Shifts in Education Policy, Administration and Governance in Guyana 1831–2017. Seeking 'A Political' Agenda for Equity and Renewal

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Article first published online

June 2017

Shifts in Education Policy, Administration and Governance in Guyana 1831–2017. Seeking 'A Political' Agenda for Equity and Renewal

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Abstract: Taking a socio-historiographical approach and reading the paper through Hodgson and Spours political eras, the paper reveals five education policy-eras in Guyana. First 1831- 1953; British Imperialist rule trafficked slaves from Africa to Guyana. Emancipated slaves in 1838 were replaced by indentured Indian labourers shipped to Guyana by the British. The White elite predominantly educated the White elite. Second 1953 - 1963; state education offered different entitlements to different groups inducing fear, mistrust and violence. Third 1964 - 1980; Independence from British rule increased extreme political turbulence. A weakened global and national economy was blamed on teachers for not delivering a skilled labour force. Fourth 1981 - 2002; the economy improved but political turbulence prevented developing cosmopolitan citizens' and migrants' skills for their local economies. Fifth 2003 - 2017; internationally funded strategic-plans supported increased international interests in: legal and illegal trading of Guyana's resources; Guyana's labour force; mobility of production. Throughout these eras education policies have been frustrated by market force, trafficking people, corruption, political turbulence and a lack of equitable participation in state constitutions and institutions. A new 'Theory of Equity for Cosmopolitan Citizens' is presented, requiring proof of concept with nation-states with growing mi-grant populations.

Keywords: inclusion, solidarity, entrepreneurism, empowerment

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Introduction

The paper takes a critical policy historiography approach (Grimaldi & Serpieri, 2012; Gale, 2001), with an aim to examine policy as text and policy as discourse in Guyana (Ball, 2006). The paper draws on policy documents, government policy texts, academic literature, newspaper cuttings (Simon, 1991), and websites which are analysed and read through Hodgson and Spours Analytical Framework for Policy Engagement (2006, p. 684). Hodgson and Spours (2006) argue that the framework has emerged from limited research. The papers in these special editions 2012, 2014 and this edition have found the framework very useful to understand shifts in policy making and underpinning ideologies in the testing of the framework, and provides further proof of concept. Five political eras in Guyana education policy making are revealed, and key themes that occur and/or re-occur focusing on struggles of power between an elite and different groups which in turn have different status.

The paper makes a new contribution to knowledge by providing a descriptive and critical analysis of the interplay between education policy, politics, and the socio-geographical landscape of the country. The analysis gives an insight into the characteristics of the diverse groups of people and the way in which the indigenous group of people, the arrival of new groups of people at different times in Guyana's recent history, the terrain, the culture, institutions, and social systems interacted to create the national characters. The interplay between the structures and agency, underpinned by very different ideologies over time, and their impact on the populous' value systems are mapped and connected to the level of accessibility to major systems including industrialisation/infra-structure and education.

Guyana, formerly British Guiana founded in 1831 is now named the Cooperative Republic of Guyana and is the only English speaking nation of the Commonwealth on the mainland of South America. The Indigenous Amerindians were in Guyana when the different European Slave Traders arrived on the coasts of Guiana from the mid seventeenth century bringing with them, African slaves from various ports from the African continent (Daly, 1974). Schools were for the children of the British to inculcate them into British cultures (Ishmael, 2012). Uprisings by the African slaves led to their emancipation, but during these violent times of oppression, Amerindians were encouraged by the White slave masters to bring back African slaves or murder them (Ishmael, 2005). The stories of these struggles are a legacy that diverse groups in Guyana need to navigate

today[1]. Emancipation of African slaves was on 1 August 1838 and the Guyanese people celebrate this important date each year (Guyana Chronicle, 2014). Most of the free Africans who were former slaves did not agree to work on the plantations for a wage and formed cooperatives on small pockets of land bought from plantation owners. In these cooperatives, they worked as peasant subsistence farmers and were educated funded by an education grant from the British Government (Ishmael, 2012). In British Guiana the freed slaves engaged with strikes from 1831 to 1861 which led local planters and government officials to bring 96,850 labourers from the Indian subcontinent to Guyana to complete the work left undone due to the striking activity (Understanding Slavery, 2011).

The cultural heritage of Amerindians, and the migration of British, Africans, people from the Indian subcontinent, and other groups crossing borders into Guyana has led to diverse groups who have experienced different access and opportunities to social mobility. The particular conditions and underlying purpose of each group's origins in Guyana, or their migration to Guyana, has also been influenced by Guyana's geographical-political boundaries. Guyana is bordered to the East by Suriname, to the South and East by Brazil and to the East by Venezuela. People have and do cross these borders with little regulation due to the interior landscape of Guyana. Guyana is one of the four non Spanish speaking territories on the continent where the first language is English along with Brazil with the first language of Portuguese, Suriname with the first language of Dutch, and the French Overseas Region of French Guiana with a first language of French (Williams, 1991). There is more of a mix and interflow of nationals from neighbouring Brazil and in particular on the Border Areas of Guyana Brazil (Williams, 1991). The communication flow includes Portuguese and English. The language of Spanish is usually taught in Secondary Schools in Guyana and despite the current territorial concerns between Guyana and Venezuela, the Spanish Language is recognised as an important subject within the Secondary Schools Curricula (Williams, 1991). Nevertheless, culturally, Guyana is more associated with the Caribbean than with Latin American Countries and thus has joined the Trade Links with the Caribbean Community (Caricom) (Caricom, 2017) made up of nations in the West Indies (Commonwealth, 2016).

The movements of peoples in and out of Guyana have resulted in two more ethnic groups being included in the diverse population of Guyana, so the main six ethnic groups are now the Amerindians, Africans, Indians, Europeans,

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[1] There is not scope in this paper to discuss the slave uprisings with the care and attention they deserve, and the reader is encouraged to read Ishmael (2005).

Portuguese and Chinese. Guyana is almost land locked with a coastline of 270 miles along the Atlantic Coast, and part of the Amazon Rain Forest within its borders (National Geographic, 2016). Guyana's multi ethnic population comprises of under 800,000 Africans, Indians, Chinese, Europeans, and Portuguese with around 80,000 Native Guyanese, (Amerindians) (Stabroek, 2016). The country became an independent nation in 1966, and has an agrarian economy with its main exports being Sugar, Rice, Bauxite, Timber and minerals (Commonwealth, 2016). The nation's infrastructure and population's wealth and potential to pay taxes to fund the infrastructure is undermined by illegal logging, and gold and diamond mining (Stabroek News, 2015).

Due to Guyana's Geographical-political position and Historical background, most of the population, infrastructure, services and resources have been concentrated in the coastal areas, and mainly in and around the capital city of Georgetown. In addition, due to the country's land mass, travel is laborious and sometimes difficult, thus communication with isolated communities within the interior of the country, or hinterland, can be very challenging. As a result, educational and other services provided to the Hinterlands and Deep Riverain Regions do tend to fall below the national standards (Ishmael, 2012).

