

**EDUCATION FOR ALL IN THE CARIBBEAN: ASSESSMENT 2000
MONOGRAPH SERIES**

Series Editor: Lynda Quamina-Aiyejina

**Citizenship Education, Democracy and Global Shifts
Re-Thinking Caribbean Social Studies**

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FOREWORD

Education for All in the Caribbean: Assessment 2000 is a remarkable output, which is the culmination of intensive collaborative efforts between the countries of the Caribbean sub-region, the Regional Advisory Technical Group and the EFA Forum Secretariat, and relevant agencies and institutions.

The Country Reports, Monograph Series, and Case Studies highlight and pinpoint, in an extremely effective manner, some of the issues and concerns that drive education policy and action in the Caribbean. At the same time, the documentation presents a balanced and informed overview of the rich and varied educational and cultural experience of the sub-region; a knowledge which is critical to the understanding of the unfolding social and economic developments.

UNESCO is pleased to have been associated with this endeavour, particularly through our regional office in Kingston, Jamaica which, as co-ordinator of the Regional Advisory Group for the Caribbean Sub-region, was integrally involved in every aspect of the exercise. We look forward to continued collaboration with the Caribbean on activities of a mutually rewarding nature as the consequences and implications of the EFA Assessment become manifest.

Colin Power
Deputy Director-General for Education
UNESCO

SERIES INTRODUCTION

At Jomtien in 1990, member states of the United Nations adopted the *Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs* and created the International Consultative Forum on Education for All (EFA Forum). One decade later, the EFA Forum embarked on an assessment of this initiative, intended to assist member states in examining their education provisions to inform the formulation of policy.

Once the Caribbean EFA Regional Advisory Group had embarked seriously on the assessment, it was quickly realised that it would be difficult to capture, in any one place, an assessment of all that had transpired in education in the Caribbean during the period 1990-1999. Moreover, the technical guidelines constrained assessors to specifics within quantitative and qualitative frames. However, because it was felt that education in the Caribbean is too dynamic to be circumscribed, the idea of a more wide-ranging monograph series was conceived.

Researchers, education practitioners, and other stakeholders in education were invited to contribute to the series. Our expectations were that the response would be quite moderate, given the short time-frame within which we had to work. Instead, we were overwhelmed by the response, both in terms of the number of enthusiastic contributors and the range of topics represented.

Caribbean governments and peoples have invested in the *hardware* for education—buildings, furniture, equipment; in the *software*, in terms of parent support and counselling services; and they have attended to *inputs* like books and other teaching/learning resources. They have wrestled with ways to evaluate, having gone through rounds of different national examinations, and modifications of ways to assess both primary and secondary education.

But, as the efforts to complete the country reports show, it has been more difficult to assess the impacts, if we take the eventual aim of education as improving the quality of life—we have had mixed successes. That the sub-region has maintained relative peace despite its violent past and contemporary upheavals may be cited as a measure of success; that the environment is threatened in several ways may be one of the indicators of how chequered the success has been.

Writers in the monograph/case study series have been able to document, in descriptive and analytic modes, some of the attempts, and to capture several of the impacts. That this series of monographs on Education for All in the Caribbean has been written, edited, and published in nine months (from first call for papers to issue of the published titles) is itself an indication of the impact of education, in terms of human capability and capacity.

It reflects, too, the interest in education of a number of stakeholders without whom the series would not have been possible. Firstly, the work of the writers is acknowledged. All worked willingly, hard, well, and, in most cases, without material reward. The sterling contribution of the editor, who identified writers and stayed with them to the end of the process, is also recognised, as is the work of the printer, who came through on time despite the severe time constraints. The financial contribution of the following agencies also made the EFA assessment process and the publication of the monograph/case study series possible: Commonwealth of Learning (COL), Department for International Development (DFID), [Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean??], United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill; the UN country teams based in Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, Haiti, and Guyana.

We invite you to peruse individual titles or the entire series as, together, we assess Caribbean progress in education to date, and determine strategies to correct imbalances and sustain positive impacts, as we move towards and through the first decade of the new millennium.

Claudia Harvey

Unesco Representative and Coordinator, Regional Technical Advisory Group (RTAG)

EFA in the Caribbean: Assessment 2000

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CAI	Computer Assisted Instruction
CAPE	Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examinations
CXC	Caribbean Examinations Council
HIV	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
NCSS	National Council for the Social Studies
SBA	School Based Assessment
UWI	The University of the West Indies

ABSTRACT

Throughout the Caribbean there has been an escalation in public and official debates about what seems to be an upsurge in deviant behaviour among the youth. Consequently, governments have been turning to the educational system to assist by, for example, implementing what some call “citizenry education” in order to help alleviate the problem. In all of this, social studies is regarded as having a vital role since its specific purpose for being on the curriculum is to impart citizenship education. This monograph examines the role and challenges of social studies in achieving citizenship education or cultivating democratic-minded citizens in the Caribbean, and offers a theoretical and conceptual framework for understanding the role of social studies in the Caribbean school curriculum. It also provides a discussion of the profound challenges globalization and technological change present for secondary schools and, in particular, for social studies teachers. It argues that these global shifts or imperatives require responses from social studies and other educators which are characterized by a global perspective, inventiveness, industriousness, and a national sense of belonging. The main points of the monograph are summarized in a set of recommendations which suggest that if social studies is to effectively achieve the critical goal of citizenship education in the Caribbean context, certain fundamental changes will need to be made to the way the subject is conceptualized, supported, financed, perceived, taught, and examined, among other things.

PART 1

Social Studies and Citizenship Education

Introduction

It would not be an overstatement to claim that few subject areas or fields of inquiry have experienced the degree of controversy and heated debates as that of the social studies. This controversy is, in no small way, due to the fact that over the years a number of competing views have emerged with respect to the best strategies for achieving the main goals of social studies. In addition, social studies has not been immune to the wider debates and controversies which have characterized virtually every aspect of education, including pedagogical practices, financing, the curriculum, administrative practices, and education's role in society and national development. Nevertheless, it is also equally true to assert that in spite of the turmoil in social studies there is a general agreement among academics about what the essential goals and, especially, the overarching goal of social studies ought to be. Risinger (1997, p. 223) has observed that "for all the arguments, convention speeches, and journal articles, it seems clear that the term citizenship education lies at the heart of social studies." Likewise, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), as well as the leading scholars in social studies, have all identified citizenship education as the major and overarching goal of social studies. This view is also shared by Caribbean social studies teachers and was, in fact, the basis for the introduction of social studies into the curriculum of Caribbean schools (Morris, Morrissey, & King, 1991, pp. 227-228).

This unity in focus, if not in methodology and content, stems from the fact that, in most cases, controversies surrounding social studies do not question its fundamental purpose but rather focus on how best citizenship education may be conceptualized and imparted to the youth. Yet, the controversies are of great significance because they reflect the important, if difficult, questions of not only what is the relationship between social studies and citizenship education but, more fundamentally, how, or in what ways, can social studies achieve the overall goal of citizenship education? It is these interrelated questions, and especially the latter, that this paper attempts to explore at both the conceptual/theoretical and practical/implementation levels in the context of the Caribbean. It concludes with the assertion that if social studies is to effectively achieve the critical goal of citizenship education in the Caribbean context, certain fundamental changes will need to be made to the way the subject is conceptualized, supported, financed, perceived, taught, and examined, among other things. Discussion of the potential of social studies for imparting citizenship education in the Caribbean ought necessarily, however, to be situated in the context of the development and current state of social studies in the region.

