and they disguise underemployment. In 1986 the male unemployment rate was about 13% of the male workforce and the female rate was about 23%. As the workforce has declined, so the percentages of unemployed have increased. Starting from a worse position, women have been particularly hard hit in terms of the number of unemployed.

As well as sex differences in the effects of a declining workforce, men and women have been differentially affected by changes in the structure of the employment market. The agricultural sector has decreased greatly over the period as increasing mechanisation has replaced many workers. Manufacturing has increased and particularly tourism. Women lost out more than

men with the fall in agricultural employment because the largest losses were in the low skilled, low paid areas and many more of the remaining jobs require skills such as mechanics. Women are more reliant on the low skilled jobs and men more often possess the necessary mechanical skills for the higher paid jobs or they are taken on to learn such work. Whilst not doing well in the sector generally, in some manufacturing areas women have been given employment preferentially, but this has generally been in the lowest paid, lowest skilled, production-line jobs or as operatives in garment factories. Tourism has provided a large number of jobs for service workers, a traditionally female area which men have also moved into, but which is still female-dominated. Again the mass of jobs available in this area are low paid and low status.

The shift out of agriculture and into other sectors has affected men and women differently with respect to the types of work that they have moved into. Whilst female workers have become predominant in clerical, sales and service jobs, men are in the majority in professional, technical, administrative, and manufacturing jobs as well as in agricultural work (the occupational categories used here are those used in the census reports "Service jobs" refers mostly to domestic, personal, catering services and not to occupations falling in other categories such as nursing and teaching). Sex-stereotyping with regards to type of work has become more marked, and the more female-dominated areas are in very broad terms of lower status and lower paid than at least the first three male-dominated areas. From 1970 to 1986, there were some slight shifts in this balance suggesting improvement for the position of women, at least at the top end of the employment market. Female professional and technical workers increased in number more quickly than for males and by 1986 they were in approximately equal numbers. In the administrative and managerial areas, over the same period, there was at least no worsening of the female situation. With increasing numbers of jobs in these areas, women held steady at about 40% of the workforce. Manufacturing was an unsteady sector from 1970. It showed some increased in workforce in the 1970s and then decreased in the 1980s. Being a very male-dominated area, whilst both sexes were affected, this was relatively more important to men. Agriculture and fishing also declined from 1970 to 1986, but in affecting men more, approximately equal numbers of men and women were employed by 1986. The number of clerical workers increased, and women maintained about a 60% share of jobs in this area.

Why the sex-stereotyping of job types should persist so strongly in the recent job market is a difficult question to answer and no doubt one which involves quite a number of factors. Whilst job advertisements can longer normally stipulate a particular sex, nor appear to encourage only men or only women, applications in different areas more or less reflect the sex-division of the workforce. For jobs requiring particular skills training, such as commercial skills or mechanical skills, the stereotyping clearly occurs before entrance to tertiary education. The increasing female enrollment at the university and increasing numbers of females passing 'A' levels also correlates with the increasingly small and now negligible sex difference in professional and technical employment requiring high-level education. So, again, explanation of workforce differentiation must reach back into childhood.

The fall of the fertility rate in the last thirty years in Barbados might at first sight seem to be a likely factor to boost greatly the numbers of women at least seeking work, as they have been freed from the burden of caring for large numbers of children. It is true that non-working women tend to have higher fertility than working women, at least for the period to 1970, but the difference in employment rates for women of higher and lower parity is not very strongly marked. Barbadian women have traditionally worked outside the home, even with quite large

families and the pattern continues. However, in a changing job market, with decreasing opportunities for the petty trader, etc, the decrease in fertility may have made it easier for women to adjust to more formalised situations, having fewer children for whom to find minders. In the absence of much childcare provision in the form of nurseries and creches, the fall in family size may have been a hidden compensatory factor for women.