Methodology

The paper takes a critical policy historiographical approach to map the relationship between the education policies of today to the educational policies of the past (Gale, 2001). The history of education policy will be examined through shifts in political eras (Hodgson & Spours, 2006). The data consists of policy documents, and primary sources from government documents (Gale, 2001), newspaper articles and commissioned research, and academic literature (Simon, 1991). Primary and secondary document analysis was conducted (Taysum & Iqbal, 2012) that draw on both snap shot views of statistical data, and rich qualitative analyses of policy as text and reported policy as discourse (Ball, 2006). There is not scope to report fully all the policies as texts in this paper, rather excerpts are drawn upon to illustrate positions, and aims of education policies to enable the reader to make informed judgements about the quality dimensions of the research (Pollard, 2008; Oancea & Furlong, 2007). The position taken in this paper is Guyanese people have experienced different governance systems from 1792 when British governance trafficked African human beings to Guyana and forced them into slavery in the plantations, contributing wealth to the British empire (Daly, 1974). Emancipation from

slavery occurred on 23 February 1838 (Spry Rush, 2011; Daly, 1974) which was followed by a planned migration of indentured Indians to Guyana to take up the slaves' labour. Guyana experienced a change of governance from British rule to independence in 1966 after political struggle. The British governance was replaced with a government with more communist ideologies and the nation state became linked to Cuba (Ishmael, 2012).

Political struggle continued resulting in Guyana's Russian ties with Cuba being severed and since that time Guyana has experienced ideologies of neo-liberalism. These shifts in governance and underpinning ideologies, coupled with economic pressures compounded by corruption have had a profound effect on the development of citizenship within a civil society reflected in the curriculum. The authors' position is in agreement with Waghid and Smeyer's (2014) that young people need to develop cosmopolitan dispositions so that they can debate as equal and free people in a democracy, and that they can demand social justice for all. Gutmann (1996) notion of virtues of cosmopolitanism is defined as: "firstly, the capacity to deliberate as free and equal citizens in a democratic polity, and secondly, conducting such deliberations so that they are about the demands of justice for all individuals (Gutmann, 1996, pp. 68-69). If we deliberate as free and equal citizens, then we first of all give an account of what we do to others, who might find our reasons justifiable or not. In turn, we consider the reasons of others equally, which can lead either to our accepting or rejecting their reasons, or their understanding of our reasons or justifications. Such justifications and concomitant actions arise in an atmosphere of free and open expression, and are hindered when our reasons embody injustice towards others.

Thus an A-political curricular is required that can provide young people with cosmopolitan dispositions such that they can become societal innovators for equity and renewal. The curriculum might also benefit from exploring how the experience of colonialism and the British empire has influenced the creation of Guyana's institutions for colonised non-European peoples (Goodman, McCulloch & Richardson, 2009).

Education Policy to Inculcate British Children into British Culture

The first education policy era was one of an education system to inculcate British children into British cultures. By the turn of the 20th century individual Africans began to join the government with education supporting individual social mobility funded by the African Education Grant. At the same time, the newly arrived migrant Indians worked on the

plantations under conditions similar to those of the former African slaves without education that might provide social mobility (Ishmael, 2012). When the Indians' period of indenture was complete they were allowed passage back to India or were given land in lieu of a ticket home. Most chose to stay in Guyana and built small villages away from the plantations and developed peasant agriculture, particularly cultivating rice (Ibid). The plantation owners continued to use the migrant Indian workers as cheap labour. The Indians who were successful developed their farming and moved to Georgetown the capital and developed infrastructure that joined other towns, smaller villages, and networks of small economies. The churches offered these Indians education and they began to compete with the Africans for jobs in the civil service and the teaching profession.

Education Policy 1953- 1963: An era of State and Church Control

In the period between 1953-1961 the colony of British Guyana underwent a series of major political upheavals and accompanying adjustments with the Pro-Socialist Political Party (PPP) being re-elected. The PPP oversaw internal governance of Guyana due to the disruptions resulting in the Africans and Indians replacing the British in Senior posts in the nation state. The British Government were left to control security and foreign affairs (Ishmael, 2012). The actions of the PPP underpinned by communist ideologies had won civil rights for all and the White ruling classes were replaced by the now educated Guyana people of African descent and Guyana people of Indian descent. Whilst civil rights movements in the United States strove for equity and renewal between 1945 and 1968, they did not achieve what was achieved in the governance systems in Guyana with a pro-communist government (Ishmael, 2012). A census taken in Guyana in 1970 which is the closest set of data to 1953 available reveals there were 218,401 Africans, 362,736 Indians, and 72,317 of mixed race, giving 509,119 people of Colour and 2,186 White people. The number of white people had remained a steady figure from 1930 to 1970 (Spry Rush, 2011). The ratio of people of Colour to White people in Guyana was 233: 1. The White rule in the US was a majority population of 134,942,028 against the Black population of 15,042,286 in 1953 (Gibson & Jung, 2005). The ratio of people of Colour to White people in the US was 1:9 revealing a significant difference between population ratios in Guyana and the US.

The advocacy of the Black people fighting for civil rights in Guyana was effective and efficient with a ratio of 233 people of Colour: 1 White

person. The result of the advocacy was a government made up of people of Colour. The advocacy of the Black people fighting for civil rights in the US was not as successful with a ratio of 1 person of Colour to 9 White people, and it was not until 2008 that the US had a Black president (BBC, 2013). The paths of the freed slaves in Guyana were very different to that of the freed African slaves in the United States in terms of power post emancipation which arguably led to Guyana not experiencing the legacy of institutionalised racism that exists today in the US (Wagner, 2010).

De Gruy identifies that terrible damage was done to slaves by breaking their wills and replacing their critical minds that underpinned self-efficacy with a fixed mindset of inferiority (Dweck, 2012). The strategy was reinforced by the physical violence committed against the slaves. De Gruy (2005, pp. 116-117) states: 'Perhaps of greatest impact though, were the daily efforts of the slave owners and others in authority to break the slaves' will (and slaves) have experienced a legacy of trauma'. The strategy to break the wills of the slaves was arguably similar in Guyana and the US. De Gruy (2005) identifies that Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome (PTSS) is a cultural heritage of slavery and those with PTSS are vulnerable to replicating the acts of the slave masters towards others, without having developed the dispositions required for such acts. Guyana is implementing initiatives through education policies to prevent the endemic problems of domestic violence.

Perhaps the people of Guyana feared the British colonists which underpinned their vote for the communist PPP. The United States government was concerned about the communist influence in Guyana with the PPP Government in place, and the access this might give Russia to Guyana's ports and the Panama canal (Ishmael, 2012). The US government therefore appealed to the British Government not to hand over independence from Imperial rule to the Americas without structures in place that would assure the prevalence of US democracy (Ishmael, 2005) states: On the 2 November, 1953 the Times of London reported: "It is significant that it should have been an American who felt compelled to issue a warning against the hasty shedding of their responsibilities by the Imperial powers. Mr. Henry Byroade, the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs adds a clear declaration of the perils of "premature independence".