Caribbean Social Studies: Its Development

The emergence and development of social studies in the Caribbean coincided with, and was stimulated by, the rise of the New Social Studies movement in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s. The New Social Studies movement emphasized, among other things, social participation and good citizenship; active student engagement with information to construct meaning; and the use of discovery learning or inquiry whereby students generated and tested hypotheses to develop conclusions, concepts, and generalizations about geographical, economic, sociological, and historical phenomena. This exciting and rejuvenating form of social studies profoundly influenced the emerging Caribbean social studies. In other words, social studies evolved in the Caribbean within the conceptual framework of the New Social Studies movement. However, over time social

studies in the Caribbean became more indigenous, that is, rooted in Caribbean experience and context. Thus, it was expected that Caribbean social studies would help produce citizens who would have a deep understanding of, and participate in, the newly independent Caribbean societies and the forces at work within them.

Under the impetus of input from The University of the West Indies (UWI) (especially the St. Augustine Campus in Trinidad), the Government of Trinidad and Tobago and, subsequently, Ministries of Education in other territories, much progress was made in the teaching and development of social studies in the region. Nonetheless, this progress was constrained by the fact that social studies consistently had to compete with such subjects as history and geography for a place in the curriculum. The irony, however, was that the people teaching social studies were mainly trained in history and geography. This fact influenced the way social studies was conceptualized and taught in the Caribbean. It was, for example, partly responsible for the knowledge transmission/knowledge intake mode which has since characterized social studies in the Caribbean. Little effort has been made, until fairly recent times, to develop authentic and well-trained social studies teachers capable of understanding, interpreting, and articulating the modified goals of the New Social Studies movement.

Furthermore, over the years, social studies has come to be viewed by many teachers, parents, and students as being a subject for “weaker” or non-academically inclined students. Given that in the Caribbean the academic culture is heavily biased in favour of traditional subjects such as mathematics, geography, history, the sciences, and English, social studies as a subject has been much neglected and stigmatized. Nevertheless, there has always been the lingering perception among Caribbean educators that the teaching of social studies holds a special hope for creating responsible citizens, especially given the large numbers of disillusioned youth in most Caribbean societies. It is thought that social studies can provide the kind of moral education, knowledge, skills, and values conducive to the development and maintenance of cohesive and stable democratic societies. This faith in social studies coexists and rests quite comfortably, for the most part, with the realization that all forms of education, and not just social studies, can contribute to citizenship education, and that various other social, political, economic, and psychological factors may also have a profound influence in the development of the good and informed citizen.

Notions of Citizenship Education and the “Good Citizen”

Even though the social studies goals of knowledge, skills, and values must be selected from the vast array of knowledge, skills, and values in the world, the criteria for selecting these must be jointly rooted in the degree to which they foster the primary objective of Caribbean social studies, that is, the development of “good citizens” in a democracy and, of course, one’s conception of the meaning of citizenship as it relates to Caribbean societies. Thus, social studies and citizenship education would be fundamentally different for a socialist or authoritarian state like Cuba, than for democratically governed states like those of the Anglophone Caribbean. Furthermore, since most of the social studies in the Caribbean is taught from an American or democratic perspective, the dominant Caribbean conception of citizenship would be reflective, in the main, of the democratic ideal, even though Caribbean democracy may have distinguishing features and peculiarities rooted in the Caribbean’s historical development and its social, political, and economic realities. Education of any type needs, as Hartoonian (1985) reminds us, to be defined and analyzed within the context of the respective socio-political systems in which it functions.

Caribbean citizenship education, then, should be designed to: (a) provide students with the knowledge, skills, and values they will need to understand modern life, and to participate in it effectively as prosocial group members and responsible citizens; and (b) to ensure the survival of the principles and values of Caribbean democracy through the development of enlightened citizens. Fundamental difficulties are, however, raised by any attempt to untangle and delineate the ostensibly simple question of what constitutes good citizenship or the good citizen in a democracy. Firstly, there is disagreement among social studies theorists and others about the definition of the good citizen, not least because of issues related to the social construction of knowledge and power. Citizenship, as Janzen (1995, p. 134) and others have observed, is a concept immersed in ideological controversy; is a concept which can function to obscure inequality or lead to the denial of the very basis of citizenship’s social life; and is a concept whose controversial nature has led to the legitimization of contradictory pedagogical and curricular manifestations. Secondly, researchers have provided few rich portraits of teaching

and learning that directly address issues of citizenship. Thirdly, the concept of the citizen is subject to change and variations depending upon, for example, the peculiarities of the particular country's socio-political system of governance and cultural traditions, among other things. Fourthly, as Engle and Ochoa (1988, p. 3) have noted, democracy is an imprecise and continuously developing social form which is invoked by Marxists and capitalists alike.

Nevertheless, in the context of the values and principles of democracy, it is still possible to formulate a set of philosophical questions which may inform any attempt to explore the notions of the good citizen or effective citizenship education. We may inquire for example: What is it that good citizens in a democracy are required to do? What attitudes and what skills do they need if they are to be effective citizens? What is the "active" citizen? What are the rights and responsibilities of the good citizen, and what knowledge should the citizen have of the structures and processes of government, various social and environmental problems, or about other persons in the society who because of race, gender, colour, or other reasons are different from the majority? The challenge of social studies, then, is to help develop the type of citizen who can reflect and come up with reasoned positions and answers to these type of issues and questions, bearing in mind that citizenship education also takes place in such non-formal and informal settings as hallways, in libraries and museums, and on the field of sports, among other places. Citizenship, however, as the NCSS (1997, p. 225) has warned, is defined not only by an affirmation of democratic principles, but also by a willingness to engage in civil debate and to work for policies that serve the common good.

Social Studies and Citizenship Education: Theoretical Considerations

Even though developing the good citizen is the principal goal of social studies, the attainment of this goal is by no means an easy or clear-cut task, not least because, as Grant and VanSledright (1996, p. 57) observe, beyond the rhetorical consensus about the major goal of social studies, there has been little debate about the relationship between social studies and citizenship education. Questions in need of exploration and clarification include: What does this relationship mean? What social studies content directly address this goal? What instructional strategies promote citizenship education? What evidence do we have that social studies education significantly effects or affects students' participation in [Caribbean] society? Is citizenship education the exclusive domain of social studies? What is social studies and what is its relationship with respect to the humanities and the social sciences? These are all difficult questions to ever fully resolve but they are made even more problematic by two main factors. Firstly, the notion or concept of citizenship is, as noted before, highly contested and there are at least eight approaches or schools with different emphases in their conceptualization of citizenship education. Dynneson and Gross (1982, pp. 231-232) have identified the following: (a) citizenship as persuasion and indoctrination, (b) citizenship as contemporary issues and current events, (c) citizenship as the study of history, civics, geography, and related social sciences, (d) citizenship as civic participation and civic action, (e) citizenship as scientific thinking, (f) citizenship as humanistic development, (g) citizenship as preparation for global interdependence, and (h) citizenship as a jurisprudence process.