The increased education of both men and women since 1960 has provided a qualified workforce to move into developing areas of higher level employment. This is reflected in a correlation between levels of education and employment sector, and thereby both pay and status. Amongst women, those with only a maximum of primary education tend to be concentrated in agricultural, service and manufacturing, jobs. Those with secondary education range from professional and technical jobs, to clerical, to some service jobs. Women with tertiary education tend to work in professional, technical and clerical jobs. However, in recent years, the opportunities in the job market have not kept pace with increasing levels of educational attainment in the workforce. So, whilst in 1960 about 30% of those with a maximum of secondary education without qualifications worked in clerical jobs, by 1970 this had decreased to 10%, the difference being explained by a shift back down the scale of pay and status to the service sector. Fifty percent of those with a maximum of secondary education with qualifications worked in professional and technical jobs in 1960, but this had reduced to 40% by 1970 with a compensatory increase in clerical workers to 50%, representing a similar decrease in pay and status. Figures for 1986 do not divide those with secondary education into those with and without qualifications but of the total, 37% were employed in clerical jobs, 17% in services, 18% in manufacturing and 14% in professional, administrative and managerial jobs. This represents an overall lowering of employment opportunities for this group compared with earlier years. In 1960, of those with tertiary education of any kind, 80% were employed in professional and technical jobs compared with 67% in 1970. By 1986, only 65% of those with university degrees, the highest qualifications, were employed in this sector. Altogether this reflects a pattern whereby increasing levels of education are needed to enter the same level of employment. Secondary education used to be a passport to a white-collar job; it no longer is. University education no longer ensures a professional career. This pattern is similar for both men and women, but, given these circumstances, women have done well to increase their share of the professional and technical jobs available and to hold their share of the administrative and managerial sector. At the top end of the employment scale, women have been improving their position despite increasingly difficult circumstances. However, at the lower end, the agricultural and service sectors, in conditions of increasing unemployment, women in great need of work have not been in strong positions to improve their conditions of work. And, as ever increasing qualifications are needed to climb out of these sectors, they provide the only realistic employment prospects for a very large number of women.

Many of the large categories used here to discuss sections of the employment market cover wide ranges of actual jobs in terms of seniority, pay and status. The National Commission for the Status of Women reported in 1978 that women were receiving much less opportunity for training either on the job or externally in many areas, for example of business and the civil service. This situation has apparently improved somewhat in more recent years, but, although hard data are not available to prove it, in a large number of businesses, offices and civil service departments, it is common to see women workers being supervised by a more senior male employee. A detailed analysis of the reasons for the apparent persistence, albeit decreasing, of better male promotions cannot be done here. Possible contributory factors include both direct and indirect

discrimination. Lost time as a result of childbirth could be important, as could lack of ambition in women, perhaps because of a lack of suitable role models. In addition, the continuing influence of Barbadian males' perceived need to dominate women and difficulty in accepting dominance by women may influence those deciding upon promotions, either because they conform to the traditional view themselves, or at least because they prefer not to upset the status quo. Women in Barbados are now gaining the qualifications to enter a greater range of employment than they have before, albeit still more restricted than for men, but equality of opportunity within career structures still remains a somewhat elusive goal. For those without qualifications or with few, employment opportunities for men and women remain markedly different.

CULTURE, MEDIA AND EDUCATION

At the time of Independence politicians expressed the belief that alongside the construction of an independent state a Barbadian national identity would be developed in the island. It is immaterial here that some ideologues conceived hopes for a wider Caribbean national identity. From the perspective of 1990 difficult to accept that the prediction of a national identity has been realized. Barbados may have a democratic constitution, with lofty egalitarian ideals, but the extent to which the ethnic predominates over the national is hardly questionable. The failure to generate a genuine national culture is at the root of the problem. Barbadian society today is bitterly divided as to what does or what should constitute Barbadian culture. In broad terms, two major cultural alternatives are competing which, for simplicity's sake, can be labelled: Western and African. Underlying these options there is a racial argument, but there is not a clear one to one correspondence between colour and culture.