The removal of the PPP by the British Government, by both constitutional and military means, and the setting up subsequently of a puppet nominated Interim Government were, therefore, very much welcomed by the US administration.

The PPP petitioned the British government regarding the dissolution of the democratically elected PPP. The response was for the British

government to encourage citizens to accept the British interim government with increased funding for public expenditure from $26 million for the period 1949-55 to $44 million for 1954-55 (Ishmael, 2005). The British also encouraged the moderate members of the PPP to split away from the radical members to weaken the position of the PPP as a united body. The British government also made a distinction between the Guyana party leader of Indian descent Jagan and the Guyana deputy leader of African descent Burnham by making clear that the Indian educational and business success was a threat to all others particularly the Guyana people of African descent (Ishmael, 2005) which further developed a split between the groups. The British also stated that the Guyana people of Indian descent wanted Guyana to become part of the East Indian Empire (Ishmael, 2005).

Members of the PPP who were identified as having communist ideologies were arrested, and/or, under a 'British rule state of emergency', put under residential restriction meaning they could not leave their home town. The members of the PPP were put under permanent police observation, and public gatherings were banned overtly (Ishmael, 2017). The actions prevented the education system developing what Waghid and Smeyers (2014) call cosmopolitan citizenship where citizens can debate as equal and free people in a democracy, and that they can demand social justice for all. The citizens who wanted the democratically elected PPP government lost their civil rights, and cosmopolitan citizenship. Perhaps it is noteworthy that nowadays young people choose to stay isolated in their rooms playing virtual video games away from the real world and communion (Gozlan, 2012), which prevents the development of cosmopolitan citizenship.

At the same time that the PPP party was struggling for recognition from the White British rule in 1953, Similar struggles for power for people of Colour were occurring in South Africa (Mandela, 1995) and the United States (Lawson et al, 1998). Under these very challenging conditions the PPP expanded education through the Laws of Guyana (1961) with more than 15 percent of government spending allocated to the expansion of education, but the full allocation was not spent (Ishmael, 2012). The developments of mainly dual control of Schools between the state and the church continued throughout these turbulent times (Gross, 2014). In 1961 the Department of Education, reaffirmed the position of 'Elementary' or 'Primary' Education for children from the ages of 6 years to 14 years on a compulsory basis (Laws of Guyana, 1961). During this time, control was lost in classrooms as the racial divides between the Indians and the Africans grew as the White British pitted these two groups against each other as competitors rather than cosmopolitan citizens (Ishmael, 2005).

Reading this through Gross theory of turbulence the turbulence was extreme and included Guyana being put under a state of emergency. Gross (2014, p. 248) theory of turbulence states that: 'turbulence can be described as 'light' with little or no movement of the craft. Moderate with 'Very noticeable' waves'. 'Severe' with strong gusts that threaten control of the aircraft. 'Extreme' with forces so great that control is lost and structure damage to the craft occurs'. The extreme turbulence caused by the racial divides resulted in a state of emergency to try to recover the loss of state control of the peace. The conflict arguably presented a barrier to the growth of cosmopolitan citizenship and vibrant economies alongside the plantations.

As the struggles continued, the law of Guyana (1961) made tuition free and without the patronage or overt religious adherence to the Church (Laws of Guyana, 1961). Any child could attend a school nearby and be taught by teachers regardless of their religious or non religious background (Laws of Guyana, 1961). The "Primary Schools" which were established by the Churches were allocated funding by the State in the form of Grants to pay full salaries for the teachers and further grants for the maintenance, furnishings and repair of school buildings.

The children were still required to purchase their own text books and other required stationary items (Laws of Guyana, 1961). The school and teachers used a plethora of charitable means to provide the books to minimise any negative effect on the children's ability to learn during the extreme turbulence. The extreme turbulence was experienced in the governance systems as different groups sought to reinstate an independent constitution that would recognise all citizens of Guyana whilst other groups resisted this initiative (Ishmael, 2005). Providing education to all children in Guyana was a tremendous task as regular and consistent attendance by the students in the hinterland areas meant daily walking for long distances sometimes over rough terrain or canoeing up or downstream, and along many rivers that cascade through the jungle terrain (Humanium, 2012). Attendance at school was seen as an opportunity to become "educated", as learning to read and write was an important aspiration for further personal and community development.

A critical examination of the Laws of Guyana Education Act (1961) reveals teachers in the government aided schools were not employed by the Government and therefore Government allocated funding did not need to be spent on their salaries. Instead teachers were appointed by and subject to the Denominations Boards of the respective church. The dual control system of administration could function as long as the State and various denominations were in agreement over the management of the schools. The department of Education through its Inspectors ensured uniformity of Standards and Practices

in Teaching Programmes, Examination Systems, the Syllabuses of the various Examinations, and ensured Targets were met (Laws of Guyana, 1961). However, the School Curricula, Textbook Choices, Subject Allocation and Timetabling were within the jurisdiction of the school staff as appointed by the Church Bodies. The essential functions of the school, including funding, therefore remained outside government control, and thus were under no obligation to maintain coherent standards to comply with any government related regulations. The critical analysis reveals in summary that the puppet government increased an initiative to own and build schools with allocated funds. The tensions in the governance systems and extreme turbulence regarding the constitution and citizens' rights resulted in the allocated funding not being spent. Regulating the standards in schools were outside of the government control, and thus the consistent offer between schools that bridged dominant groups and marginalised groups in a multicultural classroom to develop cosmopolitan citizenship dispositions could not be assured (Stanton-Salazar, 2010; Carter; 2008) in Guyana.

The Development of Secondary and Primary Education

During this period Secondary Education developed separately to primary education. Whilst primary Schools catered for the masses of children, the Secondary School System catered for those who passed the Scholarship Examination or for those children whose parents could afford to pay for them to attend these fee paying institutions. Those that could afford the fees would be those in posts with high remuneration offered to those who agreed with the puppet interim government that was Pro-British. Merrill (1992) identifies that 63% of children were enrolled in education in Guyana in 1960, but these figures include the extended primary education of 12 - 14 year olds. The Primary Schools continued to offer places to children who were unsuccessful at the Scholarship Examination up to the age of 14 years old. These children were able to sit the Primary School Certificate Examination, and if successful, were allowed to remain, given intensive instruction and coaching to sit for the Pupil Teacher Appointment Examination (Ibid). Those who succeeded were offered Pupil (Trainee) Teacher Positions within the Primary Schools which was the first rung of the ladder to Trained or Qualified Teacher Status.

There are similarities in the Guyana education system to that of the British Grammar School system of the 1950s. In the British tripartite system working class children who passed the 11 + entrance exam to Grammar School, and went on to access University often became teachers or nurses (Taysum, 2012). Evidence reveals this was because these were

the only professions they had experience of outside of their working class realm. No other career advice was given to them regarding access to other professions that middle class children had access to such as the law, architecture, medicine, and politics (Taysum, 2012). In Guyana whilst Primary Education was compulsory, the Education Law of 1961 gave Primary schools a wider interpretation to include up to 14 year old students. Access to secondary education was by passing the Scholarship Examination, like the British 11+ exam, through a fee paying system by parents of children who could afford it. The system prevented an equitable access for all to secondary education.