Secondly, and perhaps more troubling, even though social studies now has a more acceptable (NCSS) definition and an overarching goal, the profession is still highly fragmented and unfocused, and its relationship with the social sciences and humanities still ill-defined and unclarified. The more radical critics of social studies including Chester Finn, Charlotte Crabtree, Diane Ravitch, and Paul Gagnon have argued, among other things, that: (a) social studies is merely a "grab bag" of current events, and characterized it as flesh without bones and random ideas without coherence; (b) many social studies teachers lack a belief in democracy; and (c) that the democratic ideal may best be achieved by teaching history and geography as separate subjects, or that these subjects should dominate the social studies curriculum as they did in the 1960s and 1970s (see Barth, 1993, pp. 56-57).

These criticisms of social studies have persisted even though the NCSS has attempted to resolve the dispute by recommending that history, along with geography, should serve as the matrix for the social studies, with topics and concepts from the social sciences woven into courses at all levels. Even more troubling, however, is the criticism from some of the staunchest defenders and advocates of social studies including Alleman and Brophy, and Engle and Ochoa, who argue that there has been a loss of focus and a drift away from the original,

major concerns of social studies. These writers have been lamenting that over the decades social studies has undergone a redefinition to mean “according to different conceptual orientations, the exposition of separate social science disciplines, or a series of atomistic behavioural activities, or uncritical content coverage and isolated facts and skills; and they attribute many of the conceptual and curricular problems within the subject area to this loss of initial focus” (Griffith, 1995, p. 50). This lack of clarity and coherence in the conceptualization and definition of both citizenship education and social studies, as well as in the way they interface, has created and compounded other problems faced by social studies in its quest to effectively achieve its goal of developing good citizens, not only in the United States but also in the Caribbean and elsewhere where there has been an adoption of social studies. Why then, it may be asked, is there this widespread view among social studies scholars and practitioners that social studies is best suited for its declared objective of developing good citizens, and why, it may also be asked, is citizenship education so necessary to Caribbean societies?

In answer to the first question it should firstly be acknowledged or reiterated that other fields of inquiry, for example history, with their own goals, can indeed also help to develop the good citizen. However, the distinguishing fact about social studies is that it is the only subject area which has citizenship education as its primary concern. It is perhaps, for example, the only or one of the few subject areas which has an explicit objective and focus on the development of interpersonal skills, one of the most important skills needed by a citizen in a democratic society. It is also a highly interdisciplinary subject area and, thus, can selectively draw on the content of other fields of inquiry to achieve its overarching goal of citizenship education. Wraga (1993) explains why an interdisciplinary approach is so critical:

The interdisciplinary imperative for citizenship education stems from the reality that in order to understand and act upon complex societal issues effectively, citizens must be able to integrate knowledge from a variety of subjects. Since this integration does not happen automatically, it must be taught. (p. 201)

He goes on to add that the rationale for the interdisciplinary imperative has its sources in (a) the educational limitations of the disciplinary curriculum, (b) historic precedents in which the social studies played a central role in interdisciplinary efforts, (c) theoretical concerns, and (d) recent educational developments that point to the advisability of interdisciplinary curriculum and instruction.

The second question calls for a rationale for citizenship education, which may very well also be used as justification for social studies teaching in the Caribbean. If one accepts that democratic ideals are worthy of being preserved and strengthened for future generations, then it would be possible to see quite clearly the great need for citizenship education in the Caribbean. As Risinger (1997, p. 223) has noted in the American context, without an informed citizenry committed to the principles of the democratic system and willing to participate in that process, the nation as we know it cannot and will not survive. Hartoonian (1985) makes a similar point:

In a democratic republic, education becomes even more critical since our system is built upon the concept of the “enlightened citizen”- that is, an individual in touch with the cultural heritage who possesses a working knowledge of the economic, political and social factors that make up the human ecosystem in which we all must function; an individual who understands the principles of rule of law, legal limits to freedom, and majority rule with minority rights; and an individual who possesses the attitudes of fair play, cooperation, and (a demand for) quality in the character and work of self and others. Without a conscious effort to teach and learn these things, a free republic will not long endure.... For if our human ecosystem, our institutions, and our citizens are without the qualities cited above, it really does not matter what else is done since our reason for being as a people will be gone. (p. 5)

Hartoonian’s argument about the consequences of the dissolution of democratic society is not as far-fetched as it may seem on the surface. Throughout the Caribbean and the rest of the democratic world, but especially in the non-democratic world, we see clear and telling signs of what may happen when democracy is absent or when it is abandoned or subverted. In Rwanda, for example, over 500,000 people were slaughtered when the democratic ideals so important to the peaceful preservation of a pluralist society were not upheld and respected.

Even within the more successful democracies including the United States, Canada, Britain, Australia, and countries of the Anglophone Caribbean, there is growing evidence, such as low voter turnout at general elections, and escalation in the rates and intensity of crime and racially motivated attacks, of the need for a renewal in the area of citizenship education predicated on the ideals of democracy. In the Anglophone Caribbean, similar trends can be identified: in St. Kitts, the influence of the drug lords threatened to undermine the country's security and political systems; in Trinidad and Tobago, the attempted coup d'état by Abu Bakr and the Muslimeen led to the temporary collapse of democracy (see Ryan, 1991); and in most Caribbean countries there has been an increase in the number and intensity of crime, to which the unacculturated, criminal-minded American-West Indian "deportees" have added a new and frightening dimension; also in most territories the youth, especially the males, are said by officials to be in crisis. Young people are, for example, playing an increasingly significant part in the murders, assaults, theft, and sexual abuse which have become chronic in many Caribbean and other nations.¹ These and other trends including globalization, the growth of technology, and the increase in individual civic responsibilities make the need to teach citizenship education in the Caribbean an urgent imperative.

This urgent need for greater emphasis on citizenship education is, in itself, also a need or justification for the teaching of social studies which has as an important objective, the promotion of the full range of democratic ideals as the basis of its thrust to achieve effective citizenship education. It was this need which led the NCSS (1997, p. 225) to issue a call for action in the social studies profession that would foster public virtue and moral character among youth. This brings us directly to the central question of this paper, that is, how or in what ways can the social studies achieve the goal of citizenship education? This question may, in fact, be expressed in a more detailed and explicit format which asks, how can the social studies achieve its other goals of the promotion of knowledge, skills (thinking, study, interpersonal, and political), values, and attitudes conducive to increased social participation and, in the final analysis, citizenship education? The validity and relevance of posing the question in this latter format lies in the fact that the extent to which the social studies can achieve these other, or "lesser," goals will principally determine how effective it is in achieving the overarching goal of citizenship education.