Until recent times the island's identity was mainly defined by the small white minority and was strongly pervaded by metropolitan values. One has only to look at John Hearne's (1966) table of stereotypes about Barbados to realize what a conservative and metropolitan-oriented place Barbados was until the mid-sixties:

As seen from Barbados	As seen from the rest of the Caribbean
Sense of self	Self-satisfaction
Thrift, good husbandry; industriousness ambition	Meanness, unimaginative, materialism, ruthless and self-centered
Public and personal discipline	Dullness
Cooperative action and civil dialogue	Hypocrisy and compromise
Englishness	Insularity
Order, protocol, traditional procedure	Love of conformity's sake
Checks and balances	Betrayal of ad hoc approach to social tension (West Indian Way)

The majority of the population of Barbados had no voice in the making of the dominant culture, nor did they have a voice of their own. By the time of Independence, although political

power was devolved into the hands of a black political elite, they were basically a group of people who shared the basic "English" values typical of the colonial setting minus white control. There was nothing in the Cultural ethos of Sir Grantley Adams (to name the most prominent black politician of the 1940s and 1950s) nor in any of the other members of the black establishment for that matter, that was not essentially in agreement with the peculiar brand of transplanted "English" culture that had developed in the island. But it was not only politicians, but also the Anglican Church, the educational system, the media, the professions, etc., which were imbued with a sense of what for lack of a better word we might call Barbadian "Englishness". There were, of course, a few intellectual voices such as George Lamming, who by the 1950s were articulating a critique of the colonial order and were challenging the inherited cultural parameters. But, is with Edward Kamau Brathwaite, later they were doing it as exiles, unable and unwilling to accept the stifling effects of Barbadian insularity. Paradoxically, their literary success was an English affair, and only many years later did they because levels of the black roots movements in Barbados.

The reluctance of Barbadian society to challenge the received consensualist ideology has already been mentioned. Those who have tended to present the island in conflictual terms (be it class or race based) have often been accused not of describing, but of generating conflict, as if the mere conjuring up of the term conflict could bring the evils of confrontation to reality. That is why the emergence of black ethnicity in Barbados has been a much slower process than elsewhere in the West Indies, although the objective conditions -the majority of the population being black, oppressed and alienated- were also there. The black power movement of the early 1970s was paralysed, not by intellectual arguments, but by legal ones. When Barrow saw that the movement could gather political momentum and rock the tourist boat or, more generally, threaten the white financial establishment (whether local or foreign) he decided to pass the Public Order Act. As an open society committed to democracy and freedom, however, Barbados could hardly withstand without being influenced, the growing wave of black consciousness that was coming not only from other Caribbean islands, but also from the USA and elsewhere. It is difficult to ascertain with precision the role played by the formal educational system in the development of black ethnicity in the island. Undoubtedly, the change from the English-oriented 'O' levers to CXC was a major factor in the process of recovering the submerged Caribbean identity of Barbadians. This was particularly noticeable in areas such as history and civics, as well as in literature. Recently there have been calls for the teaching of African history and art in secondary schools. It would be incorrect, however, to infer from these facts that the schools are engaged in black ethnic assertiveness. In reality, teachers often show a lack of interest in these issues, and at times are even opposed to them, particularly those who are over 35 years of age. Now, however, it seems that the younger generation of teachers, particularly those with university degrees in the social sciences or humanities, are much more receptive to the motifs of Black ethnicity than their elders. This would rightly suggest that the university is the main focus of black assertiveness within the educational system; none of the other tertiary institutions exhibits comparable features. A glance at their adult and continuing education programmes (including the Extra Mural Department of the UWI) shows the low profile in terms of courses which could be reckoned to contain elements susceptible to the generation of black consciousness. In 1987, more than 600 Barbadian tertiary students were studying abroad, roughly two-thirds of them in the USA and one third in Canada and the UK. Their experiences serve to accentuate black consciousness, both as a result of white racism and of attending courses-meetings on racial awareness in these countries. The inroads that the populist, roots-orient-

ed model, which tends to give value to constructed Afro-Caribbean heritage, is likely to make into the educational system in the future is difficult to predict, and will surely depend on many other factors affecting Barbadian society, particularly the degree of employment and mobility within the system.