At the same time the system prevented democratic governance of the nation by election due to the dissolution of the independent constitution that allowed such democracy. The segregation by social-economic-status, and race prevented equitable access to developing cosmopolitan dispositions through a standardised school curriculum for all, thereby denying the development of the knowledge, skills and experience required to advocate for, and participate in societal institutions.

The Education Act (1961) did not provide any coordinated action for those disabled by society, hence at that time there were no Educational or Vocational provision for those identified as having Special Educational Needs. Further access to schools in the interior, or hinterlands was challenging for young people not disabled by society due to the dense rain forest which further complicated access for young people disabled by society (Barnes & Mercer, 2004).

The Development of Skills Based Training

A "Curriculum Guide" which had been sent in June 1962 to schools in draft form focused on Testing and Evaluating. The Curriculum Guide invited trainee teachers, teachers and teacher educators to provide more breadth to the curriculum to enable young people to optimise their access to the labour market, or innovate to build their own small and medium enterprises. The aim connected with that of John Dewey (1916) who advocated education being culturally relevant to the young people's lived reality including their future industrious and practical engagement with their communities (Higher Education White Paper 1961/1962). Accordingly, teacher educators sought to provide General Education and Training in a range of skills in agriculture, Building Trades as well as Skills in Industry and Commerce. Bacchus (2010) identifies the Higher Education White Paper met problems because all primary school aged children were entered for the English C.P. Examination. The subjects were relevant for schools in England, and provided a curriculum that

would align with the 11+ examinations and access to grammar schools. However, these skills were not relevant for the technical skills that young people needed in rural South American Guyana. UNESCO (1963) identify the key problem with the new policy was that agricultural skills, and technical skills required by the local communities of Guyana were not part of the British grammar school curriculum. Therefore the secondary departments of both primary and secondary schools in Guyana did not wish to teach them either because they wanted to educate the children to access secondary and higher education.

The interim Guyana government invested in Higher Education, which created a massive inservice teacher education programme. The increased capacity meant a greater demand for school places for all children could be met because now there was a greater teaching labour force (Bacchus, 1969). The citizens became more educated which empowered them, thus education was a critical factor in the national effort to promote productivity and economic growth within the country and to enhance the quality of life of the Guyanese people as cosmopolitan citizens.

Bacchus (1969) continues that the government realised there would not be enough funding to build the primary schools, and local communities funded the additional 10,768 new school places and only 1,312 places were wholly funded by the Government.

In July 1962, the Ministry of Education had announced the intention of the Government of British Guiana to withdraw from the University of the West Indies and to establish an Independent College of Liberal Arts and Sciences to which the first student intake would be admitted in September 1963. This was arguably a very important step towards developing pathways to co-creating Guyana's institutions informed by language, and knowledge developed within Guyana for Guyana's cosmopolitan citizens by Guyana's cosmopolitan citizens. Building such infrastructures was a very important move towards realising John Dewey's (1916) notion of democracy in education. As pathways from Higher Education, to nation state's institutions underpinned by professional bodies were opening up to cosmopolitan citizens, they in turn were empowered to ethically, morally, and intellectually develop institutions hall marked by what Dewey calls full and free interactions and cooperation of diverse groups of citizens. Guyana's Independent College of Liberal Arts and Sciences was important for equity and renewal of institutions through ethical, moral, logical and empirically informed step by step societal innovation.

Education Policy 1964-1980 including Teacher Training

The new framework of Teacher Training coincided with further political and educational development within the country. The Primary Schools with their extended Secondary Departments offered further education to those children whose parents could not afford to pay for Secondary Education which was now established within the private sector (Ishmael, 2012). Thus the disparity within the varying standards became evident and a major concern for Guyenese people's development as cosmopolitan citizens who would be morally, ethically, and intellectually equipped to advocate for their rights and responsibilities. The literacy rate for Guyana was high at 90%, but 30% had functional literacy, which meant they could read but could not understand what they read (Ishmael, 2012). Functional literacy reduces the chances a person has to connect with their community, and the language of their societal institutions. Exclusion of this nature may reduce self-esteem, and reduce the opportunities a person has to advocate for their human rights, the human rights of others, and responsibility for their attitudes and behaviours (Ishmael, 2012).

In 1964 the interim puppet government was replaced by the People's National Congress (PNC) after a series of sensitive interventions. These included a change in constitution and the cutting of government aid by the US government. The cuts were due to the US fearing the PNC government, led by a Marxist, might create a repeat of the Cuban crisis[2]. There were civil disruptions and further extreme turbulence where violence shaped political resistance in the stead of peaceful advocacy of human rights through participating in independent societal institutions such as the courts. Attention moved away from education and culminated in Guyana gaining independence from the British government in 1966. After Guyana's independence in 1966, Merrill (1992) maps Guyana's stabilisation under Burnham who was 1st Prime Minister from 1964 to 1980 and 2nd President from 1980 - 1985. Under Burnham Guyana made the formal break away from Cuba and began to make trade deals with foreign nation states. Burnham's strategies developed favourable conditions for small and medium enterprises and the growth of local economies in Guyana (Ibid). Ishmael (2012) identifies that the US were encouraged to invest in infrastructure in Guyana to support the new trade deals that excluded Cuba. The US invested in Roads to support trade and this led to the growth of Guyana's Gross Domestic Product, and the economic growth

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[2] There is not scope to explore the politics of the PNC replacing the PPP in 1964 and the reader is invited to read this in more depth in Ishmael (2012).

funded the abolition of school fees in 1966 at the time of independence (Ishmael, 2012). A key driver in diplomatic relations appears to be economic, and those nation states whose geo-political boundaries contain cash rich energy, and precious metals and minerals have seemingly increased bargaining power in the international world stage.

Independence from White British rule resulted in a reallocation of funding to education, but the noble aims of eliminating school fees established through these acts did not fund equitable access of education to all at all levels. There were political tensions and the democratically elected government with voter representation were continuously lobbied by voters for an improved education system for all (Bacchus, 1969). By the mid 1970s pressures also came to bear as a result of the oil prices (Imam, 2012). These oil prices negatively impacted imports and exports in Guyana, with negative consequences for the small and medium enterprises. Unemployment increased, particularly of young people thereby increasing the number of those Not in Education, Employment or Training (NEETs) (Bacchus, 2012). Bacchus (1969) argues there had been a pattern of reduced funding allocated to education from 1965-1972.