Social Studies and Attainment of Citizenship Education

Answering the above central question necessarily requires an integrated analysis of: (a) the goals of social studies, that is, what knowledge, what skills, and what values are needed to achieve active and meaningful social participation in the Caribbean; (b) what factors adversely or positively affect the development of social studies in the Caribbean, at both the theoretical and, more importantly, the practical or implementation levels; and (c) what proactive but feasible methods, strategies, and changes might be effectively utilized to enhance social studies and, therefore, the maximum attainment of citizenship education in the Caribbean. As noted earlier, there are at least eight approaches or schools with different emphases in their conceptualization of citizenship education. This situation may complicate the efforts or task of social studies to deliver effective citizenship education. Nevertheless, these schools of thought may be effectively engaged to help shape the social studies curriculum and provide goals or guidelines in its quest to deliver citizenship education. This consideration is important because as Brophy and Alleman (1993) note:

A curriculum is not an end in itself but a means, a tool for accomplishing educational goals. These goals are learner outcomes- the knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and dispositions to action that one wishes to develop in students. Ideally, curriculum planning and implementation decisions will be driven by these goals, so that all elements selected- the basic content, the ways that this content is represented and explicated to students, the questions that will be asked, the types of teacher-student and student-student discourse that will occur, the activities and assignments, and the methods that will be used to assess progress and grade performance- will be included because they are believed to be necessary for moving students toward accomplishment of the major goals. (p. 27)

A similar point has been made by the NCSS (1993) which notes that:

...a powerful social studies curriculum is unified by its purposes and goals [and that] all of the components of such a curriculum- not only its content, but its instructional approaches, learning activities, and evaluation methods- are included in the curriculum because they are viewed as means for helping students to acquire important capabilities and dispositions. (p. 215)

The point should be reiterated that the capacity of social studies to deliver effective citizenship education is not based solely on the curriculum but, equally, on the teaching and learning strategies employed. And in this regard, one should note the NCSS (1993) dictum that social studies teaching is powerful when it is meaningful, active, challenging, value-based, and interactive. It is in the light of these points about the curriculum and the teaching of social studies that any analysis of the ways in which social studies can achieve the overarching goal of citizenship education, must be located.

Creating Knowledgeable Citizens

One of the main ways social studies can achieve the goal of citizenship education is through the creation of well informed or knowledgeable citizens. As noted earlier, the type of knowledge offered by social studies is distinct from that provided by other subject areas in that it focuses, in an integrated manner, especially on knowledge of social issues and of events taking place in the society. By drawing strategically from the social sciences and the humanities, social studies is able to impart to the student knowledge which is relevant to his or her social context and, at the same time, use the dynamic of change implicit in the construction of knowledge to bring meaningful analyses to social issues. To have the right type of knowledge is to have power.

In the context of the Caribbean social studies can, for example, draw on knowledge of the past and present to empower young citizens by teaching them of their colonial past, and the struggle for self-realization by Caribbean peoples. By extension, also, social studies, by teaching the ideals of regional cooperation and integration in the context of democracy, and as a means of preserving and enhancing Caribbean identity and economic well-being, will be helping to forge the type of citizen the region needs. At the same time, it would be performing a crucial role of transmitting the ideals of Caribbean social and political culture. This knowledge of self can serve not only as the basis for developing confident citizens but, moreover, can also be used as the basis for understanding the complex class and ethnic differences evident in present day Caribbean societies. Conversely, persons who are not well informed are likely to depend heavily on the opinions of others. In this regard, one should be cognizant of the NCSS's (1997, p. 213) assertion that the primary purpose of the social studies is to help young people develop the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of culturally diverse, democratic societies in an interdependent world.

The need to produce informed and perceptive citizens cannot be overemphasized, for there is a danger rooted in the fact that Western hegemonic power is now no longer about repression, but rather characterized by a deceptive subtlety capable of undermining Caribbean sovereignty, dignity, and identity. In the context of the region's multicultural and highly diverse societies, discussion of the relationship between knowledge and power also raises fundamental and problematic questions relating to citizenship and the ways in which it may be mediated by issues of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation, among other things. In other words, the informed and uninformed citizen may have radically different conceptions and understanding of the meaning of citizenship for women, the disabled, and other disadvantaged or discriminated against groups in the society. They may, likewise, have a very different understanding of the effects and implications of the many changes and challenges being produced by globalization.

Engle and Ochoa (1988, pp. 18-23) list the following as the types of knowledge required by the citizen in a democracy:

1. Knowledge which enables citizens to see their nation, state, and locality in terms of their physical and social relationship to the world and to the universe.
2. Knowledge which enables the citizen to understand how social institutions--including economic, governmental, and legal systems, the family, religious institutions, and most importantly, the institutions and ideas that characterize democracy, such as separation of church and state, the free press, and

freedom of speech--have come about.

3. Knowledge which enables the citizen to understand the nature of culture differences over time and throughout the world as well as within their own country.
4. Knowledge which enables citizens to understand something of the striving of human beings throughout time for reliable knowledge, how after many false starts Western society has gradually developed canons of objectivity and rationality and achieved fuller access to information, which are the hallmarks of democracy.
5. Knowledge which enables citizens to appreciate the struggle of people throughout time to be just and good in their behaviour toward one another.
6. Knowledge which enables citizens to be fully aware of the major problems that confront society and to be knowledgeable about them.

In sum then, if social studies is to help create the type of informed and knowledgeable citizen alluded to above it must, out of necessity, impart knowledge which is nuanced and multidimensional, reflecting the complexity of social reality. This requires that fundamental changes be made in the current approach to social studies teaching in the Caribbean. The existing problem is well summarized by Brophy and Alleman (1993, p. 27) who argue that today's social studies textbooks feature broad, but shallow, coverage of a great range of topics which results in lessons being largely geared toward the memorizing of disconnected knowledge. In the Caribbean, social studies teaching is largely text-book based and, thus, the question arises as to how it might be possible to use textbooks in a meaningful way to provide citizenship education. This suggests the need for new types of textbooks which emphasize meaningful activities. In the Caribbean, many of the syllabuses focus on what may be termed "Intake Activities" or low level type activities. Griffith (1995, pp. 59-60) has noted that most of the knowledge acquired by students in social studies classes in the Caribbean is still transmitted in the classroom setting and largely through a two-by-four pedagogy. He notes that not much is facilitated through the use of surveys, community projects, and other "out-of-class" activities which perceive of, and use, the community itself as a major resource.

Alleman and Brophy (1994, p. 262) have emphasized that these out-of-school learning activities are important because they could complement what goes on in school by exploiting community resources and environments. Students could, for example, be asked to reflect on and collect information about how social studies concepts learned at school apply to family situations, and also be allowed to feed their findings back into subsequent class discussions. In this way social studies would become less boring, (as it is widely perceived to be) more personal, and more relevant to students. Obviously, the more effective social studies is the greater its chances of achieving the goal of citizenship education.

That the general practice in the Caribbean seems to be on knowledge intake is also reflected in the type of questions and requirements of exam questions which, usually, mainly require students to regurgitate what they have learnt. If social studies is to effectively deliver citizenship education then it is also necessary that a reassessment be done of the ways in which students are examined or tested. Only a limited number of competencies are tested by current examination practices. There is, therefore, need for new and innovative ways of assessment. The Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) School Based Assessment (SBA) scheme is a step in the right direction. However, students engaging in these SBA projects are usually encountering such projects, for example, doing surveys, for the first time in their educational life. Thus, there is need to introduce these types of activities from Form 1 so that they would have developed a high level of competence by the time they reach the CXC level.