The key factor that triggered off a sense of black, Caribbean identity in Barbados was the hosting of Carifesta in 1981. The meeting of artists and musicians from all over the Caribbean brought a realisation of a common cultural past to many Barbadians. The awareness that Africaness and slavery link together the disparate peoples of the Caribbean, even beyond the different colonial masters, was something of a discovery for the insular Barbadians, who had always felt that they were a world apart. In this context, the university had always played a unifying role, but it was an experience limited to the very few. The creation of the National Cultural Foundation in 1984 - which over the years has sponsored and participated in a wide variety of cultural activities, particularly the yearly Crop Over Festival - responded to a belated recognition of the inheritance of "African" and "Caribbean" elements in the culture of Barbados and in a sense of Caribbeaness. However, these things are not in themselves sufficient to generate a sustained interest and appeal for the "African" model, except at a rather folkloric, superficial level. That is why it is essential to look at the role played by more radical black groups: the Yoruba Foundation, the Nation of Islam and the Rastafarian Movement. They all came into being in the 1970s, partly in response to what was perceived as cultural alienation of the black population in a world dominated by a white minority. All these movements are reflections in Barbados of black cultural developments taking place elsewhere, be they in the Caribbean or the USA. None of them managed to subvert the established order, and over the years their impact has been limited.

The Yoruba Foundation, which is no longer operative, was the brainchild of Elton 'Elombe' Mottley, a colourful cultural agitator from a well-known black bourgeois family of long-standing. The *raison d'être* of the Yoruba Foundation was to be found in the frustration felt by a group of intellectuals and artists with the government's policies in the area of culture; the latter's failure to encourage the 'Africanisation' of Barbadian culture was vigorously criticised by the group and an attempt was made to encourage Barbadian popular culture (the roots of which, they stated, were African). Unlike the other two groups mentioned, the Yoruba Foundation was not religiously inspired, nor did it particularly value religion. This fact, along with their elitist conception of culture (they only concentrated on the creative and performance arts) may explain the lack of appeal that the group had among the black masses. On the other hand, the African cultural nationalism embraced by the movement was too alien to Barbadian everyday reality to attract a mass or even a significant following. The failure to address the basic socio-economic problems of the black majority of Barbadians is seen by commentators as the main reason for the lack of political impact of the movement. In retrospect, the short-lived adventure of the Yoruba Foundation may have failed to attract Barbadians in great numbers, but it no doubt set the agenda for future cultural developments. Today the Yoruba Foundation is already part of the mythology of black conscientisation.

Rastafarianism took root in Barbados in the early 1970s, in the aftermath of the economic or oil crisis, at a time of growing unemployment among young, poorly-educated blacks. The Barbadian Rastas mimicked their Jamaican brethren at all levels: language, beliefs, withdrawal from Babylon, etc. They operate in the margins of society selling fruit and craftwork. There are no official figures, but their numbers are very small. There is little sympathy with them among the population. The media regularly attack them accusing them of being antisocial elements; they

essentially see them as thieves and vagabonds who are unwilling to work to earn a living. Their presence is embarrassing, and barely tolerated by the local authorities who often see them as an obstacle to tourism.

The Nation of Islam is another improved religions ideology, in this case from the USA. Their followers number only a few hundred, and it is difficult to see how such an anti-Christian religion could ever have a profound impact in a society like the Barbadian one in which Christianity has taken extremely deep roots. The Muslim ideology preached by this group is centered around the primacy of blacks restoring the black man into a position of power, which he lost after centuries of being dominated by the white man. The group aims at establishing the hegemony of black culture in Barbados. It is openly racial in its statements, and it has tried to articulate a comprehensive alternative to the white capitalist society, cobining, different communitarian-oriented forms of 'African socialism'.