Rather than conduct a geo-economic and political analysis of the causes of the economic downturn and ensuing austerity, the government immediately blamed the teachers and schools for increased unemployment. The schools were blamed for not equipping young people with the skills they needed to successfully join the labour market (Ishmael, 2012). The notion of a disembedded economy from civil society was not considered as a significant factor (Polanyi, 1944). A critical analysis of the impact of blaming the teachers reveals a lack of teachers' ability to defend themselves against unrealistic and unfair accusations. The teachers lacked knowledge, skills, experience and institutional language required to defend themselves through full and free participatory processes and practices as cosmopolitan citizens. Teachers who did not have the dispositions of cosmopolitan citizens themselves, were unable to equip their students' with the disposition of a cosmopolitan citizen so the students were not able to democratically and peacefully defend themselves against unfair allocations of funding in education. The education system arguably needed to prepare citizens for co-creating independent institutions for innovation and renewal by teaching cosmopolitan values and skills for educated debate, advocacy for civil rights, advocacy for social justice (Waghid & Smeyers, 2014), and transparency and accountability of allocation of resources.

Education policy, Administration, and Governance Change 1981-2002

A major change moving in the direction of the co-creation of democratic institutions took place in 1981 with the creation of a regional structure of ten democratic councils, which effectively decentralised the education system. At the same time a central parliamentary over seeing of policy implementation in an eleventh separate entity of Georgetown was established which was the capital of Guyana. Decentralisation of education and aims to develop the moral cosmopolitan values and skills of citizens, made local dialogues of diverse groups possible with outcomes from talks brought by representatives to the central parliament. The decentralised structure was further developed in 1986 and thus laid the foundation on which all Education Policy, Structure and Development are now built. However, the University of Guyana is not offering comprehensive pathways to medicine and law. Young people need to find the funding to go to Barbados and Trinidad to become professionals in these fields who can build Guyana's institutions (Ishmael, 2012). Perhaps the gap in Guyana's Higher Education provision creates a disconnect between Guyana's institutions, and the Higher Education institutions that prepare Guyana's citizens to take their places in Guyana's institutions.

The Ministry of Education went on to effect the decentralisation of the Administration of Education by encouraging the formation of Regional Education Committees to assist the Ten Regional Democratic Councils, and to manage the process of Education Provision in their respective Regions (Ishmael, 2012). Thus Guyana had been divided into ten Education Districts and these divisions remain the same today. Ten of these districts correspond with the Administration and Geographical Regions whilst the capital, Georgetown, continues to be treated as the separate eleventh entity, with its own Committee formed to oversee Education Administration and Implementation (Ministries of Communities, 2017).

This approach to decentralisation seemed to offer opportunities for more effective management of education among the Education Regions across the entire country. Karlsen (2000:534) describes this perceived network of autonomy and independence as 'decentralised centralism', noting the 'simultaneous interplay between the tendencies of centralisation and decentralisation'. The Ministry of Education allowed these Education Regions to manage their own affairs albeit under its overarching governance structure. The policy of free education continued with Act No 2 (Parliament of Guyana, 1980). Article 27 identified all citizens' right to education. The Act focused on the PNC government's commitment to

developing a socialist society (Ishmael, 2012). Political unrest and violence continued with extreme turbulence (Gross, 2014). School enrolment levels dropped to 68% and as low as 50% in the central areas (World Data on Education, 2006-2007). At the same time, in the mid to late 1980s, the economy began to pick up with international investment into timber in the Amazonian rain forest, gold and diamond mines (World Data on Education, 2006-2007)[3]. With international interest in the economy came international interest in investing in the development of the local labour force to mobilise production. The Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP) funded by a loan from the Inter-American Development Bank was implemented in 1990 (World Data on Education, 2006-2007). The main focus of the PEIP was the development of teachers' skills, assure the availability of books and resources, and the improvement of school buildings to include running water and sanitary toilets, classrooms and so forth. The Ministry of Education (1995) reiterated the commitment to developing civil society with evaluations from UNESCO in 2000 commending efforts to improve education and provide a brighter future for younger generations (Ministry of Education, 2003).

Education policy: Ministry of Education Strategic-Plan 2003 - 2007

Interest in education developed further with the strategic plan of 2003-2007 which sought to accelerate the development of the education provision within the country. Consequently, a plethora of Initiatives emerged from these phases, ably supported financially through loans from international agencies; the Inter-American Development Bank, Department for International Development, and UNESCO (Ministry of Education, 2003). A major milestone in Funding Provision was reached. Guyana was one of the first countries to benefit from financial assistance under the Education For All - Fast Track Initiative (EFA -FTI) (UNESCO, 2002). Proposed interventions of these schemes were to:
1. alleviate poverty and reduce unemployment in part through the school feeding project where indigenous women produced and prepared lunches for the school children.

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[3] There is not scope to discuss the rights to the diamond and gold mines, and who is mining them legally or illegally from overseas, Guyana, or South America. Guyanese people have raised this as an issue for the government to investigate with transparent financial reporting (Stabroek News, 2015).

2. Improve quality of teachers by providing training to encourage completion of secondary education and gain teaching certificate. Develop teacher centres with didactic and pedagogical resources and resources that promote knowledge of Amerindian culture and history, and provide professional development, and professional learning opportunities.

3. Improve the number of trained teachers by incentivising teacher retention through allowances and improved living conditions for hinterland teachers and increase number of Amerindian ethnicity teachers.

4. Improve access to schools and educational opportunities by increasing in hinterland schools the access to potable water, electricity and sanitary facilities.

5. Eliminate threat to indigenous cultural heritage and identity whereby providing books including those that celebrate indigenous cultural heritages. (UNESCO, 2002, p. 1).

The policy as text demonstrates a commitment to respecting and taking account of narratives and voices from indigenous cultural heritage, and the multinational identities of the diverse communities. These expectations connect with Waghid and Smeyers (2014:555) notion of cosmopolitan virtues that include: 'the capacity to deliberate as free and equal citizens in a democratic polity, and conducting such deliberations so that they are about the demands of justice for all individuals'. At the same time these noble aims align with John Dewey's (1916) full and free interactions and cooperation between all diverse groups for democracy of education.

A further commitment to hearing all voices and respecting different races, ethnicities, and cultures was the pathway to deliver intervention strategies to shift from a system where 60% of primary school children access General Secondary Education to all children accessing secondary education. One aim was to focus on developing health and family life to promote well being and to develop values required to live peacefully in a multicultural society, or cosmopolitan society, and to advocate for human rights and responsibilities (Ministry of Education, 2003). Another aim was to develop professionals, engineers, technicians and craftsmen to mobilise the new production. Donors who supported this strategic plan for Guyana education are presented in Table 1 taken from Table 4 Major International Donors to Guyana 2001 - 2007 (all amounts are USD millions) (United Nations Development Programme, 2010, p. 13).