The problem of the shallow content of social studies textbooks also requires that, in terms of instructional strategy, social studies teachers adopt what is known in social studies as an issues centred approach. An issues centred approach may be justified on the basis that people tend to look at issues in a general and broad sense as opposed to looking at an issue from a narrow perspective. The adoption of an issues centred approach would allow for a flexible curriculum which is subject to change as issues change. It would also allow students to focus on and investigate these issues in a problem-solving and innovative manner through the use of, for example, cooperative learning strategies. In the final analysis, however, the effectiveness of social studies in imparting

citizenship education will depend on whether the teachers are willing to go beyond what the limited syllabus suggests is to be done.

Developing Skills

Another major way in which social studies can achieve the goal of citizenship education is by helping students to acquire the skills (thinking/cognitive, study/academic, political, and interpersonal/social) necessary for functioning in today's increasingly complex and global environment. In other words, by helping them to develop civic competence. Academic skills mainly refer to those skills required for conducting research such as identification of sources and interpretation of data. Cognitive skills refer to mainly, but not exclusively, critical thinking and related interpretative skills which enable students to process the vast volume of information in today's world. Interpersonal skills relate to the ability required to get along in a non-conflictual way with other members of the local and international community regardless, for example, of their ethnic, racial, or class background. Political skills refer to the abilities required to participate effectively in the political processes of the democratic or other political system in terms of, for example, pursuing power and influencing government.

Engle and Ochoa (1988, pp. 24-25) are quite correct then in arguing that citizens in a democracy require more complex skills than those skills including map-reading skills, library skills, communication skills, and group work skills, which are usually listed for social studies. These limited skills, they observe, are primarily concerned with retrieval and recall of information whereas the skills required by a citizen in a democracy focus on the utilization of knowledge in making decisions and implementing one's decision in the social and political arena. The specific skills which they see as being important include:

1. Being able to size up a problem and identify the real point of conflict or the real issue, including the underlying values that are at stake.
2. Being able to select the information which is relevant to the problem and to relate it logically to proposed solutions; being able to judge the reliability of various sources of information, including firsthand experience as well as research-based information.
3. Being able to see a problem in its broadest possible context including the value considerations involved.
4. Being able to build a scenario of likely consequences regarding any proposed solution to a problem.
5. Being able to make reasoned judgements where the evidence is conflicting or where there is conflict between desired values.
6. Being able to empathize with people whose points of view with respect to the problem differ from yours.
7. Being able to choose a solution which, though less than ideal, is politically viable and makes progress toward resolving an impasse possible.
8. Being able to exercise political influence toward implementing justifiable decisions; being able to organize others and to work in organizations to achieve justifiable political goals.

Whatever the conceptualization of, or approach to, social studies (social action, life adjustment, inquiry, multiculturalism, or cultural transmission) (see Janzen, 1995, pp. 134-140), these skills may be regarded as being indispensable to the citizen in democratic states such as those of the Anglophone Caribbean. Importantly, however, if social studies is to develop these skills in the citizen, teaching cannot be classroom or textbook based. Rather, it must seek to involve students in real life exercises which require them to engage the issues relating to society in ways, or through activities which are meaningful, and involve active interaction with the community.

Developing Appropriate Values

A third way in which social studies can achieve the goal of citizenship education is by helping to inculcate in students values consistent with and supportive of democracy. Democracy, according to Engle and Ochoa (1988, p. 65), involves attention to values. They see democratic values as involving respect for the welfare of others, the right to dissent, the right to participate in decision making, and equality of opportunity for each individual,

among other things. These values are usually rooted in or reflect wider universal values, but are also based on the culture specific to the given society and its political system.

Engle and Ochoa (1988) provide the following sound advice for conceptualizing and teaching values in social studies:

It should... be obvious that values are never fixed entities which can be handed down intact from adults to children. How a value such as freedom is to be taken clearly depends on the circumstances. It must be reinterpreted case by case and generation by generation. Its application is very much the same kind of problem for intelligent and well informed adults as for children. The exact circumstances of its application in one case are never repeated in another. We must abandon the idea that values can be taught, in the abstract, as fixed entities without substance. Such an effort results only in the mouthing of empty words rather than real commitment. Even if one is really committed to a value, it is intelligently and morally respectable to have some doubt about that value. Nor can the teaching of values be treated as incidental to otherwise purely factual social studies. Value examination, value commitment, and value use in resolving social problems cannot be carried out without facts, any more than facts can be made meaningful without recourse to values. (p. 120)

A major problem, however, is that quite often social studies curriculum, activities, and teaching practices display an ambivalence or outright neglect of the important role of values in fostering understanding and resolving social problems. This criticism is particularly applicable to social studies conceptualizations which are rooted exclusively in the social sciences. In this respect, it could be argued that values are best taught when they derive from a combined use of the social sciences and the humanities, a strategy which is more apt to reflect social reality or real life situations. In the context of the Caribbean, the problem of neglect of values in teaching is exacerbated by the fact that because of the small size of the countries, among other reasons, teachers and the education system as a whole are often subjected to the direct influences of the political establishment. This fact often precludes any meaningful classroom discussion of issues regarded as being politically sensitive, controversial, or even politically incorrect.

The implications for the teaching of value-laden issues in Caribbean schools should thus be clear, especially given that value issues are by nature inherently political and controversial. However, some sense of balance can be brought to discussions of value issues such as HIV/AIDS, or freedom and justice, if they are properly taught. Values should be integrated into the regular lesson topics in social studies rather than attempting to teach them as discrete topics, for the reason that in the latter case students tend to learn them as an intellectual exercise with no sense of commitment or application, while the former approach helps the student to confront, in an active participating way, the realities of learning, of the classroom and school community, of the local society, and of social problems. In this sense, social studies, through values clarification, can serve to help students make the necessary life adjustments required to function effectively in a democratic society. The importance of the teaching of values clarification ought not to be understated because as Murray (1976, p. 9) observes, the mass media (especially in this age of globalization and technologies like the Internet) is constantly bombarding students with many conflicting values.

Fostering Social Participation

In all the ways listed above (creating knowledgeable citizens, imparting skills, imparting values) the social studies can help to achieve citizenship education in the Caribbean. These ways by themselves are, however, not enough to effectively achieve the goal of citizenship education. Griffith (1995) explains:

Social studies instruction in the Caribbean has ... traditionally tended to focus almost exclusively on the first three goals of knowledge, skills and attitudes-- and this mainly in an academic/intellectual sense and almost exclusively within the artificial confines of the classroom. Further, with respect to the skill objectives, the emphasis has been more on academic skills-- for finding and decoding information, with rather less attention being paid to cognitive and thinking skills-- for analyzing information, and to social skills. The bigger goals

of social participation and citizenship education have been studiously neglected, in any explicit forms, in the social studies curriculum and in instructional practice, --although, implicitly, there are constant references to these in national statements of educational philosophy.... While the first three goals are clearly important, it is equally important that they be seen as mainly providing a sub-structure, or foundation, for the two major goals and as being, to that extent, subsumed under these latter. Stated differently, while the foundation is critical, yet it remains as part of the building and does not constitute the entire and completed structure. The restrictive emphasis on goals thus represents a social studies pedagogy which is clearly less authentic, powerful and effective. (pp. 52-53)

For these reasons Griffith quite justifiably argues that there is a rather compelling need for social studies instruction in the Caribbean to move beyond the basic but first-level goals and to address the higher level and bigger goals of the subject area through the adoption of a new paradigm in which knowledge, skills, and attitudes, are applied in certain ways in order to facilitate the achievement of the higher goals, and thus of powerful social studies teaching and learning.