It has been mentioned before that although the Anglican church is still the major religious denomination in Barbados (close to the position of an established church), in recent years it has been losing appeal in the face of a fair degree of secularisation and strong competition from evangelical and "Afro-American-type" churches in which the emphasis is on more participatory worship in the form of singing and dancing, as well as social gatherings. This is not to say that although there is a strong core of very traditionally minded Anglican clergy, there is not also an active and growing group of Anglican priests, some of whom are in powerful positions, who voice social and even political and racial issues in ways which reflect the influence of black liberation theology. These developments can also be seen in other religious denominations, particularly amongst the Catholics. While the Afro-American sects are more tied to literal understanding of the Bible and very conservative moral values, they have grafted to this black imagery, in the form of claims such as the African location of the Garden of Eden, the blackness of Christ, etc. These recent changes have not affected the fact that Barbados is still fundamentally a society profoundly influenced by Christian values; even the most radical, left-wing politicians espouse these values openly even if in a diffused and non-institutionalised form. In many cases, this takes the form of a return to the spirit of the communitarian period of the early Christians, and like with other cultural items (e.g. cricket), the strength of Barbadian Christianity is often described as something in which the colonised have outdone their colonisers.

If it is true that the black radical movements briefly described above had a limited impact on Barbadian society, the fact of the matter is that by the 1980s, the black cultural movement had made its presence felt in the different cultural forums of the island. One obvious area in which this has happened is, of course, calypsos, one of the most popular forms of social and political criticism. Rooted essentially in the experiences of the collectivity, and because of its wide diffusion through the media (radio and tv), the calypso represents most genuinely the vox populi. Although a form of entertainment, the high quality lyrics, the use of the vernacular, the extreme political-cum-moral weapon than anything else. The plight of the ordinary Barbadian citizens (who happen to be black) is often depicted in the verses. In recent years thinly-disguised racially-motivated lyrics against the domination of whites and East Indians have also made their appearance. However, calypsos more often than not chastise social vices typical of society which is losing its communitarianism in favour of a more selfish form of existence. The lack of moral fibre of the youth is also often a theme which has appealed to belletrists. Concern with drug addiction, hooliganism, absence of politeness politicization, make the calypso more a and lack of interest in study among school children are some of the topics that were present in the songs of the 1980s. Calypsos are highly moralising, and hope to bring restraint through social critique.

It is not an exaggeration to say that calypsonians play an important role in the informal process of education; famous names such as the Mighty Gabby are powerful public figures who can even dent unpopular government.

The attempt to promote Bajan to a higher linguistic status than it has had in the past, is one of the main goals of different cultural organisations. In the past, the nation-language, as Edward Kamati Brathwaite has called it, was seen as an inferior form of speech, basically as broken English; it was considered an impediment to social mobility and a clear marker of lower class origin. A large percentage of the population still use Bajan as their common form of expression, and in the past few years its prestige has increased due to the fact that it is the preferred language of plays, songs, publicity, etc. The Government has, to a certain extent, encouraged its use in cultural festivals. However, Bajan is still unthinkable as a language of high culture and it is only accepted in the public domain in limited circumstances. However, the exclusive use of the vernacular in some working class and lower middle class families places their children in a situation of inferiority when it comes to competing at primary and secondary school levels, where (Caribbean) Standard English is the norm. Studies have consistently shown that children whose parents encourage them to speak and read (Caribbean) Standard English have a much better chance of obtaining higher marks in the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination. Although Bajan is identified with the "true" cultural essence of Barbados and has been encouraged as part of the process of "Afro-Caribbeanisation", most educationalists are totally opposed to its using in schools except as part of a component of the English literature syllabus. Many teachers argue that (Caribbean) Standard English is in fact a foreign language to many Barbadian children and that it should be treated as such if the country is not to see its levels of English deteriorate rapidly. This is an area where there is an obvious contradiction between two stated social objectives: the promotion of Bajan to a higher linguistic status and concerns to achieve high levels of English. The point is not that both objectives could not be attained, but that the way in which they are at present conceptualised makes it extremely difficult.