Table 1. Donors who supported Guyana education in USD millions

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total
IDB	48.22	24.57	36.78	43.8	48.44	44.88	46.04	292.73
US	15.75	11.51	8.39	19.71	17.6	23.55	21.14	117.65
EU	20.75	17.59	10.36	32.3	12.97	10.89	7.6	112.46
UK	18.13	14.87	9.42	20.29	12.09	6.33	4.63	85.76
CDB	4.53	4.42	8.00	11.45	8.57	12.79	9.34	59.10
IDA (WB)	7.29	5.86	19.81	5.94	1.22	10.55	2.47	53.14
Canada	4.73	4.17	7.09	7.54	8.85	6.36	7.04	45.78
IMF	-5.48[4]	-1.83	0.16	2.71	21.51	27.24	-	44.31
Japan	4.77	0.69	2.85	10.72	0.5	5.63	4.23	29.39
UN Agencies	1.83	2.13	1.62	1.94	2.85	1.7	2.46	14.53

Source: Key: IDB: Inter-American Development Bank, US: United States, EU: European Union, UK: United Kingdom, CDB: Caribbean Development Bank, IDA (WB): International Development Association (WB), IMF: International Monetary Fund.

By 2008 a review of the 2003-2007 Education Strategic Plan impact revealed it had not improved education and 'the quality of education was still a matter of great concern with a particular focus on the attendance rates of the students, number of teachers in the system, availability of equipment and operationalising of child centred schools' (Ministry of Education, 2017, p. 1). Thus the policy as text that connected with developing cosmopolitan virtues, and inclusion within the education system, and bringing social cohesion to a nation with a legacy of conflicts in ideologies and cultures had not been realised.

The evidence reveals that there was enormous support for the development of Guyana as a plural society but corruption had prevented all monies from reaching the targeted education destination in the regions. Chêne (2010, pp. 1-2) states: There are very few publicly available sources of information about corruption and anti-corruption in Guyana, beyond the major international governance indicators. This answer is mainly based on anecdotal evidence, reports and media articles that mention corruption in very general terms. A comprehensive risk assessment of corruption risks would require more in-depth research and in-country data collection. Corruption in Guyana occurs in a general context of economic hardship, institutional weakness, criminal justice inefficiencies, and racial fractionalisation of society. Guyana belongs to one of the poorest countries in the region, with an economy mainly based on

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[4] There is not scope to discuss the IMF negative response in 2001 and 2002 in Table 1 and the reader is directed to Europa Publications (2002) for further information on IMFs response to Guyana's fiscal and structural reforms, the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative, the Poverty Reduction and Strategy Paper (PRSP) to promote economic growth, and reduce poverty, and the Poverty Reduction and Growth Fund (PRGF) and Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF).

agriculture and mining. Sugar, bauxite, rice and gold account for 70–75% of export earnings. Falling sugar cane prices and a need for greater foreign investment have led the government to pursue economic development of forests, leading to widespread deforestation and pollution in some areas".

The critical analysis reveals that all stakeholders in Guyana and the six main multicultural communities are advocating for improved education, and improved institutions. The improvement includes the connection of the judicial system with pathways through Higher Education in Guyana to serve within the institutions of the law of Guyana. As noted above, there are no pathways through Guyana's Higher Education system to the institutions of law or medicine. The six main groups are also advocating for a celebration of indigenous cultural heritages to remove ignorance and build solidarity, but again, corruption is a barrier to achieving this. The parliament sought to improve the quality of education with a further strategic plan.

Education Strategic Plan 2008 - 2013 and action for education for 2017 and the future

The Strategic Plan Document 2008-2013 published by the Ministry of Education in July 2008 followed the 2003-2008 Strategic Plan and was headed: "Meeting the Quality Imperative". The plan covered a fully comprehensive Programming Charter to cover consistent and focussed Education Delivery across the entire country (Ministry of Education, 2008).

The Minister of Education at that time, stated within the Foreword (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 13): "The Ministry defines education as more than instrumental activity for supporting greater additional development or reducing poverty; even though   it   can   contribute significantly to both of these objectives. It has intrinsic value. It is the main way to help each human being achieve his/her highest potential. It should be able to give the nation's citizens the necessary knowledge, skills and values to lead happy and productive lives….and in particular eliminate illiteracy, modernise education and strengthen tolerance.".

The commitment to civil society characterised by the values and acts of cosmopolitan citizenship (Waghid & Smeyers, 2014) coupled with strengthening tolerance for diversity in a move towards democracy in education (Dewey, 1916) was important for the new strategic plan. These themes continued from the 2003-2007 strategic plan along with the reaffirmation of the provision of 'Elementary' or 'Primary' Education for all children between the ages of 6 and 14 years regardless of their religious or

non religious background. Attendance at school was seen as an important opportunity to become 'educated' as learning to read and write became an important aspiration for further personal and community development. Education also provided opportunities to develop well being underpinned by being empowered to advocate for community rights in a system that was increasingly being influenced by large international organisations or institutions that seemingly through corruption were winning logging rights. These arguably illegal businesses were disembedding the economy from the community lives of the people (Polanyi, 1944) and stealing the birthright of Guyana's citizens. Not only did these seemingly corrupt practices displace indigenous peoples by forcibly taking their homelands as had happened in South Africa, these actions impacting the indigenous peoples, and those shipped to Guyana by the British as slaves or indentured labourers, also disrupted school careers for families engulfed by diasporas (Chêne, 2010).

The Strategic Plan of 2008-2013 clearly outlined challenges and barriers to empowering young people with an equal access to quality education (Ministry or Education, 2008). However, the Ministry of Education (2017) identified that monitoring of impact was not implemented, and corruption not identified and stopped. These reflections were presented in The Guyana Chronicle (2015a, p. 1): "In spite of some grand individual performances by our children, we lag behind the real world by light years in terms of educational standards. This month and every day after for the next 10 years we must stop the uttering of platitudes– good sounding but meaningless words.".

Education Policy needs to address these matters drawing on three key areas of curriculum, market forces and perceived education inequality (Ward and Eden, 2009). The current 2014-2018 Education Sector Plan was introduced to continue the strategy of the 2008-2013 Strategic Plan. The role of the government and regions is a priority in the implementation of this plan with the first programme objective being 'Performance of Education Departments responsible for Education Sector Plan (ESP) priorities is improved' (Ministry of Education, 2014, p. 1). The second is an 'Accountability system focused on improving student learning outcomes is put in place' (Ministry of Education, 2014, p. 2). The focus is on science, maths, literacy and Technical Vocational Education (TVE). How this plan will develop the curriculum, navigate market forces, and address inequity through solidarity and providing opportunities for communities to develop cosmopolitan virtues is not clear (Waghid & Smeyers, 2014).

Discussion

The key areas of Curriculum, Market forces and Education Inequality that the Minister provides is a useful framework to read the eras of education in Guyana through. The first era 1831-1953 was slavery and education of the White British or French where market forces were in the favour of the privileged few who exploited other human beings because they believed they were entitled to more than them. The second era 1953-1963 was the emancipation of the African slaves and education of the Africans with an education grant. Here the market forces still favoured White British, but segregated the African former slaves from the indentured Indians who were newly arrived to Guyana. The market forces at play reveal the White British believed they were entitled to more than the Africans who were former slaves and enjoyed private education and inculcation into privilege. The Africans believed they were entitled to more than the Indians and the other groups in Guyana.