In this respect, it could thus be argued that the single most powerful way the social studies can achieve citizenship education is through fostering an inclination for positive social participation among students. Social participation, according to Griffith (1995), may be defined as:

participation, by students, in active roles in performing certain social tasks and activities, and demonstrating certain capabilities and dispositions, both in and outside of the school, which strengthen their knowledge, skills and values, and which involve the life application of what they are learning [and is] a vehicle for engaging students, at the classroom level, in social criticism and authentic deliberation on issues of public concern, and for bringing these issues into the learning environment in the form of real-life situations. (p. 50)

Even though there might be some controversy about the specific nature and extent of the social action required on the part of the student or citizen, this conceptualization of citizenship education believes that

students do not really understand the notion of citizenship unless they become actively involved in the social and political affairs of local communities [because] democratic theory is... both personally tested and understood by students as they become active participants in civic endeavors. (Janzen, 1995, p. 135)

The clear implication of this conceptualization of citizenship education is that if social studies is to deliver authentic and meaningful instruction in the Caribbean context, it must no longer be textbook and classroom bound. It must rather engage in challenging real life exercises or activities which directly link the school and community realities. This, of course, will require greater support and funding for the social studies in the Caribbean. It will also require further acceptance on the part of examination bodies such as the CXC that “the mere collation of marks from pencil-and-paper tests in social studies precludes the adequate and effective examination and understanding of value questions and social problems and any acceptable resolution of these” (Griffith, 1993, p. 150). There will need to be an application of more clearly formulated criteria for evaluating reflective participation, civic-mindedness, and greater recognition of the fact that the learners’ experiences ought to be an integrated factor in assessment.

From the above discussion it ought to be clear that citizenship education is an urgent and much needed requirement in the Caribbean and international context. This section has argued that even though social studies is not the only subject area which can impart citizenship education, its unique thrust, approach, and goals make it ideally suited to perform such a task. However, if social studies is to effectively achieve the critical goal of citizenship education in the Caribbean context, certain fundamental changes will need to be made to the way the subject is conceptualized, supported, financed, perceived, taught, and examined, among other things. Likewise, in view of the challenges being produced by globalization, there may have to be, as the following section which focuses on the Barbadian experience shows, a reconceptualization of the goals and objectives of Caribbean social studies.

PART 2

Globalization and (Barbados) School Reform

Introduction

More than most subjects taught in Barbadian secondary schools, the challenge for social studies educators in a world marked by complex cultural transactions, technological change, and new trading rules is to encourage a global perspective, inventiveness, industriousness, and a national sense of belonging. In this increasingly complex global environment, every area of social studies discussed in the preceding section (conceptualization, financing, perceptions, role and function, pedagogy, examination) will necessarily have to undergo close scrutiny, and be challenged to change, if the subject area is to remain relevant and effective in meeting the needs of democratic society in the new century. Notwithstanding the importance of those objectives of schooling that are vocational, or are related to the social and cognitive development of the individual, officials in the Ministry of Education, activists, and public commentators have long seen civic education as the most important objective for schooling. Indeed it was in the mid-1960s, just prior to political independence, that the then Errol Barrow Administration introduced free education, not so much to ensure the imparting of a basic set of academic competency skills and behavioural attitudes toward white collar work as to prepare the young for citizenship. Since the early 1990s, however, public policy officials have become increasingly concerned about the adaptability of the Barbadian economy and its workforce to changes in the world economy. Indeed, new technologies and global capitalist intensification are having a flattening effect on Barbados' social and political coordinates.

Technological upgrading at the industrial base of the world economy registers adversely on strategies aimed at offering foreign capital basic skilled labour-intensive platforms. Since 1996, as well, Barbados has experienced a fall-off in tourist arrivals from North America; cuts in the country's sugar quota to North America are imminent in the wake of new trade rules; and the benefits of docking onto an offshore financial sector strategy seem unclear as international consensus moves towards re-regulation. While there has been growth in the Barbadian economy from the mid-1990s--the result of an upsurge in commercial activity and European tourist arrivals--continued over-investment in non-tradable sectors has forced government to tighten credit controls. Altogether, with a premium placed on free trade and export-competitiveness, the commercial-dealing nature of the local economy ultimately runs up hard against its own self-generated limits. This coincides with a lack of cohesive spiritual and social values, and unrestricted acquisitiveness in Barbadian society; this ruling social passion is tied to a peculiar conception of "freedom," one shaped by highly individualist perceptions and impulses around crass indifference and materialism.²

In order to restore social cohesion, economic viability, and competitiveness in the international economy, a more direct link is called for between a reformed educational system and a more productive economy. A new equation has thus been added to the school reform agenda, that is, the problem of how to ensure the continued viability of accustomed meritocratic principles like excellence and equity, in the context of a dramatic shift in the world economy. Parallel to this is an ongoing dialogue among public commentators and educators on underperforming males in academic work, increasing lawlessness, the relationship between the needs of capital and secondary school education, and the need for a strong technical and vocational component in educational programmes. The resulting portrait has generated the fuel for the latest school reform initiative known as the Education Sector Enhancement Programme or "EduTech2000." This initiative is discussed following the section below on Barbadian educators' perception of the material and cultural challenges confronting the school system. Interviews were conducted with three senior teachers, one of whom is in the primary school system and two principals in the secondary school system. They were questioned mainly in areas about the relationship between "globalization" and education up to secondary school. This included discussion on the impact of the computer on the labour process the changing commodity and labour requirements of the national and global economy, student

preferences and business studies in the school curricula, the efficacy of current instructional programmes, and the premise and promise of EduTech.

Economic Change and the School Reform Impetus

For the past decade, there has been debate concerning the probable effects of globalization on Barbados' development. In some cases, this issue was nested in research on the impact of new information technologies on the labour process and the wider population. The challenges facing trade unions following the salary cuts and lay-offs of public sector employees in 1991, and the tide of growing youth violence and lawlessness provided the backdrop to these discussions and debates. Lawrence Nurse's (1992, p. 119) industrial relations study, for example, referred to the need for managerial flexibility and skill enhancement of the local labour force in the wake of technological change. This resonated with recommendations flowing from a 1992 national survey on the socioeconomic conditions of youth in Barbados (Brathwaite & Carter, 1993). On the issue of the relevance of the system of secondary education to the needs of contemporary society and the youth, one of the researchers, a leading sociologist advised: "In order to function in the information era of the future, ..[the] youth...must begin, and in the case of the more fortunate, advance, the process of computer literacy leading to proficiency." He further added: "New ideas must also be forthcoming with respect to vocational training and for creating new vistas for the polytechnic institutions and continuing education programmes..." (see Lewis & Carter, 1995, p. 26) Altogether, these ideas merged well with intra-elite discussions on the way forward for Barbados in the wake of global changes. Offshore services and information technology have since been targeted as potential areas for sustainable growth well into the next century. It is envisioned by Prime Minister Owen Arthur, as indicated in a 1997 address to the local Chamber of Commerce, that with education and other macro-economic reforms, the island's production base could shift towards one driven by "informed" knowledge technologies attracting higher sources of foreign direct investment.