Like any other developed society, Barbados is a society oriented to the mass media. It has two daily papers (The Nation and the Barbados Advocate), with a total circulation of over 40,000, five radio stations and one television station. The papers are privately owned, while the state controls two radio stations (CBC Radio and Liberty) and the TV station; Barbados Rediffusion and the Voice of Barbados are owned by The Nation, and the Barbados Broadcasting Service is owned by Crown Publications. In addition, two monthlies are published in Barbados: the New Bajan magazine (owned by The Nation group of companies) and Caribbean Contact (owned by the Caribbean Conference of Churches). There is also a news agency (CANA) which is owned by Regional Media Houses.

In 1986 there was one radio receiver per 0.8 persons, one tv set per 4.2 persons and 1.5 newspapers per day per 10 persons. The conservative nature of Barbadian society is reflected in the media, which are hardly combative and free, but rather cautious and self-censored, as a result of a combination of State and social pressure. People working in the media are often fired for not toeing the line, to much social indifference. Only Caribbean Contact can be said to express consistently alternative views about Barbadian society, the Caribbean, etc. In addition, radio phone-ins are a good pulse of popular concerns, and so are the letters to the editors of newspapers. Columnists tend to be rather pompous and insular, and there is little quality investigative journalism. The impact of foreign culture is most visible on television where up to 90% of the programmes come from abroad (mostly from the USA); generally speaking a large percentage of outside

news originate from American agencies. Some attempts have been made at generating news programmes in the Caribbean, but with limited success. The television culture has been widely criticised by the educational, religious and political establishments as the major agent for moral degradation, as well as the deterioration of English. There is little doubt that there has been a progressive "Americanisation" of Barbadian culture and that moral standards have declined in the years after Independence, but the causes are complex and part of the wider process of modernisation. The partial secularisation of Barbadian society, accompanied by the collapse of communitarian values have created a sense of "paradise lost", but it is difficult to assess to what extent the past was real or mythical. As to the issue of the role of the media in connection with the state of English, there is wide agreement that this is an area where the written and spoken use of English can be vastly improved. Journalists and radio announcers are often poor in their command of English, and could profit from special training; there is a role here for the tertiary educational institutions. Generally speaking, the media and the educational system have largely been ignoring each other, and the potential for collaboration has not been developed.

CONCLUSIONS

CONTRARY to common assumption, in 1989 Barbados was not really an underdeveloped country. With a GNP of nearly US\$5000 per capita, with running water in over 80% of homes, with electricity in over 90% of homes, with TV in 80% of homes, with 1 vehicle for every 5 persons, with an estimated literacy rate of 98%, with life expectancy of over 70 years, with good external and internal communication systems, etc, the people of Barbados have a quality of life on a par with or somewhat above that of the less developed areas of Southern Europe.

Barbados is one of the few or maybe the only success story of the Caribbean, or at least the West Indies. In spite of a slowing down, of economic development in the 1970s and 1980s, Barbados has shown sustained economic growth.

Independence in 1966 did not affect the political stability that the country had enjoyed in the previous decades; rather it consolidated the tradition of the bipartisan democratic system. None of the leaders of either party (that is Errol Barrow for the DLP and Tom Adams for the BLP), although they were charismatic enough, ever succeeded in establishing a de facto monopoly of power over this period. Both main political parties (and it is premature to speculate on Haynes' new NDP) are basically social democratic and hence the political spectrum is not very wide (the DLP is perhaps more populist at present than the BLP).

Largely because Barbados obtained independence as an aftereffect of the failure of the Federation of the West Indies (i.e. independence was basically bestowed, not fought for), a clearly differentiated national identity was not present at that time. Since then there has been an attempt at nation building. The question of what constitutes Barbadian culture has been in the forefront of the ideological struggles in the post-Independence period and particularly in the last 10 years. Two major competing models are in place: a modernising, western-oriented model and a more populist, roots-oriented model which tends to give value to a constructed "African" heritage.