The third era was 1964-1980 when education was offered to the Indians who were emancipated from their indentured status and the most recent migrants to Guyana. The market forces still favoured the White British and the Guyana people of African descent who agreed with the White British politics since these groups accessed education that provided pathways to privilege. Evidence reveals that the other Guyana people of African descent and Guyana people of Indian descent competed for educational pathways to privilege in an education system that was meant to be funded by the state, but in reality was funded by the church and controlled by the church. The competition resulted in conflict rather than cosmopolitan citizens building solidarity coupled with entrepreneurism and public service. At this time public gatherings were still banned and a state of emergency was still in place. The fourth era was 1981-2002 and education did not bring peace to Guyana since the different groups continued to experience the extreme turbulence of before as they fought for a new constitution and that had been dissolved by the British as different ideologies clashed. The struggles for democracy and cosmopolitan citizenship was not supported by legal institutions. Powerful groups had learned from the British that if democracy threatened particular interests, democracy could be dissolved and compliance could be bought. Further, different groups feared education because they believed their young people would be indoctrinated or radicalised into believing the dominant discourses of the dominant political party (Ishmael, 2012). Whilst Stasz and Wright (2007) observed that policies are underpinned by a range of current and potent factors, these tend

to be designed within the political environment that has dominant groups. The final era is the one experienced since the strategic plans 2008 to date.

As the paper has revealed, the political environment is influenced by a range of factors such as ideologies, interests of particular groups, constituent pressures, independence of institutions such as the law, and a variety of fiscal and also institutional constraints. Interestingly, from this position The Common Country Assessment 2012-2016 was implemented which dovetailed into the 2008-2013 Education Strategic Plan and engaged with the same issues; poverty reduction, improving well being through the National Health Sector Strategy, the Guyana Food and Nutrition Security Strategy, the National Competitiveness Strategy, and the Stamp It Out Program (against sexual and domestic violence). The United States Department of State Diplomacy in Action Trafficking in Persons Report (US. Department of State, 2015) identified that Guyana is both a source and destination state for trafficking for sex crimes, and forced labour of men, women and children. Protecting citizens, and migrants in Guyana from sex crimes by slave masters, coupled with diasporas resulting from illegal logging firms that displace indigenous peoples is difficult. Protecting people in the central hinterlands is more difficult. The slavery of human trafficking is similar to the slavery of 1831 in Guyana. The identities may be different but the attitudes and behaviours of humans inhumanity to humans persists.

De Gruy (2005) provides a theory of a slavery legacy in the lives of people who were slaves or are descended from slaves. Her theory emerges from African American studies in the US. This paper has identified that the paths of emancipated slaves have been different in Guyana to the US. However, De Gruy's theory has connections to the trafficked people in Guyana. De Gruy identifies that if a person in slavery cannot protect their wife or husband, or children from traffickers they are afraid. Their fear may turn into anger and their anger may turn into violence. However, an enslaved human being cannot vent their anger on the trafficker who is the root of their problem. De Gruy (2005, p. 131) states: 'Typically when the true target of a person's feelings is deemed to be out of reach (the slave master/trafficker), the person will take their feelings out on safer targets…on those closest to him like his family or friends'. However, the disposition of the trafficker who believes they are more entitled than others, and makes an informed choice to exploit other human beings and take their rights away, is not the disposition of the person who has lost their rights due to the criminal slave master. Thus the violence of a person who has had their rights removed and cannot protect those that they love comes from

fear, impotence, and a vulnerability, and does not come from a desire to take another person's rights away and use that person for their own benefit or greed. Healing the hurt that is deeply embedded in the psyche of people who have been slaves or who have learnt behaviours from a legacy of slavery De Gruy suggests, requires caring support.

Helping these most vulnerable people whose behaviours are arguably motivated by fear rather than greed is vital. The noble aims of the 'Stamp it out Programme' that aim to help people learn to trust, learn to care, and to learn that unconditional positive regard exits is a moral imperative for policy. Drawing on Dewey (1909), integral to the development of cosmopolitan citizenship in schools is moral training and education that develops instinctive habits to make delicate intellectual, emotional and ethical judgements. Moral training and democratic education empowers the individual in many small societies and one large society, to move from abstract theory to discerning delicate judgements in concrete situations. Inculcation into ethical frameworks guided by moral compasses upheld by independent institutions and constitutions that can be trusted, with accessible language, is central to developing cosmopolitan virtues.

The critical reading and discussion of the five eras of education in Guyana reveals that the learning outcomes of the Education Sector Plan do not focus on building holistic lives of well being (Taysum, 2003). Here an holistic life includes:

- the spiritual which is the relation a person has with their life;
- the physical, that they have enough food to thrive (Duncan, 2011) and they do not fear for their life or the lives of their loved ones;
- the intellectual where they have the thinking skills to make critical and reflective decisions that are rational and evidence informed with a moral compass that ensures an ethical framework, (Taysum, 2017) as they Learn to Critically Analyse and Reflect for Emancipation (CARE) (Taysum, 2012b)[5].
- the emotional where they have the emotional literacy for developing healthy relationships that are not abusive between the self and the other, and they have resilience at times of difficulty. The emotional literacy connects with Dewey's (1909) moral training and education to develop young people's instinctive habits to make delicate intellectual, emotional and ethical judgements. Further, the role of faith and religious education (Conroy et al., 2016) that connects with cultural heritages for

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[5] There is not scope to discuss the Learning to Critically Analyse and Reflect for Emancipation (CARE) framework here and the reader is invited to read Taysum (2012b).

those of all faiths and of no faith is not made explicit in the Education Sector Plan.

The next objectives focus on improving facilities, improving the quality of teaching, improving the resources and access to books, and increasing instructional time. All these remaining objectives hang on students' attaining the education outcomes which do not focus on the arts, or developing creative, innovative and/or entrepreneurial skills. These education outcomes do not focus on cosmopolitan virtues, cultural heritages, or values, attitudes and behaviours that promote cosmopolitan citizenship.