In responding to questions about the scope and preference for business studies in the secondary school curricula, the educators observed that students favour traditional academic subjects over those related to business and technical studies. They share the view that parents discourage their children from selecting technical studies that do not offer the promise, reward, or glamour of traditional white collar careers. It is not surprising that parents would act in this way, for cultural perceptions of success and high achievement are usually reserved for those on the academic training track as opposed to those involved in technical training. Moreover, the introduction of business and technical studies in the newer secondary schools in the early 1980s reinforced the perception that technical training is an outlet for marginal students or academic failures. Under these circumstances, students have harbored the unrealistic expectation that ample white collar jobs and high wages await them at the end of their studies. The educators also lamented the absence of consistent programmes or effective policies to inform connections between the needs of capital and the entire school system, including the Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic. This says something of the nature and character of the local private sector.

Commerce predominates in the Barbadian economy, and together with the feature of continued over-investment in non-tradable sectors these ingredients make for a precarious economic foundation.³ For largely historical and sociological reasons, the wealthy elite remains risk-adverse and ensconced in import-trading, banking and insurance, real estate and property development, and other commercial endeavours. Since commercial-dealing capitalists constitute the leading economic class in Barbados, there is a merchant capital character to the economy. Indeed, fear of the risks and of failure govern the cultural predisposition towards business among significant sections of the population. Most students over the years have pursued careers in the civil service and commercial private sector, because working for others is perceived as a guarantee of job stability and status enhancement. The upshot of this is that merchant capital has no systematic need for large numbers of highly trained professional and technical workers. There is, thus, a disjuncture between what educators sense as the modern needs of global capital and the need to prepare students accordingly, and the fact that local businesses make no specific demands on secondary education.

Gender Performance in the School System

Generally, the educators acknowledge that large numbers of female students tend to outperform their male counterparts. This was attributed to the disciplined approach to academic study many females bring to academic work. The reasons offered for this situation, however, were diverse, but most of the stock arguments appear. Some pointed to the preponderance of female teachers in the primary school suggesting that this was damaging to the sense of self-worth among boys. Others lamented the absence of positive male role models as teachers throughout the education system. Another point raised was the seeming bias for female employees in sectors of the labour market, including occupations once reserved for males, and the impact this must have on the morale of males in the school.⁴

These arguments are problematic insofar as they misconstrue and misrepresent the role of gender in the political economy. Women's role in the political economy of Barbados does not begin nor end at the workplace or point of production, as it extends to their role as mothers, wives, and caretakers in the household. The point shared by many social commentators about the preponderance of females in the primary schools and how this accounts for low self-esteem is a defense of patriarchy and, at any rate, the point is lost if we can appreciate that there is no inadequacy in the biological nature and social roles of women in society. Cecilia Green's (1994) study on issues facing Commonwealth Caribbean females in education, career, and professional advancement concedes that there has been a dramatic increase of women in the workforce but that most find employment in low-paid mundane jobs. She concludes that even where females outperform males in academic, professional, and technical fields there remain obstacles to their advancement into senior technical, administrative, and managerial levels.

Beyond the gender question, however, there are several problems of quality and efficiency in the education and training system of Barbados in areas such as inadequate supplies of textbooks and instructional materials, deficiencies in the examination and certification system, and the infrastructure. Recently, President of the Barbados Union of Teachers, Undine Whittaker, made an appeal for more teachers trained to cope with other problems in the classroom: "Some are dyslexic, a lot need remedial therapy, some whose attention span is short, some who have brain damage, some who are subnormal [sic]; we get a whole range of these children within the school system" (Teachers: We are not to blame, 1999).

Assessing the "EduTech2000 Masterplan"

It is worth noting that the educators consider education reform the key corrective to Barbados' contracting economy and ailing society. This resonates with views similarly expressed by Lewis and Carter (1992) and state officials. The Ministry of Education, Youth Affairs and Culture's (1995) *White Paper on Education Reform* and the *EduTech2000 Masterplan* (Peled & Peled, 1997) produced by two consultants, Zimra Peled and Elad Peled, together constitute the blueprint to education reform in Barbados. A project largely funded by the Inter-American Development Bank, EduTech2000 is a five year education sector enhancement programme involving the introduction of information technology (IT), pedagogical changes, and change in the curricular foci. The document outlines the specific objectives of EduTech2000 as being:

1. To increase the efficacy of the teaching/learning process by encouraging teachers to utilize available technologies in their classrooms.
2. To prepare students for life in a technologically-advanced society by ensuring that all students who leave school in the 21st century have good knowledge of, and adequate skills in the use of information technology.

In the *White Paper on Education Reform*, a number of curricular knowledge domains are listed corresponding to the official thrust on services development. The fields include: Information handling; Scientific literacy; IT literacy; and Communication and collaboration means and strategies. These skills are geared to meet labour market demands in tourism, offshore services, and informatics. The pedagogical objectives in the *EduTech* report relate to conceptual, curricular, teaching, and learning strategies. The suggested aim is to transform the

education system from one that is "instructionist" towards one that is constructivist or, put another way, one that is conducive to learning partnerships between teacher and student. Throughout, it is expected that an appropriate use of IT tools will be infused into classroom practices. Constructivism, as explained by the consultants, involves a change in the relationship and culture of the traditional classroom. Under the traditional method (instructionism) the role of the teacher is to manage and convey "expert" subject-matter information to the student, but under constructivism, s/he manages and facilitates active and generative learning in an environment that is intellectually challenging; the student collaborates rather than listens; the classroom is interactive and student-centred rather than teacher-centred; and rather than standard objective tests, the student engages in performance tasks and criterion-referenced exercises. This explanation notwithstanding, it is quite likely that the underlying authority relations of the school will inevitably structure the student's experience with computers, as with other media.

The new reform curriculum emphasizes the importance of socializing students for the acquisition of a basic set of social skills, especially those relating to "adaptability," "self-discipline," "self monitoring," and "team work." There is scope here for a global perspective to be engendered. To be sure, the educators interviewed lamented the very little global content in civic education or general knowledge programmes today. They each point to the crowded daily school schedule and the need to meet the standards of the existing curriculum as major obstacles blocking the incorporation of global education into any school as a separate or a new curriculum. One of the principals also suggested that very few of the social studies textbooks are written with a global view. If, however, teachers and schools become convinced that the world can be used as the principal content for their classroom instruction, a global perspective among students will emerge. Some of the pedagogical changes mooted under EduTech clearly offer the scope for more information on the feedback relationship between the global and local.