The description of Barbados as a "middle class" society is not uncommon amongst Barbadians themselves, and there is hardly any doubt that Barbados is not an economically polarized society. It contains a large group of people whose income enables them to enjoy a comfortable standard of living by Western standards; it does not have a large mass of destitute people and a small, extremely rich elite, as is characteristic of many Third World countries. However, this is not to ignore the fact that pockets of poverty do exist and that unemployment was about 20% in 1990.

The white minority of about 5% of the population owns a disproportionate amount of the wealth which exists in the country. Furthermore, high-level and high middle-level management is predominantly white. Also notable are a similarly small minority of East Indians (plus some Syrio-Lebanese) who have tended to monopolize large sectors of medium to large scale commercial enterprises. However, neither of these groups is organized politically, though this is not to say that they do not wield political power in spite of the absolute "negrification" of the political elite since Independence. Accusations and counter-accusations of "white shadows" manipulating the political parties, particularly the BLP, have been proffered, most successfully at electoral-time (1986). The new NDP is presented by the left as the party of big business.

Barbadian society enforces a strict racial division. Whites and blacks although they work together do not mix or rarely mix socially and the rate of intermarriage is virtually zero among indigenous Barbadians. Racially mixed marriages occur in Barbados, but they involve a foreign partner. Black racial consciousness has been extremely subdued historically in Barbados. However, in the past few years, particularly since the 1986 general election, it has manifested itself openly led by a group of black activists operating in different media (political, cultural, financial, religious, academic, etc.).

Historically the white minority has always felt threatened due to their small numbers and their monopoly of wealth and power. They have shown extreme sensitivity to the recent racial arguments, although their reaction is to try and remain as unnoticed as possible. In private, they continue to express their traditional racial stands. The public racial argument has mostly been conducted amongst blacks across a wide spectrum of opinion. Many Barbadians of all classes feel extremely uncomfortable at the polarization which the activists have produced which they see as endangering the carefully woven social fabric of Barbados.

Traditionally, the Barbadian economy has depended on sugar only generates one third of the GNP of the country, while the industrial and commercial sectors generate another third and tourism the remaining third. This last has been, and continues to be, the major growth sector for the past twenty-five years. Off-shore financial services and various aspects of computing represent the latest in a line of attempts to diversify the economy, with mixed results. Tourism is by its very nature a volatile industry, and is subject to violent up and down swings due to a variety of external factors, such as economic slumps, but also internal factors such as political stability and price competitiveness. Racial tensions within Barbados could also potentially damage tourism; inordinate harassment of tourists by illegal small vendors, drug pushers, uncontrolled jet ski operators, etc. On the beaches are already keeping some people from returning to the island. However, there is no immediate alternative to the dominant economic role of tourism in Barbados.

The centrality of education in Barbados is not only a historical but also a contemporary fact. At present the Barbadian population is well-educated by world standards. In 1990 the government spent around 25% of its budget on education, schooling to age 16 is compulsory, a sizeable number of children go on to some form of further education and all of this from artisan training to university education is free. The central role of education in Barbados has no parallel in the other British West Indies and traditionally Barbados supplied teachers to the other islands. Education was seen in Barbados, more than in the rest of the Caribbean, as the only way up the economic and social ladder for blacks, and to a large extent still is. Independence opened up a number of positions in society traditionally occupied by whites and at this point the educational levels of the blacks allowed them to move straight into them, hence making for a peaceful and orderly transition.