Hearing student voice might help young people articulate their attitudes that shape their behaviours (Ruddock and McIntryre, 2007). Hall (2017) identifies that teachers need to critically reflect on the value they give to student voice in the learning process and their Initial Teacher Education needs to connect to this. There is a dearth of research on student voice regarding their participation in their education (Gunter and Thomson, 2007). Hall cites Thoreau (1863) who stated: 'The greatest compliment that was ever paid me was when one asked me what I thought, and attended to my answer" (Thoreau, 1863, p. 1). Arguably there is a requirement for making time in the curriculum for teachers to listen to children talk about their learning and their attitudes towards their relationship with themselves, the other, and how they can learn to co-create a more sustainable and peaceful socio-economic model as cosmopolitan citizens. The education learning outcomes in the curriculum of the Education Sector Plan (2014 - 2018) and the curriculums of education policies of all five eras do not in real terms:

1.   consider the impact of market force and teaching competitive skills (2008-2013 Strategic plan) in balance with the attitudes and behaviours of the citizens and migrants with different ideologies;

2.   consider barriers to equity of education entitlement for different groups including gender, those disabled by society, and all protected characteristics (Equalities and Human Rights Commission, 2010);

3.   consider the challenge to co-creating cosmopolitan virtues focusing on moral training and education;

4.   explore the impact of class and socio-economic status emerging from the legacy of slavery, or migration to Guyana and different national and international interests;

5.   address how Guyenese people can develop their local economies in the midst of illegal logging, competition from international trade, human trafficking from and to Guyana, and major corruption with a loss of 341

Billion Guyana Dollars equal on 24 February 2017 to USD 1,642,531,340 (Wilberg, 2017);

6. address how Information Technology can be exploited to offer opportunities to share best practice in educational situations in the Hinterlands. An example is where Guyanese teachers might benefit from free Massive Online Open-access Courses (MOOCs) from the most prestigious education institutions in the world such as Harvard University in the United States. This is possible as long as they have access to the World Wide Web in the Hinterlands. Where it is not possible to gain internet access USB sticks with uploaded resources from the MOOCs might be developed and shared with those in the Hinterlands with appropriate copyright permissions.

National newspapers in Guyana are increasingly offering their readers the chance to present their concerns, a practice that is common within any democratic society. An example of such an expression came in an Op Ed on 7th July in the Guyana Chronicle (2015b) from Leon Suseran. The implicit questions raised focused on educational issues regarding administration and governance but also the social and cultural values of this process (Waghid and Smeyers, 2014). Suseran in the Guyana Chronicle (2015 a) focused on the loss of respect for human dignity in Guyana, and for Guyana and identified a perceived shambolic ethos within the Education System year on year. His recommendation is for partnerships with the education systems when the family, community, school education officers, and Central Ministry of Education, 'work in cohesion with each other, bridging differences and building trust' (Guyana Chronicle, 2015b). The expression aligns very closely with the findings of this paper and the concerns expressed in the Guyana Chronicle seem to extend well beyond the criteria for the maintenance of recognised academic standards and 21st century educational outcomes. Rather Suseran makes a well articulated request for the re-engagement and encouragement of moral virtues that align with Waghid and Smeyers (2014) cosmopolitan virtues. Building bridges between difference to build trust in the 21st Century will require the kind of moral training and education that Dewey (1909) advocated in the 20th Century. The moral training and education includes developing moral virtues such as honesty, kindness, courage, a positive regard for others, and the ability for all stakeholders to communicate with each other. This kind of moral training and education ties in closely with developing cosmopolitan virtues (Waghid & Smeyers, 2014).

Scott (1989) noted that bodies involved or related to education, tended to have a twin focus in being both administrative and moral entities. He

held the view that too much attention is usually given to the first entity thus gaining much prominence and significance. This approach appears to be a common world - wide practice, in developed and developing countries. He noted too, that an education is more than what happens within the institution, classroom or lecture theatre. He assigned the term 'public life' of institutions, as demonstrated through performance indicators, external audits and other formal requirements, with their 'private lives' and their character. This necessitates asking pertinent questions, such as: "how they work to educate people? how they successfully transmit social and cultural values? and how they model the conduct of modern society?" (Scott, 1989, p. 22).

These questions, in Scott's analysis, indicate that institutions have administrative functions and that the moral development links with a "cultural responsibility" the allegiance to rationality, truth and knowledge, which all those in education must accept' (Scott, 1989, p. 22). There seemed to be a parallel between Scots' insight and Selznick's (1957) position that institutions are infused with values, attitudes and behaviours as much as the technical requirements for the task at hand. Dewey's (1909) moral training and education reveals how it is important for education systems to develop young people's instinctive habits to make delicate intellectual, emotional and ethical judgements. The challenge for the Guyana education system is how to develop teachers to be agents of change to develop students' cosmopolitan virtues when their own dispositions have been shaped by communities that have not had opportunities to develop these dispositions. Glatter (2015) identifies that institutions are committed to a set of values that transcend the didactic transmission of knowledge and engage more with participation in knowledge sharing. However, the current Education Sector Plan does not discuss values, attitudes, behaviours, the role of faith or no faith, civil society, or moral training and education to develop habits to make delicate intellectual, emotional and ethical judgements.

The article in the Guyana Chronicle (2015b) has gained national prominence in Guyana because it foregrounded the need for values in education and in civil society, and reflected a nation's deep feelings of concern regarding the Education Standards within the country. The emphasis on the apparent loss of the values, beliefs, respect, and human dignity for the effective and efficient provision of education in all categories of institutions resonated with the general public. An approach that could provide the kind of cohesion the citizens of Guyana are seeking is an 'A-political agenda' for Education, which encourages genuine debate,

critical analyses, intelligible and practicable ideas for significant changes, and which excludes political expediency to focus on genuine reform within this sector.

Conclusions; Theory of Equity for Cosmopolitan Citizens and Migrants

A critical analysis of the five education eras drawing on Ward and Eden's (2009) conceptual lenses of curriculum, market forces and equity reveals three key issues. First, a lack of moral training in the curriculum presents a barrier to developing cosmopolitan citizens (Waghid & Smeyers, 2014) who have the knowledge, and skills to co-create local economies. Second, market forces provided the elite with pathways to privilege through education. Third different entitlements to different education pathways presents a barrier to innovating education systems for equity and renewal.

A new Theory of Equity for Cosmopolitan Citizens and Migrants emerges regarding diverse communities created by diasporas of different groups of migrants as a result of displacement from their homelands. First, curriculums need to offer equitable and culturally relevant pathways to young people that map to a standardised curriculum for all. The curriculums therefore need to offer knowledge, skills and moral training and education to Empower Young Societal Innovators for Equity and Renewal (Taysum et al., 2016) as cosmopolitan citizens (Waghid & Smeyers, 2014).

The curriculums need to offer opportunities to learn how to build solidarity whilst teaching entrepreneurial skills that underpin the building of Small and Medium enterprises to develop local economies and contribute to a growth in Gross Domestic Product. The curriculums need to offer equitable access to Higher Education, professional associations, participation in state institutions, and societal leadership positions through inclusionary approaches with evolving gender relationships, provision for those disabled by society, and support for those with protected characteristics (Equalities and Human Rights Commission, 2010).

Market forces need an explicit moral compass to assure ethical frameworks that enable equitable access for all through education systems. Without moral regulation of the ethical frameworks of market forces, hallmarked by cosmopolitan citizenship attitudes and behaviours, equity cannot be realised in diverse communities receiving new migrants. Extreme

turbulence, that may include violence underpinned by citizens' and or migrants' fear of not being able to protect their family and their homeland (De Gruy, 2005), might be addressed by full participation in all societal constitutions and/or institutions where citizens and migrants are able to advocate for social justice for all (Waghid & Smeyers, 2014).

Further research is recommended into testing this Theory of Equity for Cosmopolitan Citizens and Migrants' with nation-states with growing migrant populations to gain proof of concept.

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