After careful reading of the two reports, it does appear that they have been constructed from a social efficiency ideology that is intent on re-aligning the educational system in harmony with perceived future high tech and information needs of businesses, both local and foreign. The reformers are also clearly pinning their hopes for the sustainability of the Barbadian economy on a high tech, information-based economy. The educators, when questioned, also pin the meritocratic dream of "equal educational opportunity for all" on the dubious claim that high technology will be a central source of new jobs in the early years of the 21st century. However, what is the factual basis for their beliefs? Two fallacies are seemingly at work. The first assumes that the fastest growing job categories in the core economies are in high-tech industries. Levin (1984, pp. 33-34), in a study forecasting the impact of new technologies on the future job market in the United States, charges that the impact of high tech industries and occupations has been oversold. Not only will high tech industries employ only a fraction of the nation's workers, he surmises, but many of the jobs they do provide require little or no knowledge of high technology. His statistical projections of future employment in the United States reveal that future job growth will favour service and clerical jobs that require little or no post-secondary schooling and that pay below-average wages. This brings us to the second fallacy in this reform equation, which equates high technology industries with jobs that require advanced education and highly complex job skills. In much the same way that cashiers no longer need to have mathematical skills because modern cash registers carry out all of the necessary computations, Levin notes a reduction in the skills needed by computer programmers, workers in auto repair, industrial design, architectural drafting, and other related occupations.

These points are important in the Barbadian context if we plot trends occurring in the labour market from 1970 to 1999. There is little beyond marginal participation in services at the level of data-entry work in Barbados. Divided into two major categories, the types of employment currently found in the offshore sector and the host economy feature: (a) a continuation of the traditional past clerical, construction, and professional employment (with some modifications), plus a burgeoning service economy; and (b) a small high tech information/telecommunications sector requiring relatively few highly trained employees. The former will continue to absorb the vast majority of the workforce in the foreseeable future, whereas the latter will only make up a relatively small percentage of the work force. But there is more to this. The dangers of overestimating the benefits of computerization appear very strong in the current discourse.

The justification for computer literacy, especially in the secondary schools, is based on the notion that these programmes are vital to prepare students for the job market, and that computer-assisted instruction (CAI) can

boost student performance. A few of the earmarked pilot/demonstration schools have already commenced the programme. But, as mentioned earlier, predictions of a swelling job market for these skills have dubious validity. Claims that computer instruction can boost achievement must also be viewed critically. Douglas and Bryant (1985), observed that programmes for developing courseware tend to be pedagogically primitive. Students are tested through short answer, matching answer, and multiple choice questions. Accordingly, CAI is simply old programmed instruction in a flashier package.

Computers can help exercise logical skills and are useful tools for data entry and retrieval, calculating, and building communication networks. However, it would appear that the ideology of progress through computerization is strong in current policy dialogues. It corresponds to a promise that new freedoms and opportunities will somehow emerge from using new electronic tools, with no changes in social hierarchies or loci of power. Integrated into a curriculum with a concern for social and cultural impacts, the proffered new courses in IT could perhaps enrich students' understanding and mastery of the modern world. But "computer literacy" minus any attempt to bolster and infuse social studies programmes with a global perspective subordinates education to the job-oriented demands of the business sector.

Issues, therefore, of globalization, gender, the impact and potential of the Internet and technology, economic and social change, to name a few, all become social issues to the extent that they will impact significantly on Caribbean society. As social issues, they clearly come within the ambit of social studies content, and thus have implications for what must be seen as a legitimate aspect of educating our youth to be citizens of the new society of the twenty-first century. Stated differently, social studies programmes in Barbados and the rest of the Caribbean will need to develop a "global face," in addition to their local focus and concerns. Care must be taken as well that elite reformers do not succumb to over-glib rhetoric coming from high-technology circles, as focus may be lost on how to improve cognitive skills beyond mastery of techniques and designs. The capacity to think critically is crucial for social and economic transformation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the issues and concerns addressed in the foregoing sections of this monograph, the following recommendations appear to emerge logically and relevantly:

1. That each Caribbean territory explicitly commits itself to a policy statement for the teaching of social studies at all levels of the school system.
2. That, in pursuance of this, each Ministry of Education identify and appoint a suitably qualified and competent person to function as the Education Officer for social studies.
3. That each territory undertake or facilitate, also as a matter of policy, the development of relevant interactive resource materials for the teaching of social studies.
4. That, in the teaching of social studies, specific attention be paid to identifying, and developing in Caribbean children, the attributes of “civic competence.”
5. That the use of out-of-class activities and service learning be officially sanctioned as an important, acceptable vehicle for the teaching of social studies.
6. That the use of on-task activities be sanctioned and promoted as the basis for authentic instruction and learning in social studies.
7. That the social studies programme in schools be structured to include issues and concerns of a global nature (economic, political, and social) that have, actually or potentially, an impact on Caribbean society.
8. That the syllabus and teachers be guided to pay specific attention to the linkages between developments in science and technology and their impact on society and social norms and values, both locally and globally.
9. That, in evaluating learning in social studies, teachers be required to pay greater attention to evidence of critical thinking and values.
10. That the CXC examining body include more items and questions that test for values and for social studies skills.
11. That the current Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examinations (CAPE) syllabus for Caribbean Studies be restructured as a bona fide social studies syllabus, focusing more on the development and display of certain skills, values, and understandings rather than on the acquisition of disparate bits of knowledge.
12. That, in the training of social studies teachers, greater attention needs to be paid to the fact that social studies is more about methodology and the process of social investigation than about recall of factual information.

13. That both teacher-trainers and teachers need to be sensitive to the very real impact of their own teaching style and attitude on students' learning.
14. That Caribbean governments need to become more sensitive to the value, to the nation, of the development of proper, prosocial work ethic, attitude, dispositions and outlook, and to the contribution that social studies, properly taught, can make in these respects.

Notes

1. See, for instance, R. C. Carter (1997), *Youth in the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States: The Grenada Study*. Cave Hill: Institute of Social and Economic Studies, UWI; R. C. Carter (1993), *Crime and Punishment: The Attitudes and Experiences of Barbadian Youth*. Cave Hill: UWI. (Staff Seminar Series); L. Lewis and R. C. Carter (1995), *Essays on Youth in the Caribbean*. Cave Hill: Institute of Social and Economic Research, UWI.
2. For further discussion on the decline of communal and spiritual values and rising materialism see R. C. Carter (1995), "Decline of Community, Decline of Youth Behaviour: Causation or coincidence?" In L. Lewis and R. C. Carter (1995), *Essays on Youth in the Caribbean*. Cave Hill: Institute of Social and Economic Research, UWI.
3. For discussion along these lines see the various essays by H. Watson in, H. Watson, Ed. (1994), *The Caribbean in the Global Political Economy*. Boulder, CA: Lynne Rienner Publishing; Also, D. Worrell (1993), "Investment in the Caribbean," *Social and Economic Studies*, vol. 42, nos. 2&3, pp. 243-259; D. D. Marshall (1998), *Caribbean Political Economy at the Crossroads*. London: MacMillan.
4. For more on the performance of females in secondary schools and other related issues see K. de Albuquerque and S. Ruark (1998), "Men Day Done: Are Women Really Ascendant in the Caribbean? In C. Barrow, Ed. (1998), *Caribbean Portraits: Essays on Gender Ideologies and Identities*. Kingston: Ian Randle Pub.; Mona: Centre for Gender and Development Studies; E. A. Leo-Rhynie (1989), "Gender Issues in Education and Implications for Labour Force Participation." In K. Hart , Ed. (1989), *Women and the Sexual Division of Labour in the Caribbean* (pp. 81-97). Mona: Consortium School of Graduate Studies, UWI; E. Miller (1991), *Men at Risk*. Kingston: Jamaica Publishing House.

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