The economic development of the island starting in the 1960s was accompanied by an expansion of the educational system. Most importantly this involved the extension of secondary schooling to virtually the whole population, plus the expansion of vocational and professional training. The development of the educational system since Independence has been helped by the borrowing of external funds from the World Bank plus foreign aid. The Barbadian educational system is essentially geared towards academic achievement, with central importance given to competitive public exams at age 11 (Secondary Schools Entrance Examination), 16 and 18 years. As a result of this, the system is highly stratified, with streaming from the early years at school, to a marked hierarchy of secondary schools according to exam results at age 11. It should be said at this point that only 10% of children attend private schools and the most desired secondary schools (particularly Harrison, Queen's, and Combermere) are in fact public. The system is presented and widely regarded as a meritocracy, but the types of exams strongly favour children from educated backgrounds, particularly linguistically (that is those who are familiar with Caribbean Standard English). With the extension of the secondary school system, the curriculum was somewhat broadened with more technical and vocational subjects being offered; however, many educationalists feel that the move has not gone nearly far enough.

Barbadian society demands certificates, whether academic or vocational, for employment and promotion at all levels (this is particularly visible in the inflated civil service sector). Experience is seen as subsidiary to qualifications. With more education for all and a decrease in new job opportunities at middle and high range, the level of qualification required for all types of employment has increased. Schooling is increasingly being seen as a means to certification and hence employment, rather than as a process of education *per se*.

Whether it is academic or vocational, the Barbadian educational system has lost a sense of clear direction as to the wider purpose of education for life and development of the individual. Not even among teachers is there a clear picture of what education should be all about. The majority express nostalgia for the golden age of their youth, perhaps not surprisingly because they were the academic successes of their generation. Furthermore, concern is expressed in some circles that the style of vocational training is producing "factory fodder", unable to adapt to changing technology and economic conditions. One way in which the education system is widely perceived as failing, by teachers, educationalists, politicians, churchmen, etc, is in its inability to generate a moral sense among its educanda. However, this is clearly a wider social problem, because neither the schools, nor the Church, enjoy such a dominant role as in the past. The particularly TV and videos, are commonly blamed for the lowering of moral standards. However, declining morality in fact reflects the rapid socio-economic and cultural changes undergone in the past 30 years.

In spite of this perceived decline in moral standards, religion is still a major force in Barbados. In the 1980s there's a tendency towards the more evangelical sects, emphasizing a stronger sense of participating through singing, social gatherings, etc, which has been described as the cultural Africanization of the Church, although this is not an autochthonous development because the main influence comes from the USA. The role of the Church in education is at present marginal, except in the private sector, while in the old system church and school went together. The dominant church in Barbados is Anglican and this is generally very conservative in both religious and social concerns. Although officially disestablished, it appears as the church of the establishment. It is generally the defender of the status quo, although of late some critical voices have appeared.

Traditionally, the Barbados educational system reflected closely the British model both in struc-

ture and curriculum. In some aspects, the former has hardly changed and in these Barbados greatly resembles the Britain of 30 years ago. However, North American influence is increasingly visible, particularly in the Barbados Community College, which is more liberal in its scope. The school curriculum, particularly with the introduction of CXC has become much more Caribbean oriented. History exemplifies this although the Caribbeanisation of the syllabus began prior to CXC, with the main thrust for a more Caribbean, and Barbadian orientation more recently. In the past few years there have been attempts to rewrite Caribbean history, with a more Afro-centric perspective rather than the traditional Eurocentric one. In this, as in a wider range of cultural developments, the presence of the university has played a pivotal and dynamic role. The black consciousness movement is likely to accelerate all these processes.

Barbados has been, until recently, a well-managed society, to which the education system contributed by moulding people for their specific roles. This meant as a whole that a high value was given to conformism and it is this which is being challenged at present. The success or failure of this challenge might well depend to a large extent on the ability of the country to live up to the expectations of an increasingly large number of well-qualified people, particularly those who have had tertiary and university education. In so far as the white and other non-African minorities are perceived by blacks as having preferential or exclusive access to certain areas of the economy, particularly middle and higher management in industry and business, the existence of a growing group of qualified blacks with frustrated expectations of employment or salary have brought to the surface increased racial antagonism, and have led to radical yet democratic attempts to subvert the existing economic order.